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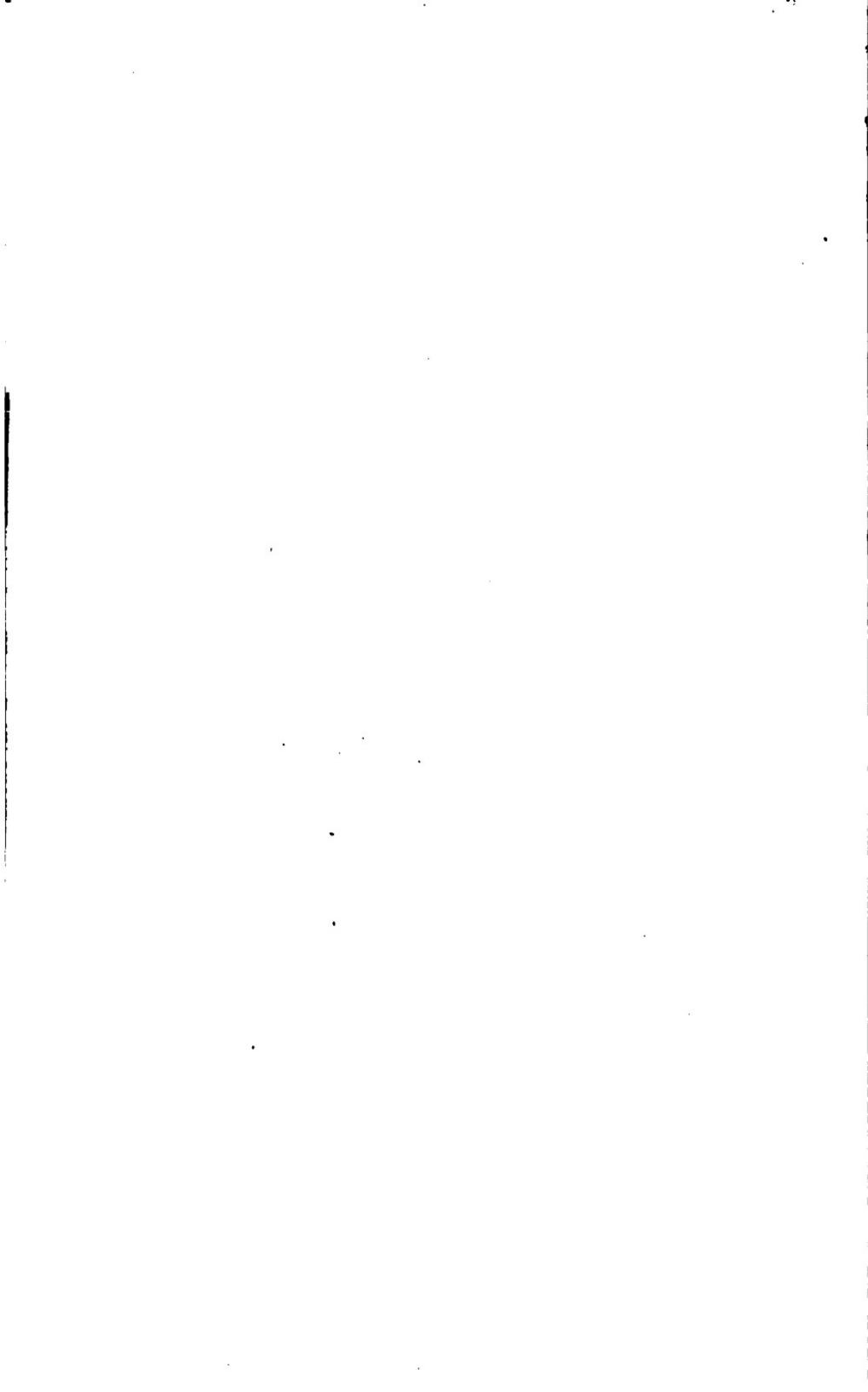
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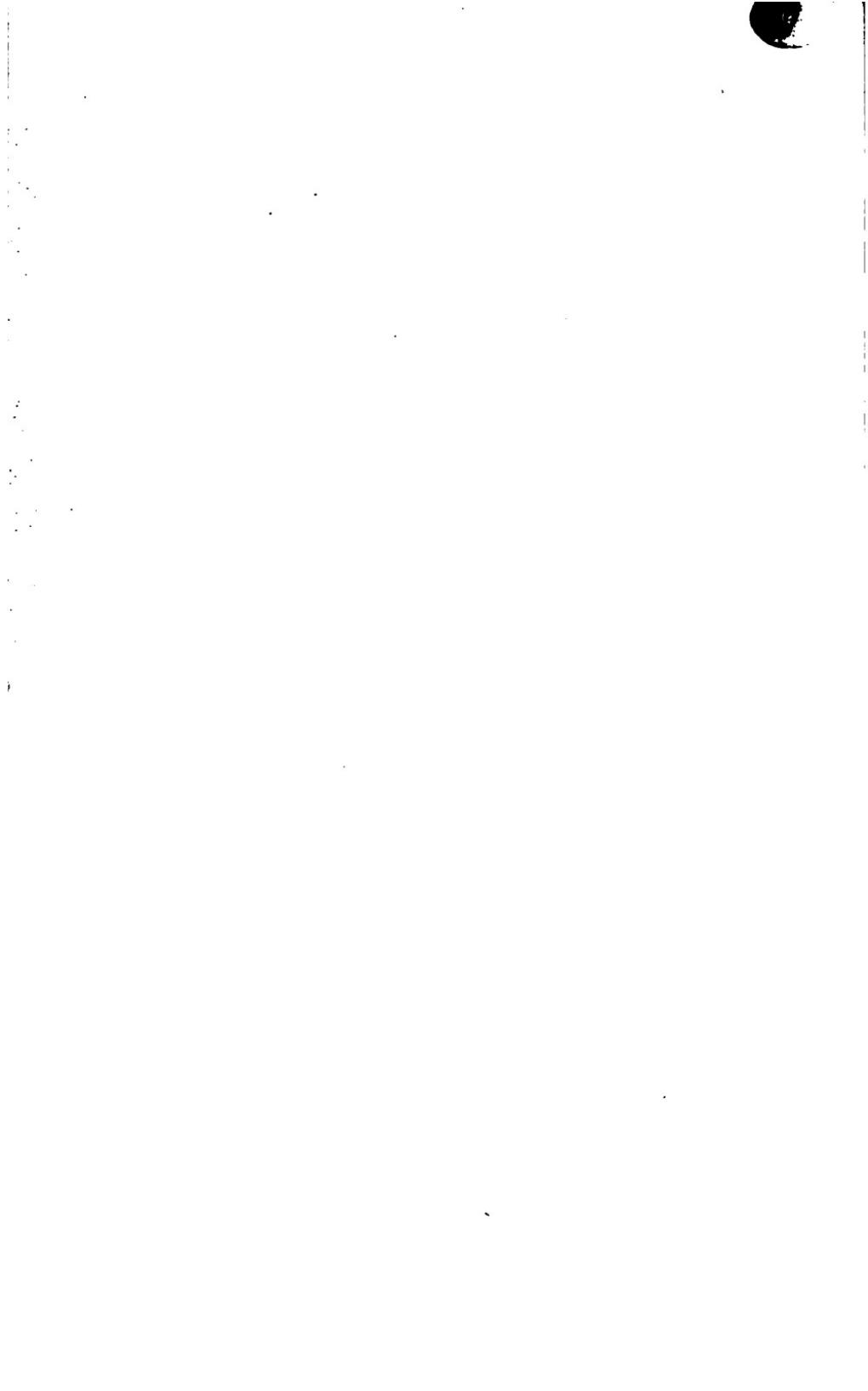
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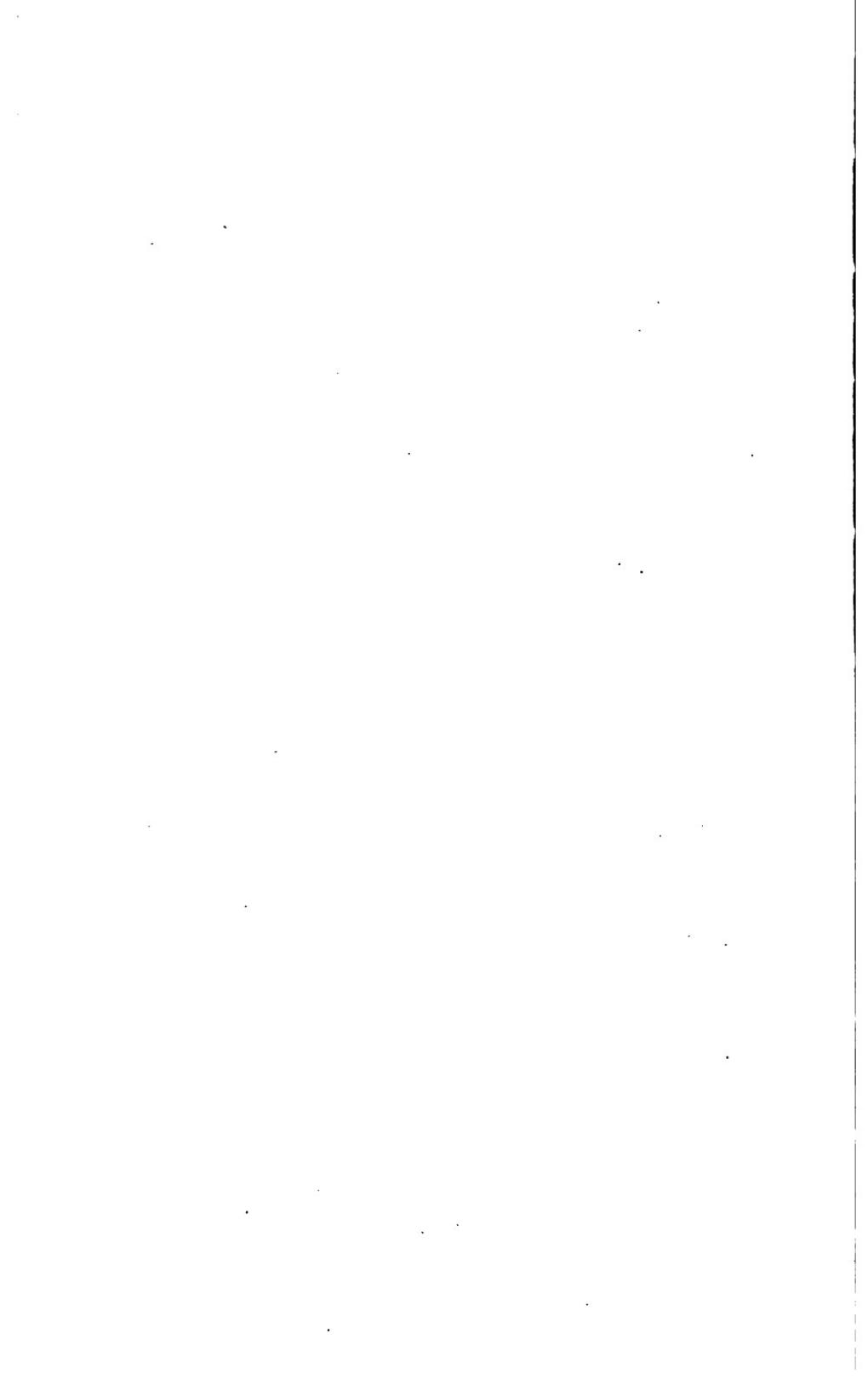
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THE
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

GEORGE THE THIRD.

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND FIVE.

1795—1798.

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CHAP.
CV.

1795.
State of
Ireland.

Revolutionary
societies.

THE state of Ireland had now attained a truly alarming character. The undisguised aim of the French government to effect the separation of the two kingdoms had found determined abettors ; and secret negotiations had been succeeded by traitorous machinations ; by the formation of a clandestine government ; and, finally, by an open display of armed rebellion. In these operations, the efforts of the Societies, already noticed*, were unremitting and extensively effectual. However the principal leaders might disagree in certain particulars, they concurred in one general object ; that of establishing a new government, founded on the revolutionary principles displayed on the Continent. In the provinces, the increasing outrages of the Defenders obliged gentlemen to keep in their houses a constant military guard, for protection against depredation and murder. Some of their confederates may originally have been actuated by laudable, or at least innocent, motives ; but some pursued designs of a suspicious tendency, and others cherished intentions directly nefarious†.

After the departure of Lord Fitzwilliam, the acts and proceedings of the United Irishmen (for under

* Vol. vi. pp. 234, 244, 250, and generally throughout the ninety-second chapter.

† On the formation, combination, views, and projects, of these associations, under their different denominations of United Irishmen, White Boys, Defenders, and some others, see Report to the House of Commons, 15th March, 1799; Parliamentary History, vol. xxxiv. p. 579 ; Plowden, vol. ii. pp. 531, 534, whose sense I have generally followed, adopting sometimes his very words; Gordon, vol. ii. chap. 40 to 47; Musgrave, vol. i. pp. 36 to 90 ; and a recent publication, called the United Irishmen, by R. R. Madden, M.D.

that title all the disaffected bodies may be considered) increased in violence and tyrannical oppression. In all parts of the kingdom, houses were plundered, individuals maltreated and murdered, and a system of hostility was carried on under the obligation of impious oaths, binding the parties to obedience, secrecy, and the non-disclosure of facts, if called on as witnesses; proceedings which portended the overthrow of all established authority; and they menaced the destruction of all Protestants, and other obnoxious persons.

It was a natural consequence of such acts, originating at once in pretences of religion and patriotism, that measures of resistance should be resorted to; and it was inevitable that the conduct of the opponents should receive a colour from the modes of injury which they endeavoured to avert or to avenge. In the county of Armagh, an association was formed, under the denomination of Orangemen, professedly to support the constitution in church and state, as secured by William the Third. Their numbers rapidly increased, and they formed lodges and affiliations, similar to those of their adversaries. Such an irregular association would often pass the limits prescribed by law, and, animated with a spirit of resentment for unprovoked injuries, commit, in their turn, many violent, cruel, and unjustifiable acts. But, in estimating their conduct, too much reliance is not to be placed on Roman Catholic or revolutionary writers; nor are those of the other party entitled to implicit belief: all the prejudices of education, the animosity cherished and matured through three or four generations, and the feelings occasioned by a recent and violent contest, have contributed to swell the clamour of party, and to stifle the voice of truth. The flame of hostility was cherished between those who were called United Irishmen or Defenders, and a body of licentious Protestants, not of the Church of England, styled Peep-of-day Boys, Wreckers, and known by some other appellations. Some Defenders were convicted of high treason during the summer assizes; and, in the county of Armagh, where animosities had arisen to their greatest height, a regular con-

CHAP.
CV.

1795.

Orangemen.

1795.
Sept. 21.
Battle of the
Diamond.

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1795.

lict took place, in which the Defenders, although greatly superior in numbers, to the extent, it is said, of ten to one*, were routed, with great loss and disgrace: from the name of a neighbouring village, this is called the battle of the Diamond. The event was followed by rigorous, and often illegal, measures of the military and the magistracy; many being imprisoned, and impressed into the sea service†.

1796.
January 1st.
Parliament.
Speech of the
Lord Lieute-
nant.

On the meeting of Parliament, the Lord Lieutenant, after treating on general topics, adverted to the extent and malignity of secret and treasonable associations, and the disturbances which had taken place. He applauded the meritorious exertions of the magistrates, and the zeal and alacrity of the troops, both regular and militia, and recommended the advancement of measures calculated to prevent the return of excesses, and restore a proper reverence for the laws.

Amendment
moved by
Mr. Grattan.

In moving an amendment to the address, Mr. Grattan asserted that the people of Ireland were loyal to their sovereign; but the uniform system of the British ministry had been, to treat them with insolence and contumely. The hornets of government had been sent out to grand juries, obtaining addresses and resolutions to wall out the Catholics from the constitution, as the English had formerly walled out the Scotch, and the Chinese the Tartars. His amendment, promising the endeavours of Parliament to improve the condition of the lower orders of the people, and praying the King to recommend to the English legislature the adoption of measures for admitting the manufactures of Ireland into Great Britain on advantageous terms, was negatived by a very large majority‡.

Notice by the
Attorney
General.

The Attorney General immediately gave notice of bills to check the prevailing disturbances; to indemnify magistrates and others, who, in seeking to preserve the peace, had exceeded the strict bounds of the law; and to make a conspiracy to murder, a felony: for the

* Musgrave's History of the Rebellions, vol. i. p. 80.

† These facts are derived from the authorities before cited, and I have related them as briefly as possible, owing to the vehement passion which has guided the pens of those on whom I must rely for information.

‡ 122 to 14.

frequency of such conspiracies, he said, had rendered the idea of assassination as familiar as that of fowling.

Some time afterward, he submitted to the House four resolutions, intended to form the basis of legislative measures. Three asserted the existence of a spirit of conspiracy and outrage, displayed in attempts to assassinate magistrates, murder witnesses, plunder houses, and seize arms ; the necessity of empowering magistrates, in cases and situations where such dispositions should be apparent, to search for, seize and secure arms, ammunition, and weapons of offence ; to prevent the assembling of bodies of people to contrive or execute plans of plunder, murder, and intimidation, and to empower them, in sessions, to send all idle vagrants and disorderly persons, who had no visible means of gaining a subsistence, to serve on board the fleet. In proposing these resolutions, the Attorney General recounted, historically, the formation of the insurgent associations, and their proceedings, particularly since 1790, when their principal operations were in the county of Meath ; but, in following years, their emissaries had spread the flame of revolt in other counties. Prosecutions had been commenced, and some of the guilty sentenced to transportation ; but the disturbances still continued, and, to prevent witnesses from appearing, they had adopted a system of assassination, dreadful instances of which he cited, as having occurred so recently as within ten days. It was not intended to disarm the people ; but, to prevent the execution of evil purposes, all persons, of whatever degree, should be obliged to register their arms. He also proposed that, where a witness was murdered, his written deposition should, on a trial, be read as evidence.

The opposition to these measures was less calculated, and probably less intended, to gain suffrages in Parliament, than to inflame and encourage the daring enemies of government. Lord Edward Fitzgerald stood alone in opposition on the first reading of the resolutions, saying that the proposed bills, or any others, would be vain, unless the grievances of the people

CHAP.
CV.

1796.
Feb. 20.
He moves
resolutions.

Opposition.

Lord Edward
Fitzgerald.

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were redressed ; but he approved of making written depositions of murdered witnesses evidence.

1796.
21st.
Mr. Grattan.

On the second reading, Mr. Grattan observed that the Attorney General had fully and justly expatiated on the offences of the Defenders, but had not noticed a body of insurgents calling themselves Orange-boys, or Protestant-boys, a banditti of murderers, similar to Lord George Gordon's fanatics, committing massacre in the name of God, and exercising despotic power in the name of liberty. He imputed such supineness and partiality to the magistrates of Armagh, that persecution, rebellion, inquisition, murder, robbery, devastation, and extermination, had been entirely victorious. Colonel Craddock admitted that the conduct of the Peep-of-day Boys, in Armagh, was at that time atrocious ; but it must be recollectcd that, in September, the Roman Catholics had been the aggressors. Mr. Grattan suggested amendments, which the Attorney General declined adopting ; and the bill for preventing insurrection was brought in.

22nd.
Sir Lawrence
Parsons.

On the second reading, Sir Lawrence Parsons objected strenuously, but ineffectually, to the transportation of men without a trial by jury, and recommended an amnesty as to all past offences not amounting to murder.

29th.
Mr. Grattan.

In a subsequent stage, Mr. Grattan proposed clauses compelling the county to make full compensation to labourers or manufacturers for damage or losses sustained through the acts or menaces of violent mobs. Government trifled with the Catholic northern weaver, when they referred him to a grand jury composed of those very magistrates whose supineness, partiality, or bigotry, had been the cause of his wrongs. The Attorney General answered, that, by the existing law, remedies and indemnities were secured ; and if further provision was necessary, it might be provided by a separate bill, but could not be engrafted on that before the House. After a long and animated debate, the motion was negatived without a division, and the bill passed. This was the principal business which

Attorney
General.

engaged the attention of Parliament until its prorogation.

CHAP.
CV.

It is justly observed that the debates in Parliament present the chief historical source of information for the true narrative of the transactions in Armagh*; and, even in consulting them, great caution is required, to defend the mind from exaggerations of fact, and fallacies in argument.

1796.
April 15th.

Under whatever pretences individuals might have been induced to join the revolutionary societies, their numbers were become extremely formidable, and their organization presented the appearance of a government, skilfully contrived and scientifically arranged. The whole body was subdivided, in the lowest degree, into small parties of twelve each. These twelve elected a secretary and treasurer; and the five secretaries of every five minor societies formed a lower baronial committee, for the immediate superintendence of the bodies by which it was constituted. Each lower baronial committee furnished one member to an upper baronial committee. These again delegated members to district committees in populous towns, or to county committees; and, in each of the four provinces, a provincial directory was chosen from the district and county committees. In the highest stage, the provincial directories elected five members to a general executive directory, which exercised the supreme command over the whole body of the Union. Profound secrecy was observed respecting the persons in whose hands this dangerous sovereignty was lodged; the election was by ballot, and none but the secretaries of the provincial directories were acquainted with the names of those upon whom the choice fell; for the appointment was not reported to the electors: and all orders from the general executive were communicated to the minor agents, not immediately by themselves, but through the channel of the secretaries.

Organization
of the Societies

Nor were the means of military arrangement omitted: an army had been engrafted on their civil system; the division of both being similarly gradu-

Military ar-
rangements.

* Flowden, vol. ii. p. 561.

CHAP.
CV.

1796.

ated. Thus the whole body which accepted the oath of union was supposed capable of bearing arms. The secretaries of the lowest sub-divisions of twelve were non-commissioned officers. The delegates of five societies to the lower baronial committees were captains of companies; each, through those whom he represented, commanded sixty privates. In like manner, the delegates of ten lower baronial committees to the upper baronial committees, as colonels, each commanded a battalion of six hundred. Adjutant generals, selected by the colonel in each county, communicated immediately with the executive; and a military board was employed in observing the country and collecting intelligence. One leading instruction to each individual of the confederacy was, to provide himself with fire-arms and ammunition; or, if these did not fall within his means, with a pike. The number of persons acting under this distribution exceeded one hundred thousand.

Leaders of the
Societies.

Had these associations been led only by forensic and literary adventurers, their efforts, however well combined, would have been comparatively unimportant; in their own country, such men would have been viewed with indifference; in others, with contempt; but when they numbered among their leaders, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the brother of the most exalted nobleman in Ireland; Arthur O'Connor, a man of distinguished family; Thomas Addis Emmett; and many others, highly and respectably connected, and celebrated for their knowledge and talents; their estimation was enhanced, and their cause was regarded, not as the ill-considered outbreak of a body of malecontents, but as one altogether national, and likely to be successful.

Yeomanry.

Still, a strong counteracting spirit was not wanting. The great mass of the sound and loyal inhabitants placed themselves at the disposal of the state, by enrolling themselves, to the number of thirty-seven thousand, in corps of yeomanry. They considered it necessary to keep their body as free as possible from probabilities of contamination, and therefore admitted among

them no Roman Catholics; taking for their distinguishing colour the orange, always worn in commemoration of their deliverer, King William; while their adversaries assumed the green, which was proudly displayed in their cockades, their dress, and their banners. Thus were two parties, inflamed and exasperated to the highest pitch, let loose upon each other; the rebels, emancipated by self-will from all control of law, and incited by the atrocious exhortations of those who, by their profession, ought to have been the ministers of peace; their opponents armed with a discretionary power (always sure to be abused) to break into houses in search of arms, to apprehend persons, however slightly charged, or even if only suspected, as traitors. It would be useless, as well as painful, to recite the instances of cruelty, oppression, and destruction, narrated on both sides; they were advanced with more acrimony, from the expectation of a dissolution of Parliament, and an approaching session in which debates of uncommon fervour were expected.

When the Parliament assembled, the Lord Lieutenant, in his speech from the throne, ascribed their early convocation to threats of an invasion; he expressed approbation of the vigorous measures of the last session; through them the outrages against which they were directed had in a great measure subsided; but still, in Armagh, a treasonable system of secret confederacy, by the administration of unlawful oaths, subsisted, although government had opposed to it all the powers with which they were entrusted.

As an amendment to the address, Mr. Grattan proposed a representation to his Majesty, advising, as the means of strengthening the country and promoting unanimity, the enactment of laws which would ensure to all his subjects the blessings and privileges of the constitution, without distinction of religion. The outrages against the Catholics in the north had been too slightly noticed: government, with all the powers they now possessed, could surely have quieted that part of the kingdom; but he feared that the mob relied on the lenity of ministers, from the sympathy of

CHAP.
CV.

1796.

October 12.
Meeting of
Parliament.

Mr. Grattan
moves an
amendment.

CHAP.
CV.

1796.

Mr. W. B.
Ponsonby.

Amendment
negatived.

13th.
Suspension of
Habeas
Corpus.

26th.
Adjournment.

Arrangements
with France.

religion between the Castle and the Orange Boys. He treated, at large, on the condition of the different states of Europe, compared with that of poor, plundered, ill-used, insulted, and forgiving Ireland, which was left without a soldier for domestic defence, while pouring its population into fleets and armies for the ill-fated and wide-wasting West Indian expedition, in which ministers had supplied the place of plague, pestilence, and famine.

Mr. William Brabazon Ponsonby seconded the motion. In a long debate, Mr. Grattan found himself opposed, even by some whom he had hitherto reckoned upon as adherents; and a division left him in a most discouraging minority*.

On the following day, when the House resolved itself into a committee to continue the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, Mr. George Ponsonby moved that the chairman should leave the chair. He was supported by Mr. Duquery, Mr. Curran, and some other members; their speeches were more distinguished by warmth of passion than cogency of argument: the motion was rejected†, and the bill passed.

When some other, less interesting business had been disposed of, Parliament adjourned for a short period, but repeated the same measure until after the Christmas holidays.

During this recess, the invasion was attempted, which ended at Bantry Bay. The democratic party, despairing of the execution of their plans by their own efforts, had sent to Paris, as their agent, Mr. Edward John Lewins, who assumed the state and title of ambassador to the Executive Directory. Persuaded by his communications, and those of Mr. Wolfe Tone, it was resolved, at an extraordinary meeting of the Irish executive, to accept the assistance of the French in effecting a separation of Ireland from Great Britain; and Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Arthur O'Connor had a meeting with General Hoche, on the frontier of Switzerland, at which the mode and conditions of invasion were arranged; which, in general, amounted

* 149 to 12.

† 137 to 7.

to an agreement that the French army should act as auxiliaries, under the direction and in the pay of the society, which, on becoming possessed of the dominion, should be bound to reimburse the whole expenses of the armament. Probably the parties to this compact deceived or misunderstood each other. Consistently with their unvarying principles and practice, the French would not have undertaken such an expedition without views of plunder, subjugation, and annexation; while, on the other hand, it is not probable that any party of Irishmen should deliberately have acceded to a project which would place the estates and property of their near relatives and honoured friends at the mercy of a rapacious and insatiable army, whose pretended alliance had never failed to produce the worst results of hostile invasion. The Roman Catholic party ought to have hesitated before they gave their hands to men who gloried in their cruelty to the professors of that faith, and declared their hatred and contempt of every institution founded on Christianity. But resentment of injuries, real or supposed, the hope of benefit from a general change, however produced, and confidence in their own courage and judgment to avert the evils so reasonably to be apprehended, must have made the leaders in this transaction less sensible than they ought to have been of the overwhelming evils to which it must lead. The French were to be indemnified for the cost of the armament; but the amount and mode of indemnity, not being previously defined, would necessarily have been left to their own decision.

In this emergency, the Prince of Wales offered to accept the government of the country, to encourage the public spirit displayed by the loyal and well-affected, and, by measures of conciliation, to bring back to their duty those whom false principles or exaggerated representations had swayed or allured from the path of duty. For obvious and well-founded reasons, the proposal was declined; but great applause is due to the spirit and magnanimity of His Royal Highness*.

Offer of the
Prince of
Wales.

* On this subject, Mr. Plowden, vol. ii. p. 590, has a fallacious note. Speaking of precedent, he says that in the space of about three hundred years (1177 to

CHAP.
CV.

1796.

Proceedings of
Parliament.

1797.

January 6th.
Message of the
Lord Lieuten-
tant.7th.
Mr. Grattan
opposes the
address.Feb. 21.
Motions by
Mr. George
Ponsonby.

In Parliament, the intended invasion formed the subject of several debates. A message from the Lord Lieutenant informed the House of Commons of the failure of the negotiation, the abrupt dismissal of Lord Malmesbury, and the declaration of hostilities by Spain; and, on the subject of the late attempt, expressed his Majesty's deep sense and high approbation of the general spirit of loyalty and alacrity which had universally actuated his regular troops, militia, yeomanry corps, and every class of his subjects.

On the motion for an address, Mr. Grattan agreed that, with respect to the failure of the negotiation, and the conduct of ministers so far as regarded the invasion, there could be no difference of opinion; but it was still a question whether the administration of Great Britain had been sufficiently zealous in affording to Ireland the protection of the navy, and altogether sincere in the negotiation for peace; and he moved an amendment, declaratory of these opinions. After the review which these transactions had undergone in England, much novelty could not be expected in this debate, and the amendment was repelled by a large majority*.

Mr. George Ponsonby moved for extracts of communications received by government relative to the invasion, which was refused, for the obvious reason, that it would occasion the disclosure of much improper information. He failed also in motions for returns of troops, cannon, ammunition, camp equipage, and arms, in the power of government in December and at the present time. The debate was more than usually animated, and protracted till four o'clock in the morning; a principal topic urged by opposition being the necessity of augmenting the yeomanry corps to fifty thou-

1498) history affords fourteen instances of princes of the blood being appointed chief governors of Ireland. Now, without noticing the remoteness of time, and the changes in the political condition of the country, it is impossible not to observe, that in only two of the instances was the chief governor heir apparent to the throne; nor can the vote of the Irish Parliament on the recent occasion of the regency, and the very painful position, with respect to individuals, in which it would have placed the Prince, be forgotten. Even if an argument could be derived from the practice cited, its discontinuance for three centuries furnishes one much more forcible on the other side.

* 90 to 7.

sand men : the discussion ended in a vote for raising ten thousand, with bounties at the discretion of government.

CHAP.
CV.

1797.

24th.
Motion to in-
crease the
yeomanry.

Mr. Pelham.

Sir Lawrence Parsons re-introduced the subject of yeomanry, by moving a large increase of their numbers, as the most prompt and extensive measure of defence. Mr. Pelham, noticing a part of the honourable Baronet's speech, said he had almost forgotten where he was, and supposed himself in one of the circles of Germany, where different parties bid for the people. Could he believe that, in the Irish House of Commons, he had heard it urged, that, unless arms were put into their hands by government, the people would attach themselves to the first invader, and that too from a member who, on a former night, had extolled the alacrity with which, in his sight, the people had drawn the cannon of his battalion.

Mr. Grattan said, it might have been thought, from the tone in which the motion had been opposed, that its intent was to diminish or disband the army or militia, instead of adding fifty thousand men to the defence of the country. The honourable Baronet had said it was necessary to face a victorious enemy with a large force, and make that force consist of the people. The English servant of the English minister answered, "What! would you have me bid for the people?" He would say to that English deputy of that English minister, if he would not bid for the people, he might go about his business. If he would not bid for the people, the monster of democracy, which had conquered Spain, Holland, Germany, and Italy, by bidding for the people, would bid for the people of Ireland. The bidding of the minister would then come too late. He had asked, who could be more interested for the safety of Ireland than the British minister? He would answer, Ireland herself. If the doctrine which had been advanced were true, and the duty of Parliament was now become nothing more than merely to vote taxes, and echo three millions when the minister said three are wanted, then indeed *actum est de Parlamento*; a reform of the representation was become more than

Mr. Grattan.

CHAP.
CV.

ever necessary. The motion was negatived by a majority of five to one*.

1797.
Views and
conduct of the
United Irish-
men.

While Parliament was engaged in discussing these and other popular motions on the defence of the country, and on Catholic emancipation, insurrection and the efforts to prevent or suppress it were producing dreadful and lamentable scenes in various parts of the kingdom. It required no small address and management to retain the insurgent party in bonds of union ; Papist and Presbyterian entertained against each other so many and such deep-rooted prejudices, that it was necessary for each to conceal its ultimate objects, to secure the co-operation of the other. Both were equally hostile to the established church, and both hoped to overthrow it ; the Roman Catholics to regain the ascendancy and the lands which they considered to have been unjustly wrested from them ; their confederates, to abolish all church government, and to subvert the established constitution : both deemed it evident that a reform of Parliament, including the right of universal suffrage, must produce the end they desired, and that alone was therefore ostensibly held out as the general aim of their endeavours.

Jan. 7th.
Papers seized.

April 11th.
Referred to a
committee.

May 10.
Report.

Early in the year, on the memorial of nineteen magistrates, the Lord Lieutenant in council, by proclamation, according to the statute, declared three parishes in the county of Londonderry in a state of disturbance, or in danger of becoming so. Subsequently the members of two committees in Belfast were arrested and their papers seized. These his Excellency submitted to the House of Commons for consideration ; and Mr. Pelham proposed to refer the message and the papers to a secret committee, appointed by ballot, which was carried, although Mr. Grattan inveighed against the application of ministers for a secret committee, of which their malignity against the people might make a convenient instrument : all their measures, parliamentary or military, had equally tended to increase the calamities of the people. An able report, supported by documentary and oral testimony,

* 125 to 25.

developed, from their first commencement, the combination, views, and intents of the societies.

In moving for the printing of the report, Mr. Pelham observed, that this daring and dark conspiracy was not to be repressed by legislation, but by those strong measures which, with the approbation of the House, the executive government had already adopted. He called on them, and on all loyal subjects, to strain every nerve in putting down the societies. Formidable as they might seem, he had no fear that the loyalty of the country and the force of the state would be sufficient to crush them. He considered their statement of their own numbers exaggerated, and their supposed expectation of foreign aid fallacious: the great body of the people, he believed, were loyal; and he should be proud to exert every power he possessed in opposing such a band of daring traitors. Many had probably been seduced by specious pretexts of reform, and still were ignorant of the real designs of their associates; but he trusted their eyes would be opened by the publication of the report, which the House readily ordered.

Among the papers annexed to the report, a plan for an equal representation proposed the division of the kingdom into three hundred electorates, of nearly equal population, each to return one member; the right of suffrage to be enjoyed by every male, of sound mind, who had attained the age of twenty-one, and resided for six months of the last twelve within the electorate; the votes to be given by voice, and not by ballot. The proposed representative must not enjoy a pension, or hold a place, either executive or judicial; he was not required to possess any qualification in property, and was to receive a reasonable remuneration for his services.

Had this project been less objectionable than it was, still, considering the use which had been made of the topic in inflaming sedition and producing the popular ferment, it might have been expected that, for the present at least, the members of Parliament would have refrained from agitating the question. Mr. William Brabazon Ponsonby thought otherwise; for, in

CHAP.
CV.

1797.
Ordered to be
printed.

Plan of Par-
liamentary
reform.

15th.
Motion by Mr.
W. B. Pon-
sonby.

CHAP.
CV.

1797.

Mr. Pelham.

March 3.
Letter to
General Lake.

five days after the printing of the report had been ordered, he produced a motion. His perseverance was deprecated in vain : even after a long debate on another question, he submitted to the House a series of resolutions for abolishing all disabilities on account of religion, and admitting Catholics, equally with Protestants, into the legislature and the great offices of state ; for a new division of the kingdom into districts, each containing six thousand houses, and returning two members ; and for an elective franchise, nearly approaching, although it did not quite extend to, universal suffrage. Mr. Pelham again represented the impropriety of introducing such a subject while a part of the country was in a state of rebellion and a dangerous conspiracy known to exist, and moved an adjournment. A debate of more than usual violence and duration ensued, in which Mr. Grattan declared, in the name of himself and his party, that, as they retained no hopes of persuading or dissuading, they would give no further trouble, and, after that night, should attend no more. Mr. Pelham's motion was carried*.

A letter from government informed General Lake, commander in chief of the forces, that persons engaged in secret and treasonable associations were threatening the lives of all who, from regard to their oath of allegiance, should venture to discover their treasons ; that they assembled in great numbers by night, and disguised ; disarmed the peaceable inhabitants, fired on magistrates who endeavoured to apprehend them, were collecting great quantities of arms in concealed places, cutting down trees on the estates of the gentry to make pike-handles, stealing lead from their dwellings to cast into bullets ; endeavouring, by threats and intimidation, to prevent persons from entering into the corps of yeomanry ; assailing their houses by night, proceeding to the extremity of deliberate and shocking murder, and professing a resolution to join the enemy, if they should land ; that these enormities existed, not only in the counties of Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Derry, and Donegal, which had been proclaimed, but in other

parts of the country; and the General was therefore directed to take immediate and decisive measures, by means of his troops and the yeomanry, for depriving of arms all who were not legally authorized to possess them; for which purpose he was to exercise his discretion in the greatest latitude. He was further authorized to employ force in dispersing armed or tumultuous assemblies, without waiting for the sanction of the civil authority, if, in his judgment, the delay necessary to obtain it would endanger the public peace and safety: and he was required, by establishing patroles and other means of preventing communication, to treat the parts of the country where such outrages had been committed, or might arise, as depending on military force alone for protection.

In pursuance of these instructions, the General issued a proclamation, requiring all persons, in the districts alluded to, immediately to surrender their arms and ammunition, and inviting all who knew of any that were concealed, to give information, promising inviolable secrecy, and rewards equivalent to the arms which might be seized.

By a subsequent proclamation, the Lord Lieutenant declared that the United Irishmen, having planned the subversion of the King and Parliament, and the destruction of the established constitution and government, and the raising, arming, and paying a disciplined force, frequently assembled in great and unusual numbers, under various pretences, such as planting or digging potatoes, or attending funerals, and, beside other acts already enumerated, had attempted to disarm yeomanry corps, and had fired upon regular troops when endeavouring to quell their insurrections; and he cautioned well-disposed or misled persons against resorting to such meetings, or adhering to any engagements they might have formed with the parties. His Excellency further enforced the giving up of warlike weapons and ammunition; and as some, through ignorance or intimidation, might have joined such societies, he promised to all, not actually in custody, who would, by a certain day, surrender themselves, take the

CHAP.
CV.

1797.

13.
His proclama-
tion.

May 17.
Proclamation
of the Lord
Lieutenant.

CHAP.
CV.

1797.

Effect of these
proceedings.

oath of allegiance, and enter into recognizances, with sureties, if required, to keep the peace, a full pardon, provided their guilt did not extend to murder, burglary, and certain other offences to property.

Thus were the two parties placed in a state of hostile conflict, and each deprived, in a greater or smaller degree, of the benefits of established law. The insurgents avowed and gloried in their disobedience; and their opponents, armed with undefined discretionary powers, often used them to an extent that was deemed excessive. Both parties made complaints, and alleged facts which were rather vindicated by recrimination, than justified on principle; and their mutual rancour was violently inflamed. The houses and effects of those who did not produce the arms they were supposed to possess, were burnt or plundered by the troops, and the picket and other means of torture were used to force discoveries. The informations which led to these inflictions were probably sometimes the offspring of conjecture or of malevolence; and in all cases they should, if possible, have been acted upon only by regular military officers, whose bravery and discipline would ensure forbearance, rather than severity.

Newspapers.

Faithful to the principles which called it into being, the Belfast Morning Star vehemently advocated the cause of the societies, and loaded with abuse the loyal portion of the community. The proprietors, named Robert and William Simms, had been some months confined in Newgate, in Dublin; but the paper still continuing its course of inflammatory and scurrilous publication, a detachment of military issued from the barracks and destroyed every material used in printing it. By this violent and illegal proceeding, the individual paper was suppressed; but its spirit survived in many other publications, particularly in two, called the Union Star and the Press. The Star, not avowed, by affixing the name of any publisher, was printed only on one side of the paper, so as to be pasted on walls, and was dispersed clandestinely in the night, in Dublin and different parts of the country; it appeared only at irregular and uncertain periods, and in

The Morning
Star destroyed.

The Union
Star.

CHAP.
CV.

1797.

every number presented a list of persons whom it denounced as detestable traitors, spies, and perjured informers, adding that perhaps some arm, more lucky than the rest, might reach their hearts, and free the world from bondage. The late proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant was described as proceeding from men who formed part of the standing committee for burning villages and Catholic chapels, and murdering fathers, mothers, and children, indiscriminately; a depopulating society, the members of which thought themselves secure from every law, except assassination. Citing examples from ancient history, it said—"We do not advise, although we do not decry, assassination; as we conceive it is the only mode at present within the reach of Irishmen, to bring to justice the royal agents who are constantly exercising rape, murders, and burnings, through our devoted country." The Press pursued the same ends in the same manner, and with, if possible, augmented virulence*. In consequence of animadversions on the trial and execution of William Orr, which had recently taken place at Carrickfergus, Peter Finnerty, the ostensible editor and proprietor, was tried in Dublin for a libel, and, although defended by Mr. Curran and six other advocates, found guilty, and sentenced to the pillory and other punishments. That the paper might not sink with its late proprietor, Mr. Arthur O'Connor assumed that disreputable station. In consequence of an act of the legislature, which enabled grand jurors to present as nuisances newspapers containing seditious matter, and magistrates afterward to destroy the printing materials, the Press was discontinued: another, called the Harp of Erin, was substituted; but, finally, handbills were adopted, as the safest mode of communication and excitement.

One main effort, in these papers, was to solicit the intervention of the French; who, having, as they phrased it, placed the head quarters of liberty in the

The Press.

The aid of
France
invited.

* Specimens of the style of these two papers are presented in the Appendix to the Report of the Secret Committee, No. 27; and in Howell's State Trials, vol. xxvi. p. 901.

CHAP.
CV.

1797.

June.

centre of delivered Europe, with a colossal strength which they had gathered from the ruins of thrones, of privileged orders, and superstition, would carry liberty and hope to Ireland. An amendment was made in the organization of the society, and Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, Oliver Bond, Mr. M^c Nevin, and Thomas Addis Emmett, were constituted an executive directory. They established, or renewed, an intercourse with France: Mr. Lewins was permitted to remain in Paris as their ambassador; but, as their affairs grew more urgent, Dr. William James M^c Nevin, their secretary, was deputed. He landed at Hamburg, where, finding some difficulty in proceeding to Paris, he transmitted, by an agent of the republic, a memorial to the French Directory, which, by means as yet undisclosed, came into the hands of the Irish government. It contained advice where to land, so as to surprise the town of Cork; a demand of troops, not exceeding ten thousand, nor less than five, with artillery, ammunition, and small arms, sufficient for forty thousand men; a loan of half a million, or at least three hundred thousand pounds, which was to be reimbursed, with all expenses. The loan was not obtained; and the French were not so suddenly disinterested as to limit their invading force to a number too small to retain Ireland as a conquered country, or to provide arms for forty thousand men, while they were not to have more than ten thousand. They prepared a much larger army in Holland; but its arrival was prevented by the glorious victory of Lord Duncan*.

July 11.
Parliament
dissolved.
Mr. Grattan
declines a seat.

Soon after the prorogation, Parliament was dissolved; and Mr. Grattan, adhering to the resolution he had expressed, would not offer himself as a candidate. In this he shewed more dignity and spirit than the seceders in the British legislature; he would not accept a delegation, when he had determined not to fulfil its duties. He addressed to the electors of Dublin a long and vehement letter, explaining his own conduct, censuring all the proceedings of government, and descanting at large on the state of the times

and the aspect of political affairs. A body of citizens of Dublin, at a public meeting at the Royal Exchange, passed resolutions applauding his conduct, adopting his sentiments, and declaring that they would abstain from all interference in the approaching election, and leave to the King's ministers the appointment of the King's Parliament: he was requested to recollect, that his public duty did not cease with his representative situation. In acknowledging these resolutions, Mr. Grattan declared his entire concurrence in the last expression. "My seat in Parliament," he said, "was but a part of my situation; the relationship to my country was higher and more permanent. The duty of a citizen is commensurate with his powers of body and mind." His colleague, Lord Henry Fitzgerald, and some other members of his party, followed his example*.

At the period when the new Parliament assembled, the cause of the disaffected seemed to be much depressed. Disappointed, for the time at least, in their hopes from France, deficient in pecuniary resources, and restrained by the exertions of government, they had made little shew at the elections; and, although their malignity was unabated, the display was confined to daring publications, artful contrivances to secure pikes and other arms, and separate, though frequent, acts of murder, burning, and plunder: but it would have been a woful mistake to augur tranquillity and expect peace from these appearances. The flame of rebellion, although it did not exhibit itself in portentous glare, was carefully nourished and actively diffused.

State of the
United Irish-
men.

* Mr. Grattan's address was published as a pamphlet; it was answered, and, of course, some controversy ensued. His address, and that of Lord Henry Fitzgerald, are in Plowden, vol. ii. Appendix 108. The same author informs us, vol. ii. p. 649, that Dr. Duigenan published a very violent and bitter answer to the address, gives some passages of a most angry letter, containing terms of scurrilous abuse, and a challenge sent by Mr. Grattan on the occasion: nothing ensued. It appears that Mr. Grattan afterward acknowledged that his address was imprudent; it was well written, but it tended to inflame; it was not wise: but there are few men who, in a long public life, will not be guilty of some political errors. He gives as the true reason why he and his party seceded, that they did not approve of the conduct either of the united men, or of government: they were afraid of encouraging the former by making speeches against the latter, and they thought it better, in such a case, as they could support neither, to withdraw from both.—Life and Times of Henry Grattan, by his Son, vol. iv. pp 345, 347.

CHAP.
CV.

1797.
Session of the
new Parlia-
ment.

In opening the session, the Lord Lieutenant expressed a hope, derived from the tranquillity of the elections, that the wisdom and firmness of the late Parliament were approved by the nation. The best effects had resulted from vigorous measures adopted in the northern counties; but, in some parts of the midland and southern districts, the disaffected, by their emissaries and publications, had revived religious animosities, and, by opening prospects of plunder, excited the lower classes to commit acts of horrid outrage and barbarity. Unremitting exertions were still necessary, when all means were used to excite revolt, a systematic plan of assassination encouraged, and audacious attempts made to impede and prevent the administration of justice. He was empowered to declare his Majesty's firm resolution not to be wanting to his people, but with them to stand or fall, in defence of their religion, and the preservation of their independence, laws, and liberties.

The Earl of
Bective.

In the House of Lords, the Earl of Bective, in a maiden speech, reprobated the system of coercion, thought Ireland was only to be reclaimed by timely concession, and recommended Catholic emancipation, and temperate reform.

Lord Chan-
cellor.

These phrases were treated by the Lord Chancellor as mere catch-words for revolt and rebellion: the designs of the disaffected were, separation from the imperial connexion with Great Britain, and a fraternal alliance with the French republic. The suppression of tithes, taxes, and rent, were the promises held out to the lower orders; emancipation and reform were only used to delude their superiors.

March 21.
House of Com-
mons.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Smith moved an amendment, in conformity with the sentiments of Lord Bective, and, like him, was unsuccessful.

Motions in the
British Par-
liament.
Lord Moira.

Mr. Fox.

Before the prorogation of the British Parliament, several motions had been made respecting the state of Ireland. The Earl of Moira had required an address, praying his Majesty's intervention to remedy the prevailing discontents. Mr. Fox made a motion to the same effect, though somewhat differently expressed,

which was seconded by Sir Francis Burdett, in a maiden speech. Both were ably debated, but lost by great majorities*. The principal ground of resistance was the impropriety of any interference of this country in the internal government of Ireland, when the independence of her legislature had been so completely and absolutely acknowledged.

Early in the ensuing session, Lord Moira addressed the House in a speech which was not followed by any specific motion. After treating on the depressed condition of the country, with respect to commerce and manufactures, he spoke of the heart-burnings through which it was so reduced. The discontents had arisen from a mistaken and impolitic application of severities, which constituted an absurd and disgusting tyranny, and must inevitably produce universal discontents, and even hatred of the English name. His lordship then treated on the prejudices infused into the English troops, which made them consider every inhabitant of the country a rebel, and injure and insult him accordingly. From education and early habits, he had considered the curfew as a badge of slavery; yet the curfew was established in the north of Ireland, and persons had sustained much insult and abuse for not extinguishing their fires and candles immediately on being required. Parties were liable to be taken from their homes, imprisoned, and excluded from all intercourse with their friends, tortured, not by the rack indeed, but picketed, until they repeatedly fainted, and half hanged, to make them confess guilt in themselves, or charge it upon others. If these facts were doubted, he was ready to be examined on oath in proof of them. He also enumerated, among their grievances, the restrictions on the press, the destruction of the Northern Star, and Lord Camden's illegal proclamation requiring the surrender of arms. He thought the moment for conciliation was not past, and that Ireland might yet be saved by an immediate change of measures; by holding forth oblivion of mischiefs on both sides; by an assurance of the strict administration of the law,

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Nov. 22.
Lord Moira.

* House of Lords, 91 to 21. House of Commons, 220 to 84.

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Lord Grenville.

and the protection of every man's rights, without respect to persons, or distinctions on account of religion. If the present system were continued but for a little time, all hopes would be lost of seeing Ireland connected five years longer with the British empire.

Lord Grenville deprecated this discussion, as useless and mischievous. The transactions of the last thirty years would prove that it had been the disposition of this country to adopt measures of love, favour, liberality, and kindness, toward Ireland. The legislature of that country was independent; the power and the duty of redressing grievances rested on them alone; and the agitation of the present question would be an undue interference with their authority. He vindicated the British military from the charge of having promoted the cruelties said to have sprung from the system of coercion. The troops had been sent over to counteract the machinations of men who were plotting the destruction of the country, and favouring the designs of our inveterate enemy. If, against such men, they had at times been incited to acts of harshness and severity,—if indignation had occasionally broken out into insults and outrages, could it create surprise? It had been proved, in courts of justice, that a conspiracy existed to deliver up the country to a French invader, and that money had been distributed to hire a paper, to intimidate witnesses, to deter juries from giving conscientious verdicts, and to scare judges and magistrates from the performance of their sacred duties. It was not possible that such a system should be viewed with the cool composure of civic prudence; and if excesses had taken place, they should be imputed only to the men by whose unprincipled conduct they were provoked. Nor had the English military acted alone; many of the nobility and gentry of Ireland had been employed: they could have no motive but the public safety. Having, in an animated eulogy, vindicated the measures of Lord Camden, he adverted to the horrid abuses of the press; producing a paper, of which the avowed object was, to point out innocent men to the poniards of assassins. It loaded his Majesty with

opprobrious epithets, and reviled the English nation with every term of contumely. It indicated as the duty of every Irishman to wrest from the hands of English ruffians the property which those English ruffians had wrested from their ancestors. The threatened danger could be averted only by a system of severe and vigorous law, enforced by entrusting great powers to those on whom, under severe responsibility, this arduous duty should be imposed*.

Lord Moira introduced his complaints and opinions in a more detailed form, and with a more defined aim, in the House of Lords in Ireland; where he moved an address, representing to the Lord Lieutenant that, as the legislature had entrusted him with extraordinary powers for supporting the laws and defeating traitorous combinations, the House felt it a duty to recommend such conciliatory measures as might allay apprehensions, and extinguish the prevailing discontents.

As Lord Moira's intention was generally known, the House, at an early hour, was thronged. He began by advertiring to some reports which had been published of his statement in the British Parliament: he had been abused; but, according to the observation of some writer, slander was like the mephitic vapours of the Grotto del Cane, which suffocate an animal that grovels, but cannot reach a man who walks upright. He offered to prove the instances of oppression which he had denounced, by affidavits and an examination of the deponents at the bar. "How long," he asked, "was the dreadful fever with which the kingdom was afflicted to rage? At some moment or other they must look forward to conciliation; and why should it be delayed? Necessity could never press more imperiously; the time was not yet lost for re-

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Lord Moira's motion in the House of Lords in Ireland.

His speech.

* In his notice of this debate, Mr. Plowden, vol ii. p. 649, has made several mistakes. He ascribes a speech to the Lord Chancellor which never was made, as the Earl of Moira and Lord Grenville were the only peers who delivered their sentiments; he attributes to the Chancellor the paper which was produced by Lord Grenville; he makes Lord Moira reply, that he suspected the paper to be a mere invention, when Lord Moira never replied at all, nor could he so have replied, when it was perfectly known that the paper in question was the Press; he terminates the debate by a motion of adjournment which was never made, for Lord Moira expressly declined making any motion, so that there was nothing to adjourn.—Parliamentary History, vol. xxxiii pp. 1058 to 1066.

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"gaining the affections of the people; but it would not be by reproach, threats, or inflictions. Every day's delay afforded to discontent more time to rankle, increased the difficulty of accommodation, and gave to the designing and disaffected, opportunities of debauching the minds of a disgusted and exasperated peasantry." He exhorted the House to reflect on the impression which a French force, combined with internal disaffection, might make. Were Ireland cordially united, it would be to him matter of indifference could France land the most powerful army she had the means to transport; in a fortnight, not a man of them would exist, except as a prisoner. It had been said that plots had been formed, conspiracies discovered, and atrocities committed: if there were delinquencies, there must be delinquents: they ought to be punished, if their guilt were proved; but an infliction should not be imposed on a whole community, on a loose charge of partial transgression, placing the safety of every man at the mercy of a secret informer, who might be impelled by cupidity, malevolence, or erroneous suspicion alone. His lordship gave, as an instance, a district in his own vicinage, which had been represented as deeply disaffected, and tainted with republican notions, on the information of one Daniel Morgan, a character so infamous, that no man who knew him would believe him on oath, however slight the matter. Having heard that some parishes, at no great distance, had suffered outrages from rioters, he had himself attended a meeting, where he had expatiated on the character of the Sovereign, and the virtues of the Heir Apparent, and where resolutions, proposed by himself, to support the laws, maintain the constitution, and defend the crown, at the expense of their lives and fortunes, were unanimously agreed to, and signed by more than seven hundred individuals. He was sure the professions were not superficial: he rested his opinion on appearances which could not deceive an attentive observer; for there is a simplicity about sincerity which never accompanies hypocrisy or guilt; and if ever he read ingenuousness on the countenance of man, he

read it on that occasion. In his motion he had expressed nothing specific; because it would not be fitting that the House should pledge itself, without direct deliberation, to any particular measure; but he strongly enforced the two usual points—Catholic emancipation, and Parliamentary reform, giving on each his sentiments at large.

Lord Glentworth considered the motion calculated to dishearten and dismay the loyal, and to animate and invigorate the disloyal. He censured the introduction of this question to the British, as an attack on the independence of the Irish Parliament: such discussions were commonly resorted to in the desperate plunges of party. The noble Earl seemed to have mistaken the effect for the cause: the measures he complained of were the consequences, not the motives, of dissatisfaction. Government was to blame, for not having sooner resisted. The distractions arose, not from the war, which had affected neither manufactures, agriculture, nor commerce, for they had all prospered beyond example, but from the machinations of serpents, cherished in the bosom of the country, who saw and sickened at its prosperity and happiness, and, like the old serpent, sought to blast the tranquillity they could not enjoy. Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform were used by them merely as paroles of treason and rebellion; their true object was to subvert law, property, and all the established orders of society, and to change places with their superiors. For this purpose, they formed a regular system; entered into a league and correspondence with the Directory of France; and plundering, murder, and burning, formed a part of their system. They had invited the late attempt at invasion; they had planned a general rising in last May, for the massacre of all who were opposed to them; but it was happily prevented by the vigilance of government, in the seizure of their arms.

It would degrade the dignity and authority of Parliament, to talk of conciliation with such rebels, especially while they had envoys at Paris, surrounded by traitors of every description, from the demagogue Nap-

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Lord Glent-
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per Tandy to Thomas Paine. They had resident agents at Lisle during the late negotiation for peace, advising the French ministers to demand, as a preliminary, the total independence of Ireland, or rather, her separation from Great Britain. Intelligence was afforded to the enemy, not only by these emissaries, but by means of corrupt newspapers; and he dwelt forcibly on the wickedness of the Press, and the Union Star. In answer to Lord Moira's statement about Norman slavery and the curfew, he recited some of the cruelties and enormities which had occasioned the regulations so stigmatized, and appealed to the candour and honour of the noble lord, if he had been led into error by misrepresentation, to shew his characteristic magnanimity and spirit, by acknowledging that he was deceived, and government right.

Lord Cavan.

The Earl of Cavan, in a short speech, made the sensible enquiry, why, if the enormities he had stated really existed, Lord Moira had not applied to the next general officer for redress, instead of detailing them, without explanation, in the British House of Peers?

Lord Clare.

But the striking feature of the debate was a speech by the Earl of Clare, the Lord Chancellor, distinguished alike by cogent reasoning, luminous statement, and real eloquence; not that eloquence which is displayed in glaring metaphors and pointed antitheses, calculated to inflame the prejudiced, and convince the idle and uninformed, but that well-compact and regulated union of clear thought, judicious arrangement, and cogent expression, which at once informs, confirms, and convinces the candid inquirer. It is impossible to give, in any outline or extract, a satisfactory notion of this admirable effusion, which fixed and rewarded the attention of the senate, and gratified the public, in England no less than in Ireland.

He began by noticing the efforts of Lord Moira in the British House of Peers, and his virulent and distorted exaggerations, which had passed into general circulation, through every disaffected and seditious print in Great Britain and Ireland, under the proffered solemnity of the noble lord's oath; those foul and in-

jurious charges of tyranny, injustice, and oppression, it remained for him publicly and distinctly to refute. Since the separation of America from the British empire, in which, as the noble lord well knew, some British politicians had successfully played a game of embarrassment against Lord North's administration, the same party had turned their attention toward Ireland, as a theatre of political warfare, and lent their countenance and support to every motley faction which had reared its head to disturb the public peace, for selfish and malicious purposes.

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If conciliation were to be considered as a pledge of national tranquillity and contentment, no nation in Europe had had so fair a trial as Ireland ; for nearly twenty years, a liberal and unvaried system of concession and conciliation had been pursued by the British government ; and, in proof, he detailed at length, and with minute precision, the repeated acts of concession, from the time when Lord North opened to Ireland the trade with the British colonies ; the constant expressions of entire satisfaction in the Irish Parliament, and the no less constant advancement of new pretensions, and proclamations of new causes of dissatisfaction. The progress of this statement brought him to the period when, for the first time since the Reformation, the Catholics were joined by a great body of Protestant Dissenters, and emancipation and reform went forth as the watch-words of innovation and treason. He described the formation and organization of societies, through the mediation of Mr. Tone and his Jacobin associates, at Belfast ; by which the Dissenters and Catholics were to favour each other's views of reform and emancipation. In addition to their force of midnight robbery, orders were issued by the Jacobin Clubs, at Dublin and Belfast, to levy regiments of national guards ; their uniform French, and all their ensigns emblems of disaffection. This banditti had been put down at the first moment of its appearance ; and he lamented that every other rebellious combination had not been met with equal vigour and decision ; that the nest of conspirators, calling themselves United

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Irishmen, had been suffered to establish itself, unmolested, in the metropolis, and the magistrates of Dublin had so long delayed any interposition to relieve the community from such a nuisance. It was not correct in the noble mover to impute Irish disaffection to what he called a system of coercion, acted upon by the wish of, and encouraged by, the British government: the system of midnight robbery and avowed rebellion was completely established before even one of those statutes was enacted, to which alone every profligate innovator in Great Britain and Ireland pretended to ascribe the present matured system of Irish treason.

His lordship then described the form of organization and the extensive influence of the United Irishmen, the malignity of their publications, the cruelty of their commands, and the promptitude and certainty with which they were executed. "Here, then," he said, "is a complete revolutionary government organized against law and established custom. Is such a combination to be met or counteracted, much less dissolved, by the slow and technical forms of regular government? An irresistible power, of infinite subtlety and extent, which acts by the unговорнed fury of a desperate and savage race, and scatters universal desolation and dismay at its sovereign will and pleasure." These observations he enforced by a series of authenticated murders and atrocities; and, far from conceding, as Lord Moira had stated in England that he would, that the order issued by Lord Camden, when a fierce and savage foreign enemy hung upon the coast, for disarming the rebels in the north was illegal, he maintained that it was not only strictly legal, but that the Lord Lieutenant, if he had withheld it, would have been deeply responsible for the consequent evils.

In executing these orders, General Lake did, among others, discomfit the rebels of Lord Moira's town of Ballinahinch, which had for some years been a main citadel of treason, and, in proportion to its size, might vie with Belfast itself. The noble lord thought otherwise; when they made unbounded professions of

loyalty, his judgment as a physiognomist induced him to place implicit confidence in their declarations : but the papers in the War Office would shew, that several soldiers of a militia regiment, four of whom had been shot, by sentence of a court-martial, had been seduced, by the people of this very town of Ballinahinch, to quit their military posts, and accept commissions in the revolutionary army of Belfast and Ballinahinch, which was then organized, and awaited only the opportunity to come forth in battle array. He would also find, that, when summoned by General Lake, the inhabitants refused to give up their arms, until he threatened them ; they were then surrendered, and, among them, no inconsiderable number of pikes. Were pikes constitutional arguments for Parliamentary reform ? were they emblems of loyalty ? or were they the dutiful and affectionate offerings of the noble lord's tenants and dependents to the rising virtues of the Heir Apparent ? The noble lord's gardener and groom had acknowledged that they were also members of the Union, and that pikes and pike shafts had been concealed in his timber yard. It was not to be insinuated that his lordship countenanced or knew of their acts : the place was well selected for concealing such weapons. The evidence of Daniel Morgan had been treated as unworthy of credit ; but subsequent events had verified it in every particular, and the man himself was cruelly murdered for his disclosures. Lord Clare explained, although he did not justify, the destruction of the Northern Star printing office, and shewed great errors and mis-statements in the narratives respecting the curfew, and the conduct of the military in other particulars ; and, in vindication of some proceedings, he referred to the execution of Colonel Isaac Haynes, in the American war, under the sentence of a court of inquiry instituted by Lord Moira himself*. After many details of rebellious and cruel acts of the United Irishmen, he assured the noble lord, that, if he should return to his country residence in Ireland, he might meet, from the loyalists of Ballinahinch, with the same

* Vol. iii. p. 272.

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fate which had befallen, or been intended for, so many other loyal and honourable persons.

On the treason, trial, and execution of William Orr, and the publications respecting him, the Lord Chancellor observed at great length, and requested the noble lord, if any thing were wanting to flash conviction on his mind, of the disloyalty and treason of the Irish Union, to look to what was passing in the southern and midland districts. During all the disturbances which prevailed in other parts, they were in a state of perfect tranquillity and contentment; agriculture was rapidly increasing; wealth, comfort, and happiness, generally prevailed; and the condition of the lowest order of peasantry was meliorated to a great degree. They had never heard of Parliamentary reform, or Catholic emancipation, and could not even comprehend the words; but when, on the late attempt at invasion, they had vied with each other in contributing to defend their country, and General Hoche had reported to his government this unexpected loyalty, the ambassadors of the Union in Paris were reproached with deception; and, in consequence of instructions transmitted to the Irish directory, emissaries were employed to organize the south, as they had organized the north. A sudden transition had taken place in almost every part of Munster, and in many counties of Leinster, from peace, good order, and contentment, to tumult, outrage, and every species of cruelty and barbarism.

“ Let me now,” he said, “ make a serious and solemn appeal to the noble lord; let me call upon him “ to state, distinctly and unequivocally, whether he “ believes that there is, at this hour, an organized and “ extended system of treason rooted in the kingdom? “ If he answers in the negative, let me ask what he “ considers symptoms or proofs of treason? Does he “ consider the project of levying a revolutionary army— “ the seduction of the King’s troops—a conspiracy to “ seize the King’s forts and arsenals—the formation of “ secret depots of arms and ammunition—the conceal- “ ment of cannon—the distribution of pikes among the “ lowest orders of the people—the mystic revolution-

" ary government of the Irish Union—the regular
 " correspondence carried on by them with the King's
 " enemies—each of them severally proofs of treason ?
 " The fact is notorious that there is now, and for a
 " considerable time has been, residing in Paris, an
 " accredited minister of the Irish directory, a man who
 " received the rudiments of his education in a seminary
 " of Jesuits, and completed it in the office of an attor-
 " ney. They had also their accredited ministers re-
 " sident in Lisle during the late negotiation, to coun-
 " teract the King's minister, Lord Malmesbury. Had
 " the noble lord then come express from England se-
 " riously to recommend that conciliation should be
 " opposed to rebellion,—cannon and pikes resisted with
 " concession, and sentiment, and romance, and fine
 " feeling ?" If the Irish directory would negotiate
 with the noble lord, he would find that government
 would be required, by way of preliminary, to lay down
 their arms, to restore all those which had been taken,
 to repeal the test laws and the Act of Supremacy, and
 to give them a democratic House of Commons, on the
 basis of universal suffrage. When these preliminaries
 were conceded,—in the true spirit of their brethren in
 France, they would tell what further concessions they
 might have to demand.

On the subject of emancipation, beside many other cogent remarks, his lordship required an explanation how it could be done, without a law of the British Parliament, authorizing the keeper of the great seal in England to affix it to an act, which would have the effect of repealing the Act of Settlement, and making partition of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Ireland with the Pope ; and in what manner his Majesty could assent to an act repealing that of supremacy, consistently with his coronation oath. The altar, he observed, was the main pillar of the throne ; and if ever they should be so mad as to repeal the laws made to guard the ecclesiastical establishment, they would, at the same moment, shake to its foundation the British monarchy. He treated the pretended necessity for a reform of Parliament as the ambitious attempt of some

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was sensible that officers, obliged to execute on the people a penalty legally inflicted, must find it an unpleasant duty ; still more when they were called upon to exercise extraordinary severity : he knew too how difficult it was, under such circumstances, to avoid being misled by the statements, the falsehood, or the passions of others ; but it was also to be observed, that the separation of the troops into small detachments must leave the delegated power to the discretion of young officers, who could not be expected to use it with as much caution and judgment as General Lake himself.

On the loyalty of Ballinahinch, he said that the Lord Chancellor had selected those exceptions from general conduct which must ever exist in populous districts, and converted them into characteristics, to stigmatize the whole body. In this sense, he explained many of the undeniable facts which had been advanced. The number of arms collected there, was not greater than in other parts of the county, or of those adjoining ; and as to those which had been concealed in his own timber yard, the groom and gardener had been discharged from his service as soon as the fact was known. Morgan, he said, had brought on his fate, by threatening to inform against the peasants as United Irishmen, in order to extort money.

Of his conduct in the case of Colonel Haynes, his lordship gave a full, luminous, and satisfactory explanation ; but needless, as his conduct had not been censured. At the time alluded to, America was in a state of rebellion ; Ireland remained at peace ; and yet there were fewer capital and summary executions in America for twelve months of that period, than there had been in Ireland during the last year.

Reform and emancipation must conciliate ; for they would give the people all they wanted ; and he could not imagine that, after what had been done by France in every nation in which she had interfered, there were many people so mad as to wish to see a French army in their country : the people of Ireland were not so dull. In his opinion, the Union intended nothing more than

reform and emancipation. Mr. Tone's letter had been relied on to prove that they had an ulterior object. It declared that in his judgment nothing short of a separation would be effectual; but its words proved that the writer felt his opinions not to be those of the people to whom he addressed himself. In conclusion, his lordship said, "I recommend the expediency of trying "to regain the hearts of the people. The situation of "the country calls for no ordinary measures; eman- "cipation and reform are of a kind that, if not suc- "cessful, would at least not injure; for no measure of "precaution need be relaxed. If they fail, they will "leave us where we were; which, no doubt, is a situa- "tion sufficiently disastrous. In the worst event, the "experiment will give to the House and the govern- "ment the consolation to reflect that they have done "every thing, which wisdom and duty have suggested, "to save the country." The motion was negatived*, and a short protest was signed by seven peers.

From the generally acknowledged character of Lord Moira, no doubt could be entertained of the sincerity of his declarations, and the purity of his motives; but of the accuracy of his information, the correctness of his judgment, and the policy of his proposals, an opinion must be formed quite independent of that which would result from a consideration of his personal character. Beside the ample refutation of his reasonings, and denial of his facts, which the recorded debate affords, there were some portions of his original argument, and of his reply, to which answers could not be given, although undoubtedly they suggested themselves to many. Any allusions which were made to the proposal of the Prince of Wales, were manifestly impolitic and improper. From the confidence with which his Royal Highness honoured the noble Earl, there can be no doubt that, if entrusted with the chief government of Ireland, he would have pursued the course of conciliation recommended in the motion, and that Lord Moira would have been one of his chief advisers; but the firm objections which the King enter-

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* The numbers were 45 to 11.

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tained against the Catholic claims, in all their extent, were well known. Had the Prince persevered in granting them, it is probable, considering the temper shewn on the regency question, and more particularly since the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, that the removal of the Prince would have been strenuously and even rebelliously resisted: a most fearful position for the Sovereign and his Heir Apparent to be placed in. To say that the experiment of emancipation and reform might be tried, and, if it failed, the condition of government would not be changed, appears too shallow a proposition to have proceeded from a man of rank and experience. If the concessions required were granted, the grant was definitive and irrevocable; no repealing statute, nor any other contrivance, could have replaced government in the station which it had abandoned.

It is a remarkable fact, that, while Lord Moira was preparing to vindicate the proceedings of the rebels, and to vouch for the loyalty of the people in that part of the kingdom,—in a meeting, held at Saintfield, in the county of Down, his lordship's character was discussed at full length, to know whether or not he was a man to be depended on for the people; and it was agreed that he was as great a tyrant as the Lord Lieutenant, and a deeper-designing one. The next meeting of this committee was to be at Ballinahinch*. It is also remarkable, as a coincidence, that on the very day that his lordship addressed the House, with a confident assurance of quiet, if the proposed conciliatory measures were agreed to, the Dublin and Leinster provincials passed resolutions, that they would not be diverted from their purpose by any thing which could be done in Parliament, as nothing short of the total emancipation of the country would satisfy them†.

* Report from the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, 21 August, 1798, Appendix 14.

† Same, Appendix 31.

February 4.

February 19.

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND SIX.

1798.

Affairs of Ireland continued.—O'Connor's pamphlet.—Military Committee formed.—O'Connor arrested.—Goes to England.—proceeds to Margate—and is arrested, with others.—They are examined in London—removed to Maidstone.—Their trial—four acquitted—one found guilty.—O'Connor's witnesses to character.—Attempt to rescue O'Connor.—Proceedings in Ireland.—Publications noticed. Debate on Orangemen and United Irishmen.—Conduct of the Military.—Plunder of Cahir.—Sir Ralph Abercrombie commander-in-chief.—His order.—Strength of the rebels.—Informers.—Thomas Reynolds.—Seizure of the Leinster delegates.—Other arrests.—Artful conduct of Reynolds.—Order of the Lord Lieutenant.—Proclamation.—Military proceedings.—Preparation for insurrection.—Declaration of some Roman Catholics.—Proceedings of the rebels.—Preparations for open insurrection.—Concealment of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.—His arrest—and death.—Observations on spies and informers.—Conduct of Captain Armstrong.—Arrest of the Sheares's.—Efforts of the rebels.—Exertions in Parliament.—Message of the Lord Lieutenant.—Order of General Lake.—Proclamation of the Lord Mayor.—Rebellion breaks out.—Attacks of the rebels.—They are quelled in the north.—Progress of rebellion in Wexford.—Ferns—Enniscorthy.—Camp at Vinegar Hill.—Wexford. Delusions of the priests.—Defeats of the rebels.—Recapture of Wexford.—Courts martial.—Marquis Cornwallis Lord Lieutenant.—He proclaims an amnesty.—Proposal of the rebel leaders.—Lord Lieutenant's message to Parlia-

ment.—Secret Committees appointed.—End of the rebellion. The British Parliament.—Mr. St. John on the arrest of O'Connor.—Mr. Sheridan's motion.—Strangers excluded. Motion by the Duke of Leinster.—Offer of the militia.—Debated.—Other motions.—Struggle against the standing order.—In the House of Lords.—Conduct of the French.—Expedition of General Humbert.—He lands at Killala—His progress.—Affair at Castlebar.—At Cloony.—Movements of Lord Cornwallis.—Surrender of the French.—Admiral Bompart's squadron.—Arrival, proclamation, and flight of Napper Tandy.—Bompart's squadron captured.—Fate of the rebels.—Wolfe Tone is tried—commits suicide.—Efforts of Mr. Curran.

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O'Connor's
pamphlet.

As if he had intended to dissipate any illusion which might be supposed to exist with respect to the effect of making the required concessions, Arthur O'Connor published a bulky pamphlet on the state of Ireland, addressed "to those who were electors of the "county of Antrim and to the Irish nation*." It treats diffusely on all the supposed wrongs and injuries so long sustained by Ireland, imputes to the government that by treason and plunder they had condemned the people to idleness, and, with it, to poverty, dishonesty, drunkenness, filth, and the rest of her horrid crew. This charge was detailed in a review of the possible resources of the country in agriculture, commerce, manufactures, fisheries, and the wages of industry. Such was the state of religious instruction, that, while the clergy, for teaching three millions of Catholics, received but sixty thousand pounds annually, those who instructed six hundred thousand Presbyterians only twenty-five thousand, the clergy of four hundred thousand Parliamentary Protestants enjoyed half a million. Instead of a clear, digested, and uniform code, the law was formed only of customs, traditions, precedents, laws written and unwritten,

* It is dated the first of February, eighteen days before Lord Moira's motion; but when published, does not appear.

which, by their contradiction and confusion, had been celebrated by their professors as the glorious uncertainty; and the administration of it was so expensive, that the judges, lawyers, attorneys, and the whole tribe who lived by their trade, as well as the ministers for religious instruction, derived from it immense emolument, although their collective exertions would not maintain the most humble individual among them for a day. Education, the expense of making bridges and roads, bounties on manufactures, the expense of government, and every other topic on which the public mind could be inflamed, was reviewed in the same tone; and every portion of the funds from which the expenses were paid, was represented as plunder from the sacred stores of industry.

These declamatory railings might justly be considered as mere repetition, however varied in terms or in form, of the incendiary appeals to the populace which had been used by every rebellious agitator from the days of Wat Tyler, or even a period more remote, and in that respect would claim little notice; but the remedy, its means and course, and the arguments used in enforcing it, were entitled to more consideration. The remedy was that prescribed by the whole race of popular practitioners—Catholic emancipation, and a restoration of popular representation. They must recur to the contemned rights of man. “The primordial principles of human nature “were the rudder, the compass, and the polar star, by “which they must steer in the storm, and in’ the new “and unexplored regions which human society had “so recently entered.” In support of this disclosure, he arraigned all the recognized principles of society; the laws which regulate the descent, transfer, and sale of property; those of primogeniture, entails and settlements, which occasioned a monopoly of land, and prevented it from breaking down into smaller portions. Universal suffrage was the most sacred of rights; but, so long as those laws of monopoly should exist, the general exercise of it would, under the appearance of democracy, render aristocracy omnipotent. From

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the change which had taken place in the tenure of land, and the vast influx of personal property, an hereditary peerage was become unjust and absurd ; and the abolition of the law of monopoly was not incompatible with the existence of the constitution and of liberty.

His great effort was in favour of the French revolution, depicting, in their darkest colours, the faults of the old system ; and he ventured the strange assertion, that from May, 1789, to August, 1792, it had, for its magnitude, been of unparalleled mildness. Mr. Pitt, he said, had expended millions for the infernal purpose of spreading massacre, famine, anarchy, and civil commotion in France. He not only deluged and desolated that country, but deceived, deluded, and terrified the people of England, so that they invested him with absolute power. The *Colossian* democracy, before which hereditary aristocracy had dwindled, must have a real representation ; and the means pursued to defeat it in France, were the most efficacious and rapid to promote its progress at home.

After many observations in the same strain on the corruption of the national representation, and the proprietorship of boroughs, he said, “the people “of Ireland have embarked in a glorious con-“spiracy to destroy religious bigotry and national “thraldom. They have sworn to annihilate corrup-“tion, usurpation, and treason, and to regain their con-“stitutional, imprescriptible right of being represented. “Here then are the Catholics, the Dissenters, and every “Parliamentary Protestant, without the pale of corrup-“tion and bigotry, on the one side ; and a few contemp-“tible usurpers of our national representation, princi-“pally lords, their automaton delegates, and a few “deluded, bigoted extirpators, backed and supported “by the British minister, on the other.”

He observed that the revolution in property and in mind, which he had already explained, had rendered it a most difficult task to support hereditary power. The minister and his accomplices were loud in trumpeting their loyalty to monarchy ; but what sort of monarchy ? a ministerial monster, which devoured

millions of human victims, and hundreds of millions of national wealth; which bore down the interest, the reason, the liberties of mankind, by corruption and military force. The same revolution in property had rendered it equally difficult to maintain hereditary lordship: the minister had destroyed it by creating Englishmen peers of Ireland, without property, kindred, residence, or any constitutional qualification. He denied that, if not a province of England, Ireland must become a province of France, and claimed for her the right of establishing herself as a democratic republic, supporting his opinion by a part of a speech of Lord Chief Justice Camden, and an extract from Locke. He did not, in this publication, venture openly to proclaim the aid of foreign force, but intimated it pretty plainly, by asking, what are the liberties of Holland, but rebellion, aided by foreign assistance, against the bigotry and tyranny of Spain formerly, and of the Stadtholder now? What are the liberties of England, but rebellion, aided by foreign assistance, against the bigotry and tyranny of Stuart? What are the liberties of America, but rebellion, aided by France, against the tyranny of Britain? And what are the liberties of France, but rebellion against the despotism of the Capets, and against the tyranny of every other despot in Europe? "I trust," he said, "I have impressed on the minds of my countrymen, that all reform, which would leave the monopoly of property untouched, must prove insufficient, and that the only reformation by which their liberties can be secured, is that which destroys the dependence and establishes the independence of the whole constitutional body."

This long extract may serve to convey some notion of the virulent scurrility and audacious incitements to rebellion displayed in every page of a very large pamphlet*. Had it stood unconnected with other transactions, it would have merited no more notice than any other verbose manifesto, which the eagerness of faction or the rage of rebellion might have pro-

* It fills one hundred and seventy-four octavo pages, and is printed without the name of a bookseller or publisher.

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Feb.
Military
Committee
formed.

O'Connor
arrested.

Feb.
Forfeits his
recognizances.

Goes to
England.

Proceeds to
Margate.

duced ; but the situation, conduct, and subsequent acts of the author, apologize for a copious exposition. The respectable portion of the kingdom having joined in addresses giving strong assurances of loyalty, and repudiating the principles of the Union, their opponents would be in no slight degree animated by the prospect of plundering the wealthy, under the notion of destroying the monopoly of property.

With the double view of co-operating with the enemy, in case of a descent, or, if necessary, of directing an insurrection upon system, before any such assistance could arrive, the executive council appointed a military committee, and issued detailed instructions for procuring information of the state of the country, and movements of the King's troops, and for announcing the first arrival of their allies, the French*. As this anxiously expected event did not occur, although frequently and positively promised, it was considered necessary that some confidential persons should go to Paris to forward the negotiation.

In the preceding year, Mr. O'Connor had been arrested, on suspicion of treasonable practices, and his papers seized at Belfast ; but, after an imprisonment of considerable duration, discharged on his recognizance, himself in two thousand pounds, and two sureties in one thousand pounds each, to appear when required in the court of King's Bench. The day came ; the court sat ; Mr. O'Connor was called on his recognizances, but did not appear ; Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Mr. Emmett, his two sureties, became liable to an immediate forfeiture, but obtained a respite until the following term, on a representation that their principal was absent in England, on his private concerns†.

Far from this being true, Mr. O'Connor had gone to London merely on the affairs of the Union. Travelling in a military disguise, and under the name of Colonel Morris, he joined himself with James O'Coigley or Quigley, a Popish priest, who went also by the name

* Report last mentioned, Appendix 16 and 31.

† Plowden, vol. ii. p. 666.

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of Fivey*, and sometimes called himself Captain Jones; and with John Binns, the well-known missionary of the Corresponding Society, who pretended to be a gentleman, and that his name was Williams. Their intention was to find their way to Paris, and form arrangements with the French government for obtaining speedy assistance. Attended by two persons, named Allen and Leary, who acted as servants, but were strongly believed to be confederates, and furnished with money, in louis-d'ors and guineas, to the amount of a thousand pounds, they went to Whitstable, and afterward to Margate, pretending to be engaged in smuggling transactions, and offering large prices for a boat to convey them to the French coast. Their movements had been watched; and Revett and Fugion, two officers from Bow Street, of known courage and experience, pursued them to Margate, where, at the King's Head inn, aided by local police and custom-house officers, and protected by some military, they captured the whole five, and secured their baggage, clothing, and papers. Among these were found a cypher for secret correspondence, with its explanation, a passport for O'Coigley, signed by the French authorities, and several letters and papers of great importance in the proceedings against them; O'Coigley was armed with a dagger, and O'Connor had two pair of pistols: their persons were not known, and they refused to give any account of themselves.

They were conveyed to London, and examined, first before Mr. Ford, the chief magistrate at Bow Street, and afterward before the Duke of Portland. Their accounts were vague, evasive, and contradictory. They were committed to the Tower, and removed to Maidstone.

The prosecution against them was conducted by the Attorney and Solicitor General, Mr. Garrow, Mr. Adam, Mr. Fielding, and Mr. Abbott; while to the prisoners were assigned, Mr. Plumer, Mr. Dallas, Mr.

28, and is arrested, with others.

They are examined in London.
March 1, 5.
6, 19.
April 7.
Removed to Maidstone.

Their trial.

* The reason he gave for assuming this name was, that, in Irish, Coig means five.

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May 20, 22.

Gurney, Mr. Fergusson, and Mr. William Scott. The vigilance, care, and judgment, of the prisoners' counsel were displayed in all the stages of the proceeding, from the beginning, when they exposed to merited censure the conduct of a gentleman in the county, who had attempted to infuse prejudices into the minds of some of the jury, and in all points that devolved on them. The conduct and character of all the parties, their acquaintance with each other, the disguises, both of their persons and names, the course in which they had travelled, and the efforts of some of them to obtain a vessel to carry them to the Continent, were clearly proved. A circumstance which pressed most forcibly against them, was the discovery, in the pocket of a great coat belonging to O'Coigley, but not on his person at the time, of a paper, purporting to be addressed from the Secret Committee of England to the Executive Directory of France. It declared that affairs were now drawing to a great and awful crisis; tyranny, shaken to its basis, seemed about to be buried in its own ruins; and with the tyranny of England, that of all Europe must fall. "Haste then, great nation; "pour forth thy gigantic force; let the base despot "feel thine avenging stroke; and let one oppressed "nation carol forth the praises of France at the altar "of liberty." After describing the finances of England as utterly ruined; the desire of the people to enjoy a real constitution, instead of a poor fragment of democracy in the imaginary constitution they had hitherto possessed; and the faithlessness of Parliamentary declaimers, whose only real object was national plunder; it concluded—"United as we are, we now "only wait with impatience for the hero of Italy, and "the brave veterans of the great nation. Myriads "will hail their arrival with shouts of joy. They will "soon finish the glorious campaign. Tyranny will "vanish from the face of the earth, and, crowned with "laurel, the invincible army of France will return to "its native country, there long to enjoy the well-earned "praise of a grateful world, whose freedom they have "purchased with their blood."

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All the learned counsel, in their separate defences of individual prisoners, struggled with all their force and ingenuity to deny the participation of each in the writing of this paper, or even a knowledge of its contents. On this subject, Mr. Dallas observed, in favour of O'Coigley, that there was no evidence of its antecedent delivery to him, of its ever having been seen in his actual possession, or of his having read the contents; and he contended that the proof of the great coat belonging to him was by no means perfect; but there was not even a colour to impute to either of the other prisoners any knowledge of the existence of such a paper, or an intention to hire a vessel to convey them to France, that they might communicate it to the government of that country. In his own defence, O'Coigley most solemnly declared, in the presence of his God, that he never was the bearer of any letter, address, or message, to the Directory of France, or to any person for them, at any period of his life, and that this paper, this absurd and ridiculous paper, was not his*.

In summing up the case to the jury, Mr. Justice Buller observed that it was impossible for the wit of man to put any, but one, construction on this paper; but how it could enter into the mind of any man, that if a French army ever came hither, and were successful, they should be induced to return quietly home, and leave their advisers in possession of the country, raised great astonishment; as no conduct of the French toward any other nation had ever justified that expectation. With his usual judgment and precision, the learned judge summed up, and commented on the evidence; and the jury, after a deliberation of half an hour, acquitted four of the prisoners, and found O'Coigley guilty. He was hanged and beheaded;

Four acquitted
—one found
guilty.
June 7.

* I have been told by a gentleman, whose information I know to have been correct, and on whose honour and veracity I can implicitly rely, that this statement is verbally true: the letter was never intended to be communicated to the French Directory; but that, at a tavern in London, the well-known resort of the inferior agents of sedition, a person, deeply engaged in their proceedings, produced the letter to Coigley, proposing that copies should be scattered about, to frighten Pitt. Coigley did not recollect putting the letter into his pocket, nor had he ever mentioned its existence to his companions, except in a short conversation, when they were at Canterbury.

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O'Connor's
witnesses to
character.

Attempt to
rescue
O'Connor.

but the more cruel and disgusting portion of the sentence, then passed in cases of high treason, was remitted by the King.

Mr. O'Connor called as witnesses to his character several of the principal leaders of opposition in this country—Mr. Erskine, Mr. Fox, the Earl of Suffolk, Mr. Sheridan, the Duke of Norfolk, Mr. M. A. Taylor, Lord John Russell, the Earl of Thanet, the Earl of Oxford, and Mr. Whitbread; and, from Ireland, Mr. Grattan, who deposed that, before 1792, he had known him by character, but had been well acquainted with him since that time; had the means of forming a judgment of his political opinions, but never heard one which could lead to a supposition that he would favour an invasion of his country; he considered his character unreserved*.

A most extraordinary and disgraceful scene distinguished the close of this trial. In the course of it, Mr. O'Connor had been apprized that a police officer was in court with a warrant to apprehend him on another charge. When the verdict had been pronounced, and before the judge had passed sentence on the individual convicted, Mr. O'Connor stepped from the box in which he stood with the other prisoners, and attempted to escape. Being opposed by the Bow-street officers, Lord Thanet, one of his witnesses, declared that, being acquitted, he had a right to go at large, and it was fair he should have a run for it. Mr. Fergusson, one of the counsel, Thomas Gunter Browne, Dennis O'Brien, and some others, assisted in his endeavour to escape; a riotous scuffle ensued; some of the lights were extinguished; an assistant to the clerk of the arraigns drew a broadsword, which lay on the table as part of O'Connor's luggage, to protect the judges, if necessary; but the spirit and resolution of the officers prevailed; they secured their prisoner, and conveyed him to London†.

* The narrative relating to the trial is derived from the Report of the Trial, by Joseph Gurney, reprinted in Howell's State Trials, vol. xxvi. p. 1191, and vol. xxvii. p. 1. After reading the evidence of Mr. Grattan on oath, it occasions some surprise to find it stated by his son (*Life and Times of Henry Grattan*, vol. ii. p. 374) that his father knew O'Connor merely from his being in Parliament.

† This transaction became the subject of a criminal information, which was

In Ireland, both government and the rebels were in a state of incessant activity. It was a great effort of the disloyal party to cast upon their opponents the blame of all the violences which desolated the country. When the horrible and murderous effusions in the newspapers were mentioned in Parliament, Mr. Vandeleur, by way of contrast, observed that other papers, under the control of Orangemen, which demanded no less the censure of the state, were countenanced and supported by ministers. Dr. Duigenan defended the publications of the Orangemen, which, he said, shewed them to be good and loyal subjects. The excesses they had formerly committed, which were not to be justified, although by circumstances they might be extenuated, were confined to a single county, and that a small one, and were now at an end. The term Orangemen had been used as a pretext to sow dissensions and spread alarms, and it was sedulously propagated that their object was to exterminate the Catholics; and Mr. Pelham said that no disturbances then existed between those two parties. In warm debates, he observed, both Orangemen and Defenders had been termed rebels; but that word justly applied only to the United Irishmen.

Sir Lawrence Parsons having moved for a committee to inquire into the state of the country, and to suggest measures likely to conciliate the public mind, Lord Castlereagh deduced, from a detailed statement of the events of late years, a conclusion that the United Irishmen would never be contented or conciliated by any measures short of separation from England, and fraternity with the French republic. To yield to the measures suggested, would be a dishonourable com-

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Proceedings in
Ireland.
Publications
noticed.

March 5.
Debate on
Orangemen
and United
Irishmen.

tried at Westminster; and, after a most able defence by Mr. Erskine, Lord Thanet and Mr. Fergusson were found guilty. The Earl was sentenced to pay a fine of one thousand pounds, the barrister one hundred pounds, and both to be confined for a year; the Earl in the Tower, Mr. Fergusson in the King's Bench prison. A man of eminent learning, the late Dr. Parr, has left a written declaration, that Lord Thanet was most unjustly convicted; for that the assault charged upon him was committed by another person, who generously offered to confess. For this statement the Doctor vouches only the assertion of Mr. Gunter Browne, one of the party who had the good fortune to be acquitted; he is styled a man of courage and veracity; but it is quite probable that the witness on oath spoke the truth.—See *Bibliotheca Farriana*, p. 493.

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promise with rebellion, especially as conciliatory means had already been tried, in the offer of a free pardon to all who would come in and submit. Mr. Plunkett, on the contrary, maintained that the United Irishmen dreaded nothing so much as concession ; they trembled at it, because it would tear off the mask with which they had hitherto covered themselves, and strip them of the pretexts by which they had been enabled to crowd their ranks. After a protracted debate, the motion was rejected*.

Conduct of the
military.

In these debates, much indignation was expressed at severities exercised by the military, which were not denied, but explained and vindicated. In fact, the country was, by the acts of the disaffected, brought to a state in which the delay and forbearance, by which power can be governed and restrained in ordinary times, would have amounted to a base desertion of the duty by which government is bound to protect the peaceable and well-disposed against violence, outrage, plunder, and assassination. When the means by which these mal-practices are to be carried on, are a mixture of reckless audacity with profound art and cunning, the measures necessary to prevent evil and obtain disclosure must be rapid, strong, and effectual. Complaints will certainly arise from the exercise of them ; but they must be judged, not upon abstract or general principles, but according to the circumstances by which they are impelled ; just as it is a proper measure to blow up or pull down another person's house, to prevent the spreading of a conflagration. Depredation was no longer limited to nocturnal expeditions, or solitary violences : a body of eight hundred men, chiefly cavalry, invested the town of Cahir, in the county of Tipperary, in open day, and held possession until they had made a regular search through every house, and possessed themselves of all the arms and ammunition they could discover. The purchase of fire arms, and even of artillery, and the manufacture of pikes and pike-handles, were known to be carried on to a great extent ; while they were concealed with so

Plunder of
Cahir.

much art, that a discovery and seizure were, by ordinary means, impossible.

Sir Ralph Abercrombie, a veteran, of the highest military and personal character, was entrusted with the chief command of the troops ; and, at his request, Sir John Moore was appointed brigadier-general under him. On their arrival in Dublin, they found much occasion for the exercise of their vigilance and talents. An inspection of the fortifications along the shores shewed many defects, requiring immediate attention ; and numerous irregularities prevailed in the formation and disposition of the military bodies. The troops, being scattered over the country, in separate detachments, to assist the civil power, were exposed to the machinations of the disaffected ; at whose instigation, several had been induced to take oaths contrary to their allegiance : discontents were fomented against the officers, and discipline and subordination greatly impaired. To correct these disorders, the Commander-in-chief collected them into large bodies, and issued an order, in which the generals and commanding officers of corps were enjoined to pay strict attention to their duty, to correct the licentious state of the soldiery, and to restore regularity and obedience. It contained an expression that the disgraceful frequency of courts martial, and the many complaints of the conduct of the troops, had too unfortunately proved the army to be in a state which must render it formidable to every one but the enemy. This order was surreptitiously published in the newspapers, and it not only gave offence to the generals of districts, commanding Irish corps, but the sentence particularly selected was vehemently applauded by rebel partisans at the time, and ostentatiously dwelt upon by party writers since that period. Its value is greatly enhanced by the age, the virtues, and the military talents, of the brave officer from whom it proceeded ; but its epigrammatic form, and the opinion it conveys, appear ill chosen and ill timed, calculated to discourage his own followers, and to impart sentiments of courage and inveteracy to the rebels. The General soon renounced his situation,

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Sir Ralph
Abercrombie
commander-
in-chief.

1797.
December 2.

His order.

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June 5.

Strength of
the rebels.

Informers.

Thomas
Reynolds.

and was afterward appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in North Britain. In Ireland he was succeeded by General Lake*.

At this period, the rebels boasted that their sworn associates amounted to five hundred thousand ; but the number is more formidable to count than safe to be relied on. The arts of seduction and blandishment, the influence of menace, and the terror infused by the evidence of inflicted evil, induced many to enter into engagements from which mature consideration would have deterred them ; and many, who, from a warm and hearty feeling, had promoted the association, disgusted at some of the plans resolved on, and measures pursued, or awakened by reflection from their dream of reform and assurance of safety, regarded with altered sentiments the plots in which they were engaged. From the operation of all or any of these causes, would naturally ensue a disposition to regain a position in society from which they had departed, and to secure safety or obtain reward by a disclosure of secrets which had come to their knowledge ; and such persons were found among the United Irishmen. The information which chiefly guided the attention and instructed the mind of government, was imparted by Thomas Reynolds, a Roman Catholic.

Having, by a successful pursuit of business as a silk manufacturer, in the capital, acquired considerable property, he had purchased, in Kildare, his native county, an estate, called Kildare Castle. His influence among the professors of his faith pointed him out to the conspirators as a desirable coadjutor ; and, by the persuasions of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Oliver Bond, he was sworn one of their body, promoted to the rank of colonel, made treasurer and representative of the county of Kildare, and, finally, delegate for the province of Leinster. In this situation, he became apprized of the real intents of the conspirators, who, instead of a mere reform of abuses, and abolition of religious distinctions, meditated the subversion of the constitution, the establishment of a republic, the dethronement of the King, the massacre

* Life of Sir John Moore, vol. i p. 177, et seqq.

of the leading members of the government, and aid to a French invasion.

In an indirect manner, he communicated some of these facts to Mr. Cope, a merchant of Dublin, with whom he had some pecuniary transactions, and, by his advice, made disclosures to government, which enabled Major Swan, a well-known, active magistrate, to effect the seizure of the Leinster delegates, thirteen in number, in the house of Oliver Bond, where they were sitting in committee. Papers were secured, and the information they contained caused the immediate arrest of Mr. Thomas Addis Emmett, Doctor M'Nevin, Mr. Sweetman, and Henry and Hugh Jackson. Warrants were also issued against Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Richard M'Cormick, and Mr. Sampson, a barrister; but they evaded apprehension.

Reynolds was not the only person from whom communications were received; but his were copious and minute, and he conducted himself so skilfully, that, for nearly two months after the arrest of his associates, he continued to be consulted by those who remained at liberty, and to supply government with the information they imparted. Suspicions were at length entertained; he perceived his danger, and, probably by his own contrivance and management, was seized by the military at Castledermott, near his own abode, conveyed first to Athy gaol, and then to Dublin Castle, where, as the best protection for his person, he was put into close confinement.

Instructed by such communications, and feeling that ordinary proceedings and the forms of law were insufficient to protect the public, the Lord Lieutenant issued an order, authorizing the commanders of military bodies to employ force against persons illegally assembled in arms, and to disperse tumultuous meetings, although not in arms, and, in cases portending danger, without waiting for the sanction and assistance of the civil power. His Excellency in council also issued a proclamation, announcing that direct and positive orders had been given to military officers to use the utmost vigour and decision in suppressing, by

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Seizure of the
Leinster dele-
gates.
March 12.

Other arrests.

Artful conduct
of Reynolds.

Order of the
Lord Lieute-
nant.

March 3.

30.
Proclamation.

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April 3.
Military pro-
ceedings.

summary and effectual measures, the existing traitorous conspiracy, recovering the arms which had been forced from peaceable subjects, and disarming rebels and disaffected persons. This proclamation was followed by notices from the Commander-in-chief to the inhabitants of several counties, requiring all persons concerned in taking or concealing arms to give them up within ten days; in which case, no violence should be offered to their persons or property; but otherwise, troops would be quartered in large bodies, to live at free quarters among them, and other severe means used to enforce obedience. To those who would disclose where arms were concealed, secrecy and reward were promised; and immediate punishment was denounced against those who should persevere in acts of robbery, murder, and insubordination to the laws. Armed with these powers, and stimulated by the sense of danger from a combination of numerical force with cunning and obstinacy, the military pursued a course of great severity. Many underwent the military punishments of flogging and the picket*, and many cottages were burnt. These inflictions were not confined to the poorer class; with those in better circumstances, accused of participation in rebellion, soldiers were permitted to live at free quarters, their numbers being proportioned to the imputed guilt and supposed ability of the party. In these visitations, as must necessarily occur where force alone is to govern, and where political and religious animosity rage, great grievances were suffered, and vehement complaints arose. Beside the exercise of unmeasured insolence toward the families whose substance they were devouring, the soldiers on free quarters made remorseless havoc and spoil of property; and individuals, who before had enjoyed comfort at least, if not opulence, were reduced to distress, or to absolute indigence. To the sufferings by the lash and the picket, it is added that some, who were particularly resolute, had ropes fixed round their necks, and were half strangled, to obtain confessions.

* A punishment where the sufferer stands with one foot on a sharp-pointed stake.

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In all accounts of such matters, the aggrieved party states his case in the strongest terms, which they who argue upon it do not fail to embellish and exaggerate. In the devastation committed, no doubt, resentment for injuries which had been perpetrated by the rebels prompted considerable severity; and for the personal inflictions, their beneficial effect is the only apology. Seizures were made and surrenders enforced of one hundred and twenty-nine thousand five hundred and eighty-three military weapons of different descriptions, besides many which remained in the hands of the yeomanry, or were otherwise disposed of*. So determined was resistance, that several, who, on interrogation, denied with solemn oaths all knowledge of concealed arms, relented on the application of the lash or the picket, and made disclosures of ample stores, and of their possessors. In some instances, no doubt, wanton injuries were inflicted; such as the application of irritating plasters to the heads of those who, from having cut their hair short, were termed croppies; but this fashion had been made the distinctive mark of rebels, and they who inflicted punishment amply proved that they did not go beyond the bounds of retaliation. Whatever hardships the partizans of rebellion may have endured, government evinced a disposition to alleviate and terminate them, by declaring that if accounts were given of arms taken from the yeomanry and well-affected, or of those which were concealed, such conduct would be considered as a sign of general repentance, and followed, not only by forgiveness, but protection. To frustrate the intent of placing troops at free quarters in the houses of the disaffected, subscriptions had been promoted to indemnify, or to mitigate, the pressure on individuals; and it was thought necessary to declare that, wherever that practice should be adopted or attempted, double, treble, or quadruple numbers should be allotted.

On the subject of an open insurrection, great dif-

April 12.

May 7.

May.
Preparations
for insurrec-
tion.

* Report from the Secret Committee of the House of Commons in Ireland, 21st August, 1798, Appendix 39. Among the arms were 48,109 guns, 70,630 pikes, and 22 pieces of ordnance.

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ferences of opinion had prevailed among the rebels. More than a year before this period, the more violent partizans had urged the measure, without waiting for foreign assistance. Aware of the languor, irresolution, and desertion, which flow from long delays, they had found it necessary to animate the zeal and confirm the resolution of their adherents by declarations of intended efforts which were not really in contemplation. A project of general rising, seriously discussed in Dublin in the spring of 1797, was laid aside as impracticable; but the determination occasioned a coolness between the Ulster and the Leinster delegates, which obstructed, for a time, the progress of the conspiracy. Sanguine expectations were entertained of speedy aid from France; but when it became evident that information of their proceedings was conveyed to government, when the arrest of the Leinster delegates confirmed their apprehensions, and the continued delay of the promised succour diminished their hopes, the more daring advice began to prevail. The vigour displayed by government produced alarm, and many defections; the Roman Catholics did not concur unanimously in the views or proceedings of the violent party; for when matters had been pressed to extremity, a declaration appeared, signed by some of the most eminent, learned, and honourable members of their community, entreating those who had taken up arms, or entered into hostile engagements, to relinquish treasonable plans, and entitle themselves to that mercy which their lawful rulers anxiously wished to extend to them: beside the evil consequences to them and their families, a contrary conduct would cast on the religion, of which they professed to be the advocates, an indelible stain.

May 6.
Declaration of
some Roman
Catholics.

Proceedings of
the rebels.

Publications of an opposite tendency were copiously distributed; the vacancies in the executive, occasioned by the late arrests, were filled up; it was announced that the organization of the capital was complete; and encouraging assurances were given to those who were remote from the scene of the late events. "Your "enemies," it was said, "talk of treachery, in the vain "and fallacious hope of creating it; but you, who

" scorn equally to be their dupes or their slaves, will
 " meet their forgeries with dignified contempt; in-
 " capable of being either goaded into untimely violence,
 " or sunk into pusillanimous despondency. Be firm,
 " Irishmen; but be cool and cautious; be patient yet
 " a while; trust to no unauthorized communication;
 " and, above all, we warn you—again and again we
 " warn you—against doing the work of your tyrants,
 " by premature, partial, or divided exertion. If Ire-
 " land shall be forced to throw away the scabbard, let
 " it be at her own time, not theirs."

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Beset and embarrassed as they were by the effect of these discords, and the vigorous proceedings of government; doubtful of the fidelity of many who had joined their body; sensible that delay would produce a fatal feebleness and general defection; and unacquainted with the causes which diverted the attention of France from their solicitations; the rebel leaders resolved to draw out their strength in various parts of the kingdom; and their military committee formed a plan for gaining the capital by a simultaneous movement from Leinster and the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare, taking by surprise the camp of Lehaunstown and the artillery of Chapelizod, and, after securing the persons of the Lord Lieutenant and other members of the government, seizing into their own hands all the resources of the state. But these plots sustained a material damage from an unexpected event, which deprived them of a brave, accomplished, and distinguished leader.

After the detection and arrest of the committee at Mr. Bond's, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, yielding to the prudent importunities of his friends, had remained, for a time, in cautious concealment, at a small distance from Dublin. It is said that, far from wishing his destruction, government sincerely desired his escape; that the Lord Chancellor eagerly entreated one of his friends to get him out of the country, promising that the ports should be thrown open, and no impediment offered*. That this advice was not followed, arose

Concealment
of Lord
Edward
Fitzgerald.

* Moore's Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, vol. i. p. 57.

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May 11.

19th.
His arrest,

from a disregard of danger, which was displayed even in acts of levity and unnecessary daring. Government being well apprized of the progress of the conspiracy in which he was to act a distinguished part, and that his standard was to be raised in the province of Leinster, diligent search was made, and a reward of one thousand pounds offered for his apprehension. Although the places of his concealment were contrived and varied with the utmost art, still, by the aid of treacherous information, government was enabled, with some certainty, to trace his steps, and, after a variety of adventures, he was discovered to be in the house of Murphy, a dealer in feathers, in Thomas Street, Dublin, where he had before been received, and where a consultation of his confederates was held. Information was conveyed to the brave and active town major, Sirr, who, with Major Swan, of the revenue corps, Captain Ryan, of the Saint Sepulchre's, Mr. Emerson, of the Attorneys' corps, and eight soldiers in plain clothes, proceeded to the spot which had been designated. Lord Edward's friends, having intimation of his danger, had made some arrangements for his more effectual concealment; but Major Sirr, apprized of the place of his retreat, placed his men so as to prevent escape; and Major Swan, following a woman, whom he saw hastily entering the house, for the purpose, as he supposed, of giving an alarm, proceeded into an apartment, where Lord Edward was lying on a bed, in his dressing jacket, conversing with Murphy. He announced himself as holding a warrant for apprehending him, stated the inutility of resistance, and promised the most respectful treatment. Lord Edward sprang from the bed, and snapped a pistol at the Major, which missed fire; he then drew a dagger, with which he inflicted on him several wounds, one of which was deep and dangerous. At this moment, Captain Ryan entered; he aimed at Lord Edward with a pocket pistol, which also missed fire, and made a lunge at him with a sword, drawn from a cane; the weapon bent against his ribs; his lordship, throwing himself on the bed, again had recourse to his poniard, with which he wounded Captain

Ryan in many places, and in the lower part of his body so dreadfully, that his bowels gushed out. Major Sirr, having given some necessary orders, came in it at this period, and, justly alarmed at what he saw, fired a pistol, which wounded Lord Edward in the right arm, and obliged him to surrender. He was secured, bound, and carried away; his papers were seized, and contained some important disclosures. The celerity and resolution of this operation frustrated an attempt, which had been resolved on, for a forcible rescue. Ryan died of his wounds; and, shortly afterward, Lord Edward also expired: the life of the former was a sacrifice to duty toward his King and country; the death of the latter averted the ignominy which would have attended a conviction of high treason, or of murder*.

The rebels complain vehemently of traitors, spies, and informers: the existence of such persons is inseparable from such enterprises as theirs. The deviation from all the rules of social organization, which is implied in a plot to overturn the state, must be conducted by men who hold the rules and engagements of social life in slight estimation; and when such a body is collected, interest, remorse, fickleness, fear, or disapprobation of some projects extending beyond the bounds within which parties originally intended to confine themselves, will produce secessions and treacherous communications: men who seek, in all ranks of society, to seduce others from the paths of duty and loyalty, may reasonably expect that some will feign accession to their plots, when, in fact, their original intention has been only to gain a knowledge of secrets which they may betray to their own benefit. It is not possible to defend the individuals who pursued such a mode of a conduct; but the parties who suffer by them, undergoing only the fate which experience has shewn to be inseparable from such combinations, have no claim to regard or compassion. A conspicuous individual in the list of informers, was Captain Armstrong, of the King's-County militia. He was not, at any

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and death.
June 4.Observations
on spies and
informers.Conduct of
Captain
Armstrong.

* Chiefly from Plowden, vol. i. p. 681; Moore's Life of Lord Edward Fitzgerald; and other historians.

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Arrest of the
Sheares's.Efforts of the
rebels.

May 23.

Exertions in
Parliament.January 19.
March 5.May 22.
Message of the
Lord Lieute-
nant.

time, upon principle, a United Irishman, but assumed that character, and gained the particular confidence of two young barristers, named Sheares, who were deeply engaged in the rebellion. To them he appeared a person most fit to forward their project of seducing the King's troops; and from their communications he gained intelligence which, being conveyed to government, occasioned the arrest of his two friends, and the seizure of their papers. In them was contained a draft of a proclamation, declaring their plans and intentions, if success had followed their first movements,—a writing, in its murderous menaces and excitements, fully equal to those which had issued from the pens of Fouché, Carrier, or any of the blood-thirsty monsters whom France had disavowed and punished*.

Notwithstanding the arrest of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, and the certainty that the plan of the rebels was no longer secret, it was in part executed in the neighbourhood of Dublin: the mail-coaches on the north and south roads were demolished; the disaffected within the city made every exertion to support the insurgents; and those in the provinces tried all their means to bring the people into action.

Parliament was sitting during all these proceedings, and, on several occasions, strong motions had been made, and vehement speeches uttered, in reprobation of the orders of government, and the severities exercised under them. Although unsuccessful in the House, they produced, probably, all that was expected, additional rage and rancour without. Sir Lawrence Parsons was colonel of the King's-County militia, and, the Commander-in-chief having expressed an opinion that the discipline of the regiment had been considerably relaxed, through his mistaken lenity, he wrote a verbose letter to the Lord Lieutenant, desiring leave to resign. His Excellency, in terms of cool politeness, lamented his determination, but acceded to his request.

The Lord Lieutenant, by a message, informed Par-

* This paper is to be found in Musgrave's History of the Rebellion, vol. ii. p. 291; in the Historical Collections; and in the Trial of Henry and John Sheares for High Treason, Howell's State Trials, vol. xxvii. p. 324.

liament of the plots of the disaffected, of the military preparations which he had thought proper to direct, and the instructions issued to the magistrates. A dutiful and loyal answer was returned, expressing horror and indignation at intelligence which called forth in them a spirit of determined resolution and energy, and an entire confidence in the vigour and vigilance of government. To make this address additionally impressive, it was carried to the Castle, through the streets of Dublin, by the whole House, preceded by their Speaker, and attended by all their officers.

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General Lake, being vested by the Lord Lieutenant with full powers to put down the rebellion and punish rebels, issued an order requiring all the inhabitants of the city,—great officers of state, members of Parliament, privy counsellors, magistrates, and officers in uniform, excepted,—to remain within their dwellings from nine at night until five in the morning. The Lord Mayor, Alderman Thomas Fleming, who, on all occasions, had shewn a most loyal disposition, issued a proclamation for enforcing all these regulations, and for preventing nightly meetings, the reception of strangers, and the concealment of arms.

24th.
Order of
General Lake.

These measures were not adopted until rebellion had displayed itself in armed violence in several parts of the kingdom. The insurgents were strong in numbers, but unassociated in principle, destitute of military knowledge, and possessing no leaders capable of combining their efforts, or giving a scientific impulse to their operations. Although religion was made a pretext, many who swelled the rebel force were not Roman Catholics : they might condemn, but would not expose, the delusions of the priests ; being, equally with the others, devoted to the principles of republicanism, animated with the spirit of revenge, and impelled by the hope of plunder. In this contest, the events by which war is generally distinguished, planned sieges and regular battles, are not to be found ; artifice and surprise, sanguinary conflicts conducted without skill, conflagration, murder, violence of every kind, disfigured its progress. Nar-

24th.
Proclamation
of the Lord
Mayor.Rebellion
breaks out.

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ratives have been published by the partizans of both sides, equally replete with complaints and reproaches of their opponents, and with statements of atrocious enormities, which, if greatly exaggerated, cannot be altogether contradicted, and can only leave ground to lament that such excesses could be rendered necessary, by a combination of craft, malignancy, and obstinacy, which left no other resource.

May 23 to
June 29.
Attacks of
the rebels.

In conformity with the plans for the surprise of Dublin, armed bodies first began their operations in the province of Leinster; Kildare, Naas, Prosperous, Kilcullen, Hacket's-town, Litt, and many other places, were scenes of conflict, varying little in their description or event. Numbers, position, adroit feints, clever surprises, and the victory of valour supported by discipline in the regular troops, over bravery, not inferior, but guided by no skill, nor combined by any rules of discipline, form the distinguishing features in almost all. The same description will apply to many other places where insurrections broke out. Contrary to the expectations arising from the eagerness with which principles of rebellion had been received and fostered, the North was not foremost in raising the warlike standard; their perseverance, when engaged, was not greater than their alacrity in beginning. Major-General Nugent, having defeated a considerable body at Stainfield and at Ballinahinch, the insurgents were dispersed, and the rebellion in that quarter completely extinguished, within a week from its first breaking out; but it is to be recollectcd, that this party, whose numbers were perhaps considerably exaggerated in report, were drawn together by fallacious persuasions, exasperated by fictitious statements, discordant in their views of religion and policy, and had, for several years, been deprived of arms and prevented from obtaining them. By remaining tranquil, Connaught escaped all the evils to which Munster, Leinster, and Ulster, were subjected.

June 9 to 12.
They are
quelled in
the North.

Other
quarters.

Progress of
rebellion in
Wexford.

Rebellion, assuming in Wexford a more distinct character than in other places, was prosecuted with greater effort, and for a time afforded an appearance

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May 27.

Ferns.

Enniscorthy.

28.

of success. For the safety of this part of the country, no military security had been provided ; government having been lulled by professions of loyalty and devotion put forth by the Roman Catholics, and the general prosperity of the district. On the morning of Whitsunday, John Murphy, a Romish priest, curate of Bouvalogue, assembled, on the hill of Oulart, midway between Gorey and Wexford, a host of between four and five thousand peasants. Lieutenant Foote, leading only one hundred and ten men of the North Cork militia, advanced against them ; but the whole detachment, except five men, was destroyed. Spreading conflagration on every side, and driving the Protestants to seek refuge in the towns, the rebels advanced to Camolin, and afterward to Ferns : the Bishop of this diocese, eminent for his mildness and benevolence, was compelled to seek safety in flight, his palace being burnt, by savage wretches, who expressed regret that they could not moisten the ruins with his blood. Enniscorthy, a town of considerable commerce, divided into two parts by the river Slaney, was next assailed by the whole body of insurgents, lead by Father Murphy, who constantly animated their fury by masses, prophecies, and denunciations : it was protected only by a garrison of three hundred men, assisted by the loyal portion of the inhabitants. After a contest of some hours, in the course of which the disaffected fired the town in various parts, the royalists were expelled. "And now," says an able narrator, "began a "series of unexampled horrors. The rebels burst into "the streets, with cries of vengeance on the heretics. "Some parts of the town were already destroyed, and, "in others, the conflagration still continued to rage. "The half-dead and the dying were groaning amid the "flames, and the carnage seemed as if it were but just "begun. Before the following dawn, four hundred and "seventy-eight dwelling houses, the church, glebe "house, and all the public receptacles, were reduced to "ashes. The walls only of the sacred edifice defied the "fury of the assailants; and the bell, which had hitherto "sounded to invite the peaceable and the devout to

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"worship, was removed to the insurgent camp, as a
"signal in case of alarm or surprise*."

1798.
Camp at
Vinegar Hill.

This camp was situated on an adjacent eminence, called Vinegar Hill, where four priests, Murphy, Roche, Kearns, and Clinch, and eight laymen, formed a committee, which, for three weeks, never neglecting the mummeries of pretended devotion, pursued the diabolical task of exterminating heretics: from a place of confinement, the captives were led out, one by one, to execution, their last moments being embittered by the taunts and the execrations of their assassins: when it was thought convenient to defer any execution for a day, the intended victim was subjected to the scourge; and abundant instances are recorded of acts of cruelty which would have disgraced the ferocity of the most savage nations, or figured in the pages of the most bloody persecutions.

Wexford.

30.

Just apprehensions were now entertained for the safety of Wexford, and the best means of defence, which its position afforded, were employed. Three disaffected gentlemen, Mr. Beauchamp Baganel Harvey, Mr. John Henry Calclough, and Mr. Edward Fitzgerald, had been arrested, and two of them were liberated on parole, in the hope that, through their influence, the rebels might be brought to terms of accommodation. They did not succeed; the evacuation of the town became inevitable, and the only remaining care was to retreat with the least possible loss. An action between a portion of the garrison, proceeding to Duncannon Fort, and an overpowering number of the enemy, took place, which produced the surrender of Wexford. Many who had assumed the garb of yeomanry, and many who had professed the most dutiful sentiments, welcomed the triumphant rebels, swelled their force, and aided in the massacres and atrocities which followed their success. Mr. Baganel Harvey was liberated from prison, and unanimously elected president of a committee of seven to command the forces, which then amounted to fifteen

* Annual Register, vol. xl, p. 112.

thousand, was still increasing, and assumed the title of the United Army of Wexford.Flushed with past, and confident in future success, they divided into three corps, under separate leaders, menacing New Ross, Newton-Barry, and Gorey, and intending ultimately to reach Dublin. To recount the proceedings of these bodies, would be merely to recapitulate a series of struggles, in which ignorant bravery was stimulated by priestly cunning and imposture, and fanned into fanatical fury by priests and zealots, who persuaded their ignorant followers that the extermination of heretics was essential to the interests of the Catholic cause, that oaths of allegiance, however taken, were void of obligation, and that the protecting hand of Heaven was stretched forth, in a miraculous manner, for their preservation and the destruction of their enemies. The bullets of the royal troops, it was said, had no power to harm any, but the few who were insincere or wavering in their faith; while dust and gravel, thrown into the air from the hands of true believers, would become instruments of destruction against their opponents. One wicked priest, named Murphy, was used to produce bullets during an engagement, and make his followers believe that he had caught them, when discharged from the opposing muskets—so incapable were they of harming his person. This wretched impostor was cut in two by a cannon shot, as he drew near the line of the Durham Fencibles, repeating his absurd assurances, shouting, and waving a flag inscribed "Liberty or death."

While, in Wexford, Enniscorthy, and all other places where their power prevailed, the insurgents were revelling in all the joys which unrestrained and unap-peased cruelty could bestow, the end of their triumphs approached. General Moore gained a signal victory over them at Goff's Bridge; General Lake drove them from Vinegar Hill, Enniscorthy was recaptured, and the rebel chiefs in Wexford proposed a surrender on favourable terms. This negotiation was frustrated by the sanguinary violence of another Father Murphy, for there were four of that name; but the town was speedily captured. The event might have been much

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Delusions of
the priests.Defeats of
the rebels.

June 20.

21.

Recapture
of Wexford.

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Courts
martial.June 20.
Marquis
Cornwallis
Lord
Lieutenant.He proclaims
an amnesty.

accelerated ; but General Moore, apprehensive of the horrible retaliations which were to be expected if the justly exasperated yeomanry had suddenly been enabled to wreak the full measure of revenge, retarded his proceedings, so as to save the town from being sacked, plundered, and destroyed. This moderation, so characteristic of a brave and wise man, could not, in such times, and under all circumstances, have its full effect. Private revenge caused many atrocious acts ; and courts martial were held, composed often of yeomanry officers, who, actuated by unsubdued indignation, sought exact justice on individuals, less than revenge on the promoters of an unjust cause, and the perpetrators of unexpiated wrongs ; their decisions were not subject to revision or appeal, and the effect of their exertions was not less bloody and destructive than the system they had overthrown. Some of the rebel leaders, whose crimes called for it most loudly, met their condign fate. Among them were Harvey, Colclough, and Grogan ; and, less to be pitied than they, Father John Murphy of Boulavogue, and another Romish priest, named Redmond.

At the period when the tide of success began to turn against the rebels, Lord Camden retired from the viceroyalty, and the Marquis Cornwallis was appointed his successor. This brave and distinguished nobleman, whose experience enabled him to fix a just limit to punishment in the way of retaliation, without endangering the ascendancy of the cause he was deputed to support, began his rule by curbing the power too generally possessed and too violently exercised by courts martial ; their sentences were revised, suspended, or superseded, as justice required ; but this lenity did not degenerate into weakness ; the really guilty were duly punished, and in great numbers. While the rebellion was yet continued, the sword of justice was freely, though not indiscriminately, employed ; but as soon as the times seemed to permit, the Lord Lieutenant issued a proclamation, offering to all who, within fourteen days, would surrender, give up their arms, take the oath of allegiance, and abjure their traitorous

connexions, a certificate of protection*. Although many availed themselves of this gracious act of lenity, the country was not immediately tranquillized; but, after some sanguinary struggles, a probability of order and good government was restored. This happy result was greatly forwarded by the exertions of General Moore, in the county of Wexford: he possessed, in a high degree, the confidence of Lord Cornwallis; and his humane and honourable disposition, aided by his dignified firmness in command, and his skill and judgment in the field, were conspicuous, although the term of his service was short.

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Sensible that no great end could be obtained, and finding the prisons crowded with their misguided adherents, seventy-three of the great leaders of the rebellion, confined in the gaols of Newgate, Kilmainham, and Bridewell, sent a proposal to government, engaging to give important information, provided their own lives, and those of Michael Byrne and Oliver Bond, already convicted and under sentence of death, might be spared, and they not called upon to implicate any other person by name or description; to banish themselves for life, but not to pass into an enemy's country without permission from government. The terms were granted, except as to Byrne, who was executed.

Proposal of
the rebel
leaders.

The Lord Lieutenant, by a message, communicated to Parliament the papers containing the intelligence they could supply. Secret committees of both houses were formed; in addition to a voluminous mass of papers, found in the possession and at the meetings of several of the rebels, Dr. M'Nevin, Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Addis Emmett, and Samuel Neilson, were examined on oath, and the whole evidence fully demonstrated the existence of a dangerous, daring, and deeply rooted conspiracy, having for its object, not the redress of any particular grievance, or the predominancy of any church or form of religion, but, as was manfully expressed by Mr. Emmett, a dissolution of the connexion with Great Britain, and

July 17.

Lord
Lieutenant's
message to
Parliament.
Secret
Committees
appointed.

* The proclamation, with the forms of oath and certificate of protection, are in Plowden's History, vol. ii. p. 773.

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1798.
End of the
rebellion.

the establishment of Ireland as an independent republic*.

While these inquiries were in progress, the public tranquillity was disturbed only by a desultory warfare, carried on by the residue of the Wexford rebels, headed by two persevering and spirited individuals, named Hacket and Holt, who conducted their enterprizes with vigour and sagacity, but were at last subdued and captured. The benefit of the arrangement with government was extended to O'Connor and some other chiefs. Bond was respite during pleasure, and probably, like them, would have been permitted to expatriate himself; but he died in prison, of an attack of apoplexy. Bills of attainder were passed against Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Grogan, and Bagenel Harvey, innoxious personally to them, as they were dead, but of dreadful warning to traitors, teaching them that they could not renounce allegiance, and yet, as to their property, claim the benefits of protection, or enjoy, under the guardianship of the country, whose laws they had defied, and whose government they had sought to subvert, all the privileges and benefits which are secured to the most meritorious and loyal of her subjects†.

* See the Reports of the Committees, presented to both Houses, the 21st and 30th August, 1798. After the publication of these reports, an account was given by the parties who had been examined, of their communications to government, and their depositions, varying in some particulars from those produced in Parliament.

† The authorities I have consulted, in preparing this narrative, are unusually numerous. Besides Plowden, Sir Richard Musgrave, and Mr. Gordon, who have written general histories, I have had recourse to narratives of particular events, biographies of individuals, and works of speculation, to a great extent. Both in the histories and the other works, I have found, as might be expected, considering the subject and the writers, a heat, a partiality, a general want of candour, and fallacy of reasoning, which rendered it difficult to state facts with the confidence which would result from the perusal of writings less distinguished by the spirit of advocacy, less tarnished with the colourings of hatred and prejudice. Perhaps, the correct truth was spoken by the unlearned, but strong-minded Holt, who, when hopeless of benefit from further resistance, surrendered to Lord Powerscourt, under a promise that his life should be spared, but he was to be transported to New South Wales. Taking leave of his country, he exhorted the soldiers who guarded him to do their duty, and obey the lawful commands of their superiors; they would then be respected and prosperous. "It is from 'meddling fellows,'" he added, "that will not leave well alone, that all this 'misery has arisen; and on their heads is the innocent blood of thousands. 'Rebel as I am considered, I here drain my glass to the last words I shall ever 'probably speak in Ireland—God save the King.'" This brave soldier and rugged politician was not correct in his prophecy respecting himself. In New South Wales, he led a life of honest industry, obtained a free pardon, and rea-

Events so alarming, and fraught with so much peril to the general welfare, could not fail to occasion discussions in the British Parliament. After the arrest of Arthur O'Connor and his brother Roger, who had been apprehended and sent to Ireland*, Mr. St. John appealed to the House of Commons on the illegality and tyranny of the act, alleging that there was not the slightest charge against them, and moved for copies of the warrants from the Duke of Portland, intending, if successful, to call for the communications from Lord Camden containing charges of high treason against him and his brother. His motion was supported by Mr. Tierney, Mr. Jekyll, and Sir Francis Burdett, and opposed by the Attorney and Solicitor General, Mr. Burton and Mr. Windham: the debate was in no respect interesting, and the votes in the affirmative very few†.

Mr. Sheridan moved for a committee on the state of Ireland, and the measures which had been pursued; but, as the standing order for the exclusion of strangers was rigidly enforced, the debates were not given to the public. Mr. Sheridan's motion being rejected‡, he proposed an address, declaring the opinion of the House, that the deplorable state of Ireland called for an immediate and total change of counsels and measures. The system of coercion, if successful, could afford only the conquest of a desert; a continued waste of the wealth and strength of Great Britain must ensue, with no other return than implacable hatred, waiting for revenge. Should these measures fail, Ireland would not merely be lost, but might become an accession to France, and England be exposed to the

lized some property; but an unextinguishable desire to revisit his native land induced him to return; he lost a portion of his savings in a trading speculation, and died in peace, in Ireland, at the age of seventy. (Memoirs of Joseph Holt, edited by Thomas Crofton Croker, Esquire.) The Reports (in p. 122.) The Reports of the Committees, published in the journals of both Houses, and in octavo pamphlets by Debrett, London, furnish ample and most interesting information on this whole matter.

* Roger O'Connor had been arrested in England and conveyed to Ireland before his brother's trial. Arthur complained of this, as he wanted to call him as a witness; government sent for him, and he was brought to Maidstone, but he was not examined.

† 15 to 104.

‡ 159 to 45.

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1798.
Motions in
the British
parliament.
June 11.
Mr. St. John
on the arrest
of O'Connor.

14.
Mr. Sheridan's
motions.
Strangers
excluded.

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15.
Motion by the
Duke of
Leinster.

issue of a contest, on English ground, not for acquisition or dominion, but probably for existence. This motion was negatived without a division.

The Duke of Leinster also moved an address, complaining that no communication had been made by ministers to that House, the great hereditary council of the nation ; promising, if the necessary information was afforded, to employ every exertion of assiduity, and all the resources of their best wisdom, in examining the true causes of the disorders, and the measures which had been adopted ; and professing a reliance on an impartial administration of the laws, and a temperate use of the powers of government, for the establishment of satisfaction, happiness, and union. An amendment was proposed by the Duke of Norfolk, depicting the coercion, scourges, and tortures, which had been employed, and praying, like Mr. Sheridan, for a change of measures and ministers. The motion being rejected*, twelve peers joined in a protest.

16.
Offer of the
militia.

Debate.

A message from the King announced that a portion of the militia had voluntarily tendered an extension of their services to Ireland. Mr. Dundas moved an address ; but the measure was resisted as unconstitutional ; because the militia, intended as a restraint, to prevent the government of the kingdom by a standing army, ought not to be sent out of the realm. The consent to be obtained could never be free, any more than the contributions to the expenses of the war could properly be termed voluntary. The force of example and the fear of reproach would actuate many, in defiance of their inclination and their better judgment ; and if soldiers were called upon to consent to go to Ireland, every regiment would become a deliberative assembly. It was not true that, in every thing they might enact, the Parliament of Ireland was to be supported by this country. Suppose, Mr. Sheridan observed, the Irish Parliament were to re-enact all those horrible statutes by which the people were oppressed ; if they were to sanction torture, to establish bastiles, arbitrary imprisonments, ignominious punishment with-

out conviction, transportation without trial, and a series of oppressions too degrading, too tyrannical, for human nature to endure,—would the British House of Commons be bound to support the Irish legislature against the resentment which such proceedings might provoke? And why, said Lord William Russell, are the militia to be sent out of the country contrary to law?—only to subjugate a neighbouring kingdom, to force a system on the people which nine-tenths of them abhor.

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To these arguments, the principal answer arose out of the exigencies of the times, and the necessity of protecting those loyal subjects who were not able to secure themselves against the lawless violence of rebels, and to save a valuable portion of the British empire from the grasp of an implacable enemy. The motives of the opposition were unsparingly stigmatized; and Mr. Windham observed, that one gentleman had obscurely developed their principle; but Lord William Russell had done what in vulgar language was called “let the cat out of the bag.” Mr. Banks also, although he opposed the measure, and moved an amendment, highly censured the language of the noble lord. Never was there a rebellion more unprovoked; for measures more conciliatory had never been adopted in any country. Men with arms in their hands were to be opposed; and if Ireland were to succeed in rebellion, and be leagued with France, this country could not be safe. On a division, the original motion was carried*; a bill was brought in and passed with great dispatch: but, in the upper House, the Duke of Nor-

21.

folk signed one protest, and the Duke of Leeds another.

Other motions.

Although it was known that the prorogation was approaching, motions were renewed from day to day. If the opposition entertained a hope of producing effect on the public mind by the perusal of speeches, it was frustrated. When a motion, proposed by Lord George Cavendish, was to be brought forward, Mr. Wilbraham Bootle moved the standing order for clearing the galleries. Mr. Sheridan observed that the

22.

Struggle
against the
standing order.

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order directed, not only that no strangers should be permitted to remain in the galleries, but that if any were found there, or in the lobbies, they should be taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms. The Speaker allowed that such were the terms of the order; but, in enforcing it when moved, the sergeant-at-arms would proceed in the customary manner. Mr. Sheridan and Mr. George Walpole, maintaining the constitutional right of the people to be informed of the proceedings of the House, endeavoured to make the execution of the order odious, by requiring that it should be carried to its extreme extent; but the firmness of the Speaker, and the opinion loudly expressed in the House, prevented the success of this attempt.

Lord George Cavendish moved five resolutions, containing little novelty: but the debate derived some interest from a speech by Mr. Canning, and the unusual circumstance of Mr. Fox taking a share in the discussion. The order of the day was moved and carried*.

Mr. Fox then moved resolutions, censuring the system of coercion, and the mode of carrying it into effect: an unreported debate took place, which was terminated by a motion for adjournment†.

In the House
of Lords.

Further attempts were made in the House of Lords; but strangers were again excluded. The Earl of Besborough moved an address, requiring that, when the rebellion should have been suppressed, a system of conciliation might be adopted, and persons employed who might possess the confidence of the people. This motion having been rejected‡, the Duke of Bedford proposed a resolution condemning the system of coercion and the burning of houses, and requiring, in the usual terms, the removal of the persons by whose advice such atrocities had been perpetrated, toward whom the afflicted people of Ireland could feel no sentiments but those of resentment and terror. This motion also was lost§; but, perhaps, all that was expected from it was attained by the entry of two protests on the journals; one by Lord Oxford alone, who quoted Magna

• 212 to 68.

† 204 to 62.

‡ 51 to 21.

§ 63 to 20.

Charta and Coke to prove that torture was contrary to law ; the other, signed by seven peers, contained an historical recital of the proceedings of the Irish government, with copies of papers and orders issued during the last fifteen months, and censuring them all.

While these debates were proceeding, the open rebellion in Ireland, hastily and indiscreetly begun, was on the point of being, for the present, suppressed. Without the aid of France, the most strenuous promoters of their views acknowledged that the efforts of the rebels must be unsuccessful ; they had numbers and courage, but were deficient in arms and ammunition, and opposed to an army of sixty thousand disciplined men*. The agents of rebellion who had proceeded to Paris were very slightly considered by the ruling men. Their conduct, it was observed, did not reflect credit on themselves or their country ; nothing was to be heard of among them but denunciations ; and if every one of them separately spoke truth, all the rest were rascals. Such were the statements of General Kilmaine ; and the zealous partizans to whom they were made, felt obliged to confess that the censure was not exaggerated†. Bonaparte gave an opinion not more favourable. " If the Irish," he said, " had sent over " honest men, I would certainly have made an attempt " on Ireland ; but I had no confidence either in the " integrity or talents of the Irish leaders that were in " France. They could offer no plan, were divided in " opinion, and constantly quarrelling with one other. " I had but a poor opinion of the integrity of O'Connor, " who was so much spoken of among you‡." The Irish emissaries seem to have misunderstood both the powers and intentions of the people whose support they were courting : they expected disinterestedness, where selfish injustice alone prevailed ; money from an empty exchequer ; and a commanding fleet, where

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Conduct of the
French.

* Wolfe Tone, vol. ii. p. 505.

† Same, p. 502.

‡ A Voice from Saint Helena, by Barry O'Meara, vol. i. p. 483. Both these writers, it is to be observed, were Irishmen ; the one earnestly devoted, the other not in any respect adverse, to the insurrection and to France.

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naval means were entirely defective, or otherwise engaged. In the excess of their indiscretion, they required Bonaparte to obtain from the Directory a declaration in favour of their partizans imprisoned in Ireland, similar to one which they had made respecting some patriots, as they were called, in the Pays de Vaud. The answer was, that, with regard to the Swiss, France could follow up a menace with a blow: but very different was the situation of England; and the Republic, as a power of the first rank, must never threaten in vain. They derived confidence, however, from a declaration of the director, Merlin, that France would never grant a peace to England on any terms short of the independence of Ireland*.

If these professions, and the preparation of the army of England, inspired any hopes, they who entertained them were doomed to the lingering agony of daily disappointment, when they saw the army and the fleet, by repeated orders, withdrawn from the coast opposite to England; the great General himself crossing the country, and embarking with his forces on an expedition unknown by authentic disclosure, and pointed at only by conjecture. Negotiations for assistance were slowly proceeding, and promises of succour held out, until, in their last desperate effort of mingled fear, impatience, and disappointment, the rebels had thrown away their strength, in the attempt which so thinned their numbers, by actions in war, and military judgments. On the intelligence of an actual insurrection, the Directory made some efforts to assist; but feebleness in council, uncertainty as to the end of their proceedings, and the pressing want of all the necessaries for a new attempt, occasioned delays, until success was hopeless. In a proposed plan for employing small detachments from different ports, to distract attention, until it should be deemed advisable to land the main body under General Kilmaine, they were favoured with the advice of Wolfe Tone, and encouraged by the boast of Napper Tandy, who assured them that, on his appearance, thirty thousand men would rise in

* Wolfe Tone, vol. ii. pp. 473, 476, and 501.

arms. These promises were repeated and the project discussed for six weeks after the failure of the rebel cause, when, by the precipitation of one French general, a crisis was produced.

General Humbert, to whom the smallest share in the intended expedition had been confided, suddenly obtained from the merchants of Rochelle some money and arms, and, in two frigates of forty-four and one of thirty-eight guns, with about eleven hundred men, spare muskets to a considerable number, and a small supply of cash,—accompanied by three Irishmen, Matthew Tone, Bartholomew Teeling, and Sullivan,—embarked, intending to land at Donegal; but was obliged by adverse winds to anchor in the Bay of Killala, in the county of Mayo. On the landing of the enemy, a small party of the yeomanry attempted resistance; but were soon overpowered, and nineteen of them made prisoners. Humbert and many of his followers took up their abode in the Bishop's palace, where great numbers of the peasantry resorted to his standard, allured by pompous promises, clothing, arms, and helmets edged with spotted brown paper to resemble leopard's skin.

Unresisted possession having been taken of Ballina, Humbert, sensible of the necessity of a forward movement into the country, boldly advanced toward Castlebar, where General Lake, with nearly six thousand men, was advantageously posted. The French, at first, thought their enterprise desperate, and, having received considerable damage from the artillery, were preparing to retreat, when, encouraged by an appearance of irregularity in the conduct of the opposed troops, they made a determined attack on the flank; a general panic ensued; a retreat was commenced, and it soon became a disorderly flight, which was continued to Athlone, seventy miles from the field of battle. The enemy, thus left triumphant victors, next attempted to reach Sligo; but, at Cloony, they were opposed by Colonel Vereker, of the City of Limerick militia. Having only two hundred infantry under his command, this officer was obliged, after a brave con-

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August.
Expedition of
General
Humbert.

23rd.
He lands at
Killala.

25.
His progress.

Affair at
Castlebar.

Sept. 5.
At Cloony.

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flict, to retreat before the superior force of the French ; but the interruption frustrated their design.

Lord Cornwallis, who had never considered the small force under Humbert dangerous in itself, but apprehended the effect of a renewed rebellion, took the command of all his disposable forces in person, and, by judicious movements, suppressed some attempts at insurrection, completely surrounded the enemy at Ballynamuck, and compelled him to surrender. Humbert's army then consisted of eight hundred and forty-two, including officers ; so that their loss in killed amounted to about three hundred men. The rebels who had joined the invaders quitted their camp before this event, occupied a rising ground on the Ballina road, and, under cover of some low walls, annoyed the King's troops ; but their ignorance in the use of arms rendered a conquest easy. About four hundred were killed in battle, and one hundred and eighty-five suffered under the sentence of courts martial. They had taken pains to render themselves unworthy of mercy, by the conduct they had pursued, whenever the French were not actively present to restrain them*.

Admiral
Bompart's
squadron.

Animated by the intelligence of Humbert's first successes, the French government, by great exertions, equipped a squadron, consisting of the Hoche, of seventy-four guns, and eight frigates, on board which they embarked about three thousand men : the ships were commanded by Admiral Bompart ; the troops by General Hardy. The Irish rebels in Paris were anxious to be employed in this enterprise ; but only four were received, one of them being Mr. Theobald Wolfe Tone. The French Admiral thought it prudent to approach by a circuitous course ; but, before his arrival, a single brig, the Anacreon, with Napper Tandy on board, appeared off the north-west coast of Donegal. Unacquainted with the fate of Humbert, he landed at the small isle of Rutland, and distributed manifestoes declaring that the soldiers of the great

Arrival, pro-
clamation, and
flight, of
NapperTandy.

* Plowden, vol. ii. p. 789 ; Sir Richard Musgrave, vol. ii. p. 127 ; and the other histories : also Wolfe Tone, vol. ii. p. 511 ; the Narrative of Dr. Stock, Bishop of Killala ; and the Annual Register, vol. xl.

nation had landed, well provided with artillery and ammunition : James Napper Tandy was at their head ; he had sworn to lead them to victory, or to die. Abuse of England and Mr. Pitt was not spared : but he was not joined by thirty thousand men, and, instead of leading to victory or seeking death, was glad to re-embark, and secure his personal safety by a flight to Norway.

At length Bompart's ships came in sight ; but, by a squadron under Sir John Borlase Warren, the Hoche and three of the frigates, filled with troops and stores, were captured, after a brave resistance. The other five anchored in the Bay of Killala, to the great terror of the inhabitants. But their confidence was restored by the arrival of a British force, which took three vessels, with many troops on board : the other two had the good fortune to escape. Matthew Tone and Teeling were brought in irons to Dublin, tried, and executed. Sullivan escaped in the disguise of a Frenchman. Wolfe Tone was taken, fighting resolutely, on board the Hoche. As he was called by the feigned name of Smith, spoke French perfectly well, and was not personally known, he was conducted on shore as a French officer. When discovered and pointed out by an intimate friend, he threw off his French uniform, not for concealment, but, as he professed, that "fetters" "might not degrade the revered insignia of the free "nation he had served;" and, when manacled, he added, that he felt more proud in wearing those chains, than if he were decorated with the star and garter of England*. He was conveyed to Dublin, and confined in the barracks, until a court martial for his trial could be convened. Before this tribunal he appeared in his French uniform, and avowed all the facts alleged against him. From his earliest youth, he said, he had considered the connexion of Great Britain as the curse of the Irish nation, which, while it lasted, could never be free or happy. He knew that Ireland by herself was not able to cast off the yoke, and therefore sought in the French an ally to rescue three millions of his

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Oct. 11.
Bompart's
squadron
captured.

28th.

Fate of the
rebels.

Wolfe Tone is
tried.

Nov. 10.

* From his Mémoirs, by his Son, vol. ii. p. 525.

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Commits
suicide.Efforts of Mr.
Curran.

countrymen. After expressing gratitude toward the Catholic body, in whose cause he was engaged, he spoke in boastful terms of his perils : he had encountered the chances of war among strangers ; he had repeatedly braved the terrors of the ocean, covered as he knew it to be with the triumphant fleets of that power which it was his glory and his duty to oppose ; he had sacrificed all his views in life, courted poverty, and left a beloved wife unprotected, and children whom he adored fatherless. To this theatrical effusion he added, that he heard the unfortunate country had been a prey to all sorts of horrors : if, instead of open war, which alone he contemplated, a system of assassination had taken place, it could not be attributed to him, as he had been absent four years. His condemnation followed, of course ; but he tendered to the court his commission as chef-de-brigade in the French service, as a ground for requesting that he might be shot as a soldier, and not die the death of a felon. His request was not granted ; he was led to prison, where, with a pen-knife which he had contrived to conceal, he perpetrated a long-premeditated act of suicide, by cutting his throat ; but as he did not sever the carotid artery, he remained in agony several days.

During this interval he received a benefit, which, in what he termed the free republic, whose livery he was proud to wear, could not even have been imagined. His friend, Mr. Curran, when all others, from fear or distaste, had renounced him, endeavoured, ineffectually, to raise a subscription, that a powerful body of advocates might be engaged in supporting an application to the Court of King's Bench. In this he utterly failed, as not even the wealthy Roman Catholics would contribute. The eloquent advocate, however, took the task upon himself, and, on the affidavit of the prisoner's father, moved for a habeas corpus to bring him before the court. Mr. Tone, he stated, never having held a commission in the army, a court martial could not have cognizance of any crime imputed to him. Every law authority would support him in asserting that martial, incompatible with civil

law, must cease, when that high court was sitting. The writ was granted; and the learned Chief Justice, Kilwarden, apprehensive that the execution of the prisoner might take place while it was preparing, directed the sheriff to proceed immediately to the barracks and forbid such a proceeding. The Provost Marshal declared he could only act under directions to be derived from the Lord Lieutenant. The act which the prisoner had committed was then first disclosed to the court; his removal was declared by medical men to be impossible; and before any progress could be made in further discussions, the subject of them was removed by death.

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CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND SEVEN.

1798.

Influence of the French in other countries.—Holland.—A new government established.—The Cisalpine Republic.—The King of Sardinia deposed.—Switzerland.—Efforts of the French.—Petition of the Pays de Vaud.—Invasion of Switzerland.—Plunder of Bern.—Division of the country. Public spirit in England.—Naval captures.—Attack upon La Hogue.—Havre bombarded.—Disastrous expedition to Ostend.—Projects of the French.—State of Bonaparte's army.—Views on Egypt.—Efforts of Bonaparte.—Conduct of Bernadotte at Vienna.—Tumult excited.—Departure of Bernadotte.—Conduct of the French government.—Opinion of Bonaparte.—Apprehensions of the Directory.—Discussion with Bonaparte.—Commencement of the Egyptian expedition.—Capture of Malta.—Landing of the French in Egypt.—Capture of Alexandria.—Bonaparte's proclamation.—Progress across the Desert.—Battle of Chebreisse—and of the Pyramids.—Surrender of Cairo.—Pursuit by Admiral Nelson.—He is joined by Captain Hardy.—His reception at Naples.—His further pursuit.—Battle of Aboukir.—Observations.

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Influence of
the French in
other countries

FEEBLE, disgraced, and despised, as was the government of France by her own people, success in arms, activity in intrigue, and an unsparing and unprincipled use of their means of corruption and compulsion, enabled the directors to sway, to abolish, to confirm, or to renew, as caprice or interest directed, the systems imposed, or the constitutions conferred, on other nations. The existence, or apprehension, of dangerous factions in their newly formed governments, afforded

them a pretext for maintaining, in Holland, in the Cisalpine and the Ligurian Republics, armies of their own, which, while they were fed and clothed by those countries, were enabled to overawe their councils, and direct and control all their proceedings.

In Holland, pretended fears of different factions, the Orangemen, or partizans of the Stadholder, the federalists, or favourers of the ancient provincial divisions, and the democrats, or Jacobins, enabled them, in favour of a fourth, or supposed party, whom they termed Moderates, to overthrow the government they had pretended to establish, leaving to the deluded Patriots not even a semblance of power or independence. Pursuant to arrangements formed by Delacroix, the agent of the Directory, and General Daendels, the commander of the troops, the hall of the legislature was surrounded by the French military, all members adverse to their views were excluded from the deliberative body, and expelled from the offices of state; and a new oath of hatred to the Stadholder, aristocracy, federalism, and anarchy, was imposed. An unavailing contention,—verbal, not military,—continued some months, and ended in the forced assembling of a legislative body; and, under the influence of the French party, a new constitution was formed, establishing five persons as an executive directory, with councils on the French model; and thus, in effect, the once free, powerful, and prosperous United Provinces, now called the Batavian Republic, were reduced to a mere dependency of France*.

The Ligurian Republic, although not free from political combinations, was not yet deemed in a state menacing to the French domination. But not so the Cisalpine. The people of Lombardy, sensible of their degradation, and exhausted by perpetual requisitions, shewed some portion of spirit, by rejecting a constitution which Bonaparte, before he quitted Milan, had tendered to them; by remonstrating; and by electing to high offices men who were distinguished for patriotism and consequent impatience of the Gallic yoke. In

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Holland.

January 22.
A new govern-
ment esta-
blished.

June 12.

The Cisalpine
Republic.

* Thiers, tome x. p. 23. Annual Register, vol. xl. p. 81.
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The King of
Sardinia
deposed.

surmounting these efforts, no moderation was shewn : an ambassador, who had evinced a too forbearing temper, was recalled ; and Brune, and subsequently the too celebrated Fouché, sent to occupy his post, trampled down all opposition, and re-established the obnoxious constitution*.

Charles Emanuel, King of Sardinia, had acquired, or seemed to acquire, the favourable opinion of Bonaparte. He had faithfully observed the stipulations of the treaty made with the Republic : his fortresses had protected, and his troops had aided them in the war against the Emperor ; but a majority of the regicide Directory heard with impatience the name of a king ; and the murderers of Louis the Sixteenth rejoiced in an opportunity of inflicting evil on the Queen, who was his sister. When the support or aid of the King was no longer of importance, he was treated with contempt, and menaced with aggression. Rebellious movements were stirred up in his dominions, the Ligurian Republic declared war, and he entertained alarms on the conduct of the Cisalpines. The French constantly protected those of his subjects who rebelled against him, requiring amnesties for their treasons, and resenting their punishments, however justly incurred. When, by a mixture of force, fraud, and delusive promises, they had induced him to place in their hands the strong citadel of Turin, his ruin was complete ; he was compelled to exhaust his own treasures, and drain his people, to gratify his extortionate oppressors ; every appearance of royalty was denied him ; the ministers attached to him were expelled and accused ; he became, in reality, a prisoner in his own capital, under the pretended protection of a French guard. The Directory even entertained the barbarous design of arresting him, his Queen, and all his family, and exhibiting them to the people of Paris as prisoners ; but Talleyrand averted this last painful degradation : by his means, the command of the troops in Piedmont was given to General Joubert ; and, on his communication, and by his advice, the King signed an abdication of

December 9.

* Thiers, tome x. p. 29 ; Lacréteille, tome xiv. p. 171.

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Switzerland.

his continental dominions, retaining, as a refuge, the island of Sardinia, to which, assured of safety under the protection of the British fleet, he retreated, with his family, escaping from Turin just before the order for arresting and conveying them to Paris arrived*.

These proceedings were part of a plan for surrounding France with enslaved and impotent republics, flattered with epithets denoting liberty, but deprived of it in every portion of their political establishments. This determination alone can account for the conduct of France toward Switzerland—a country which, from historical recollections and existing institutions, had been eulogized by orators and celebrated by poets as the most sacred asylum of liberty. The country is described as a mass of mountains, intersected by delightful valleys; the people as simple, benevolent, brave, shunning pomp, and delighting in labour, seeking no slaves, and crouching to no masters†. Toward this country, from an early period of the revolution, France had directed views of ambition and avarice. The ancient alliance of the cantons, the neutrality so inflexibly maintained during all periods of the war, the many instances of military aid, and the obligations of numerous treaties, were of no force to restrain the grasping spirit of the Republic. When the prosperous state of their affairs on the Continent rendered prudence no longer necessary, they threw off all restraint, and, according to the expression of Carnot, shewed their determination to exemplify the fable of the wolf and the lamb‡.

Weakly obedient to the dictation of France, the Swiss government expelled from their territory their countryman, Mallet du Pan, and the French emigrants who had sought refuge among them, and procured the dismission of Mr. Wickham, the British minister. Instead of an ambassador, the French employed special agents, through whose efforts popular clubs, literary

Efforts of the
French.

* Lacréquelle, tome xiv. p. 172.

† Méhégan, *Tableau de l'Histoire moderne*, tome ii. p. 151. This author is not generally known; but the passage cited was drawn into notice by Mr. Archdeacon Coxe, who used it as a motto to his *Travels in Switzerland*.

‡ Answer to Bailleul, p 93, English translation.

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Petition of the
Pays de Vaud.

societies, and inflammatory publications, grew rapidly up ; threats were denounced against magistrates who dared to act in suppressing the diffusion of revolutionary principles ; while the offenders were formally protected.

Through the intrigues of French emissaries, the inhabitants of the Pays de Vaud had addressed to the Directory a petition, requesting, in compliance with ancient treaties, their guaranty to the re-establishment of their rights ; and, on the representations of Talleyrand, a declaration was made to the governments of Bern and Fribourg, that they should be personally responsible for the safety and property of those who made such applications to France. The sequel of such a tyrannical assumption of authority over a country hitherto reputed free and independent, could not be misapprehended. The Directory recommended, or rather prescribed, to the Swiss states the abolition of the existing, and the establishment of provisional, governments, until a general constitution should be framed, on the basis of universal suffrage and general eligibility.

Invasion of
Switzerland.

Fifteen thousand of their troops, under General Menard, advanced, on the side of Bale and Geneva ; a column threatened the town of Bienne, and two thousand men from the Cisalpine Republic attacked the Canton of Uri. The spirit of the country seemed for a moment to arouse : federal deputies were

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Jan. 2.

25.

to consult at Bern ; a general diet was assembled at Arau, and all the states, except Bale, renewed the solemn oath of confederacy. Had this spirit been general, Switzerland might have been saved ; but the exertions of intriguers and speculators had divided the people, and weakened the energies of patriotism ; and, after a struggle, in which not only men, but women and children, old men, boys, girls, the sick, and even the dying, with heroic devotion, sacrificed their lives in unavailing efforts, numbers and discipline triumphed, and the invaders marched over the bodies of an unoffending people, through the flames of conflagration and the ruins of desolated villages, to seize the prey which they sought with such brutal

ferocity. Bern, where the treasures of the whole confederacy were deposited, yielded a large prize in money*; and, finally, a treaty was concluded, by which Geneva, Mulhausen, Bienne and the Bishoprick of Bale, were annexed to France, while the remainder of the country, except the Grisons, was modelled into a republic, one and indivisible, in eighteen departments, under the name of the Helvetic Republic, with a French-fashioned constitution. These events were regarded through Europe with sensations of horror, and are said to have created sentiments of compassion even in the Executive Directory and Carnot†.

Subdued by arms, cajoled by promises, or enervated by doubt and fear, the nations of the Continent no longer presented a hostile array, but seemed to await, in awe-struck suspense, the determinations to be disclosed, and the effects to be produced, by the proceedings of France. England remained her only open and avowed enemy. Plunged into war by flagrant and unprincipled aggression, foiled in every honourable attempt to restore peace, the object of avowed and implacable hatred, and the subject of daily menace and execration, she persevered in a contest which she had not sought, and maintained, without an ally, the struggle for independence and honour.

Occupied with the protection of her own coasts, the invasion of which, however fruitlessly attempted, never ceased to be threatened, and incapable by herself of any effective military operation; her enemy displaying on the ocean no collective force, from a competition with which great advantage or glory could be acquired; a capture of single ships occasionally rewarded the patience and displayed the skill and bravery of the British sailors: but as such exploits had little in-

* Estimated differently, from thirty millions (£1,250,000) to eight millions (£334,000).

† Answer to Bailleul. For the general facts, and much more extensive information, see Thiers, tome x. pp. 31, 42, et seqq.; Lacréteille, tome xiv. p. 180, et seqq. Many histories and publications are cited by Archdeacon Coxe, in the introduction and notes to the fourth edition of his *Travels in Switzerland*, all which are replete with information; particularly Zschokke, *Histoire de la Destruction des Républiques démocratiques de Schwitz Uri et Unterwalden*; and Planta's *Account of the Dissolution of the Swiss Confederacy*, vol. ii. c. 10.

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fluence on the general aspect of the war, the enumeration is unnecessary.

1798.
Attack on
the Hogue.
May 7.

Taking advantage of a calm, a French flotilla, composed of fifty gun-boats full of troops, from La Hogue, made an attack on the islands of Saint Marcou, off the coast of Normandy. A scanty garrison of invalids, under the command of Lieutenant Price, made a gallant and effectual resistance: six of their boats were sunk, and the residue, alarmed at the sight of a British squadron, under Commodore Hotham, hastened to regain the port they had left, while the want of wind prevented pursuit*. Havre was ineffectually bombarded by Sir Richard Strahan; and an expedition, commanded by Sir Home Popham, proceeded to Ostend, for the purpose of blowing up the basin, gates, and sluices of the Bruges canal, to destroy the internal navigation between Holland, France, and Flanders. In weather extremely unfavourable, a landing of somewhat more than a thousand men, under General Coote, was effected, and the object of their enterprize accomplished. The troops then attempted to re-embark, but found it impossible, from the violence of the surf. An anxious night was passed in endeavours to secure the position until they could regain their ships; but, by four o'clock in the morning, the enemy, having concentrated their forces, bore down in several columns, formed from the united garrisons of Ghent, Bruges, and Dunkirk, and by their superior numbers outflanked their opponents. After making every exertion which skill and bravery could direct, the whole force was obliged to surrender; General Coote and Major Donkin having been dangerously wounded, and Colonel Campbell killed: the total loss amounted to one hundred and fifty slain and wounded, and the residue of the embarkation taken prisoners†.

While these comparatively unimportant transactions occurred, other events were in progress, which called

Projects of
the French.

* Gazette.

† Annual Register, vol. xl. p. 97. For a specimen of the false boasting and sanguinary ferocity which still distinguished the government of France, see the Message of the Directory to the Councils, Moniteur du 20 Prairial, An. 6, and Annual Register, vol. xl. p. *331.

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forth the energies and augmented the fame of the British nation, and operated materially on the affairs of the world. Most fortunate it was for this country that the invasion of Ireland was not undertaken by Bonaparte; he would not have essayed it with insufficient means, nor, when once embarked, have delayed his progress through hopes of a general insurrection, of which no sufficient symptoms appeared, or the influence of traitors, whose promises he suspected and whose conduct he despised. To the invasion of England, although stimulated by earnest, violent animosity against the country, he had many objections; his military sagacity taught him that unless he could command the Channel for a period sufficient to retain and amplify any advantage he might at first obtain, the ultimate result must be ruin to his army; for, in England, even if he could count on the support of a small number of misguided and obstinate individuals, he would find the almost entire mass of the nation, however divided among themselves by religious, political, or party speculations, united in a firm, incorruptible, and indissoluble phalanx against an invader.

But still the soldiers of Italy, now denominated the army of England, formed an embarrassment which neither the popularity of their general, nor the artifices of government could quiet or evade. Their military service was accomplished, and they clamorously demanded a recompence which they had well earned, and which had been solemnly promised, a sum of one thousand millions (£41,700,000); a sum which, if their inclination had been of the strongest description, they had neither the funds to supply, nor the credit to obtain. Under the name of an army of England, the troops were scattered about in divers parts of the country, remote from the point fit for the exploit supposed to be intended. The pompous declamations which accompanied the nomination of Bonaparte to the command of this army, could not mislead him as to the fear and jealousy with which he was viewed. He was sensible of the weakness and contemptibility of the government he served, and foresaw its certain

State of
Bonaparte's
army.

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and not distant overthrow ; but he did not consider the time yet arrived when a new revolution could be achieved without giving ascendancy to the Jacobins ; a result which he deprecated even more than the restoration of royalty.

From the movement of the troops and the conduct of Bonaparte, it became a general opinion, that, whatever might be intended at a future period, the invasion of England was not at the present moment to be attempted. That a fleet, designed to convey troops to the British shores, should be assembled in the most distant ports of the republic, and that a collection of philosophers and professors in all arts and sciences, called by the general title of Savans, and furnished with books, instruments, and apparatus of every kind, should be made for a descent on England, was ludicrously impossible.

Views on
Egypt.

Egypt had long been pointed out by political writers as a possession most desirable to any European power, as affording, besides its own internal wealth, the means of extending power and commerce over the continents of Africa and Asia. To this point the attention of Louis the Fourteenth had been drawn, by a memorial of Leibnitz, which, with much local and statistical information from others, was preserved in the French archives ; suggestions founded on it had also been presented by De Choiseul, but not acted upon. The attention of Bonaparte had long been fixed on the establishment of French power in this quarter, proposing, as its certain effects, the formation, on the banks of the Nile, of a settlement, which would prosper without slaves, and would make amends for the loss of Saint Domingo, and the other sugar colonies ; facilitate commercial relations with Africa, Arabia, and Syria ; and, lastly, enable France to dispatch an army of sixty thousand men from Egypt, which would form a place d'armes, to the Indus, and arouse the Mahrattas to an insurrection*. In the preceding year, he had disclosed his opinions to the Directory. “ If it should happen,” he said, “ that, in concluding

* Montholon's Historical Miscellanies, vol. iii. p. 329.

" a peace with England, we should be obliged to give
 " up the Cape of Good Hope, we must seize upon
 " Egypt. That country never belonged to any Euro-
 " pean government; the Venetians alone have held a
 " precarious preponderance. It does not belong to
 " the Grand Signor. I should wish for certain in-
 " formation as to the reaction which our expedition to
 " that country might produce upon the Porte: but,
 " with armies such as ours, Mahometan, Copt, Arab,
 " all are alike; the matter is one of indifference; we
 " shall respect one as much as the other*."

Prompted alike by his desire of extended renown and power, and by a sense that his reputation must fade, while his person would be insecure, if he remained in France, Bonaparte had pressed upon the Directory, and gained their reluctant, and not undivided, assent to the desired expedition. With his characteristic industry and sagacity, he collected, combined, and compared all the information which printed documents, written memorials, and personal communications, could afford; and the results, if not in all particulars unexceptionable in point of authenticity, were of the utmost importance in guiding the expedition. In well digested letters to the Executive Directory, he detailed the force he should require, which would be from twenty to twenty-five thousand infantry, and three thousand dismounted cavalry; and pointed out the proper places in France and Italy for collecting and embarking them,—Civita Vecchia, Genoa, Corsica, Marseilles, Toulon, Nice, and Antibes,—with the arms, artillery, and stores, necessary for their progress. For extraordinary expenses, he required five millions (£208,000); and this was supplied from the plunder of the treasury of Bern†.

To disguise the intent of this expedition from the government of England, and to elude the vigilance of her navy, from which alone its frustration was to be apprehended, every finesse was employed. Bonaparte

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Efforts of
Bonaparte.March 5—7.
April 13.

* Letter to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, dated Head Quarters, at Passerano, 13th Sept. 1797.—Œuvres, tome ii. p. 18.

† Œuvres, tome ii. pp. 114, 118, 169.

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April 13.

in person visited every part of the coast where shipping was collected, making arrangements and giving orders as general of the army of England. Nor did the expedition to Egypt at all comprise a renunciation of that design : in the mind of Bonaparte, only a short delay would be necessary to render the operation easy, and its success certain. In a note to the Executive Directory, he premised that they ought to make, and could accomplish, a short war against England. He assumed as certain, that, by the continuance of war, the finances of that hated country would be ruined, her commercial spirit destroyed, and the constitution and morals of the people totally changed. As the means of increasing the navy of France, he proposed that four hundred gun-boats should be equipped, and supported by fleets of thirty-five men of war from Brest, twelve from the Texel, with other resources to be drawn from the Mediterranean ; the soldiers to be taught naval discipline in the course of the summer ; a naval engagement to be avoided, if the British fleet should be the more powerful ; and forty thousand men to be landed at any point which should be deemed most advantageous ; while a like number should threaten a descent from the gun-boats and the fishing boats of Boulogne, and ten thousand men from Holland should effect a landing in Scotland. Such an invasion, made in November or December, would be sure of success*.

Egypt, the advanced post of war and of commerce toward India, and of observation toward the Bosphorus, was represented as the point in which England was most vulnerable : but this dazzling perspective did not altogether prevent the Directory from viewing the difficulties and dangers of the undertaking. The events which had taken place since the treaty of Campo Formio were calculated to arouse the indignation of Austria ; the projected expedition must occasion a war with Turkey ; the existence of a new enemy would again excite the old, and it would secure the ascendancy of England at Constantinople. All these objections were strongly urged by La Reveillière and others ;

* Same, p. 165.

but the unparalleled injustice of invading the territories, destroying the lives, and seizing the property, of a people with whom the French had no connexion, from whom they had sustained neither wrongs nor affronts, and who had not tendered to them even the paltry and feeble excuse of the solicitation of a band, however insignificant, of discontented traitors soliciting their assistance, never seems to have entered their contemplations. The desire of the General prevailed, and the expedition proceeded*.

When the conflict of opinions in the Directory had nearly subsided, and when those of its members who could not be brought entirely to applaud the expedition, agreed at least in the necessity of removing the commander, whose talents, popularity, and ambition they feared, a new incident arose, which threatened the renewal of war, and the necessity of employing in Europe the forces intended for Egypt. Charles John Bernadotte, a man humbly born, but elevated by his bravery and good conduct from the ranks to the station of general, a republican of the most stern description, was, in consequence of intrigues in which he bore no share, appointed ambassador to Vienna. The apparent object of his mission was to tranquillize the imperial cabinet on the subject of two enterprises then in contemplation, against Switzerland and against Rome. He had other secret instructions, and was pushed by his own fierce democratic temper into measures which endangered present peace, and portended fatal results. He was well received by the Austrian minister and court, and apparently made favourable progress in other respects; but, under the influence of an adverse faction, the government papers in Paris began to attack him for having prevented his division of the army of Italy from deliberating and voting addresses at the time of the conflict between the Directory and the councils: they asserted too, that, from his great condescension to the Austrian court, the officers in his

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Conduct of
Bernadotte at
Vienna.

Feb. 8.

* Histories in general, and, for the last observations, Memoirs of Lucien Bonaparte, vol. i. p. 89.

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suite wore the national cockade only when they were within the hotel of the legation.

1798.
Tumult
excited.

Orders transmitted from the Directory, commanding him to cause the tri-coloured flag to be duly respected, arrived at a critical moment. In the preceding year, the young men of Vienna had patriotically enrolled themselves as a military body, for defence of the state. The anniversary was approaching, and the Emperor granted them permission to celebrate it; but Bernadotte, declaring that he could not see such a fête with pleasure, required that the assent should be revoked. The Emperor's ministers, considering that a sovereign in his own capital ought not to be controlled in the exercise of dominion over his own subjects by a foreigner, would not permit the demand of the Frenchman to prevail, and the fête was celebrated.

April 13.

As an insulting counterpoise, Bernadotte, on the same evening, at six o'clock, collected a party at his hotel, and hung out a large three-coloured flag, with the usual insurrectionary inscription, "Liberty and "equality." The people, indignant at this insult on their government, and audacious mockery of their patriotic celebration, assembled in great crowds, demanding the removal of the revolutionary emblem. The police were tranquil spectators; the military refused to act; stones were thrown at the windows, the balconies, and the flag. Bernadotte wrote to Baron Thugut, complaining that a fanatical populace had dared to form a crowd in the front of his habitation, and to assail it with stones.

Still the tumult increased. Count Dietrichstein, counsellor of state, and Count Pugen, director of the police, waited on him, requesting the removal of the cause of offence; but he peremptorily and obstinately refused. Finally, the outraged people scaled the balcony, tore down the flag and cast it into the street. A servant of the ambassador having fired a pistol and wounded one of the people, his associates rushed in, and demolished the furniture, ornaments, and valuable effects in the house, and the carriages in the stables,

shouting all the while, “ God save the Emperor,” and “ Down with the national flag.” Having perpetrated this violence, they repaired to the palace, where the Emperor in person exhorted their return to good order; and at about two in the morning they quietly dispersed.

During the night, Bernadotte wrote several times to the Austrian minister, complaining of the insults and injuries offered to what he repeatedly called the house of France (*maison de France*), and asserting that this shameful proceeding was tolerated, or rather excited, by the authorities, who made no efforts to repress it, and required passports for himself and his whole legation to return to France, unless the minister would cause a public proclamation to be made, formally disavowing, on the part of his government, all participation in the existing outrages, and promising to seek and punish the authors and their accomplices, and further that the Austrian government would direct a civil or military officer of their own to replace the three-coloured flag. On these conditions alone would he remain in such an inhospitable city. In answer, the Citizen Ambassador was assured that no means should be omitted for rigorously examining the transactions of that night, and of the sincere endeavours of the Austrian government to cultivate the friendship so happily re-established between the two countries.

In consequence of further applications from Bernadotte, a special commission, composed of foreign as well as Austrian ministers, drew up a statement of facts, which Bernadotte could not refuse to sign, but still persisted in his resolution to depart, unless the humiliating terms which he had before proposed were complied with. It was strongly, though fruitlessly, represented to him, that the intention to set up the three-coloured flag could not have been provided for in the treaty of Campo Formio, as no ambassador from France, nor any other foreign minister, had ever before made a display of armorial or other distinctive marks. He replied, that having acted under the orders of his government, the insults and outrages to which he had

14.
Departure of
Bernadotte.

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1798.

15th.

Conduct of
the French
government.

Opinion of
Bonaparte.

been subjected wounded their dignity. On a view of the statement of facts signed by Bernadotte himself, the commission fully justified the Austrian government, and cast the blame of the whole transaction on the imprudent innovation attempted by the republican ambassador. The Emperor also issued a proclamation, reprobating the conduct of those who had taken part in the late tumult : but Bernadotte, still unappeased, quitted the Austrian capital, with all his suite, and took the road to Rastadt.

From this extraordinary transaction, general apprehensions were entertained of a renewal of war ; it seemed to be planned for the purpose : the deliberate and unprovoked insult on the feelings of a whole community ; the obstinacy with which the objectionable act was sustained ; the audacity with which an offending individual prescribed to a government, in the capital of its own dominions, the manner in which its authority should be exercised, and the degradations to which its civil and military servants should submit ; and the dogged refusal to listen to any terms, or even to await orders from his own government ; all shewed a disposition to provoke and excite feelings adverse to peace. Nor is it improbable that the ambassador acted, or thought he was acting, in conformity with the instructions, or at least the intentions, of the Directory. His representation of the matter occasioned considerable differences of opinion in his government. On the one hand, they could not disavow a general who had rendered them many important services ; on the other, the renewal of hostilities would frustrate the intended expedition. Bonaparte, being consulted on the occasion, censured the employment of Bernadotte : his temper was too impetuous for an ambassador, and he had been altogether wrong. To declare war against Austria, he observed, was to play the game of England ; and it was absurd to suppose that, if the cabinet of Vienna had been desirous of hostilities, they would have begun by insulting the ambassador : on the contrary, they would have caressed and soothed him, at the very time when they were preparing their opera-

tions, and even marching their troops. The Directory conferred on Bonaparte ample powers, and gave him directions to adjust every thing. He countermanded the orders given to the Toulon fleet; the troops were, for a time, relanded; and he wrote to Count Cobentzl, appointing a personal conference at Rastadt, where he thought him still remaining.

In the mean time, a courier arrived with dispatches from the Emperor; and, although the French government was not entirely satisfied with his proclamation, they accepted it, as displaying a prospect of an advantageous peace; a measure to which they inclined the more, from an apprehension that the authority which they had hastily confided to Bonaparte would enable him immediately to become their master. They learned, from Talleyrand, with great disapprobation, the communication he had addressed to Cobentzl; and their apprehensions were confirmed by a representation from Bonaparte, adverse to the enterprise in the east. The state of Europe, he said, was unsettled; the congress of Rastadt not yet closed: it would be prudent to keep their troops at home, to secure the elections, and to restrain the western departments. Alarmed at the appearance thus indicated, the five directors unanimously gave him a peremptory order to depart immediately for Toulon. A warm discussion ensued, in the course of which the General offered to resign his command. This weapon, which he had before used with success, now fell ineffectual from his hand. Rewbell coolly offered him a pen, saying, "If you wish to "retire, General, the Republic will undoubtedly lose "a brave and able commander, but she still has children who will not desert her." Bonaparte took the proffered pen; but Merlin snatched it from him. The debate ended, and the General, in leaving the palace, said, to one of his confidants, "The pear is not yet ripe; let us go; but we will return at a proper season." Still lingering a while, he wished to keep his appointment with Cobentzl; but Barras gave him the timely advice, which he knew his own position and the character of those he was irritating too well to neglect.

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1798.

Apprehensions
of the
Directory.Discussion
with
Bonaparte.

May 3.

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CIVIL.1798.
May 16.Commence-
ment of the
Egyptian
expedition.

"The Directory will suffer no longer delays; set out for Toulon; set out this very night; the advice I give you is most salutary." Cobentzl hastened to Rastadt, according to Bonaparte's appointment; but, soon after his arrival, had the mortification to learn that the General was gone to Toulon*.

From this port, Bonaparte sailed on the Egyptian expedition. His fleet consisted of thirteen ships of the line, among which were, L'Orient, of one hundred and twenty guns; the William Tell and the Genereux, of eighty; and eight seventy-fours; with two sixty-fours, fourteen frigates, seventy-two brigs and cutters, and four hundred transports; having on board twenty-eight thousand soldiers, veterans of the army of Italy, and ten thousand sailors. Among the generals who served under him, were Desaix, Kléber, Menou, Lannes, Murat, Junot, Regnier, and several others. Caffarelli commanded the engineers, and Berthier the staff. Among the savans who embarked, were many who had been prominent in ridicule of the crusaders for making that attempt on the Holy Land in which they now professed to feel so much enthusiasm†. To animate the soldiers, who might be depressed at not receiving their long-expected arrears, Bonaparte pledged his honour, which, he said, had ever been sacred, that every man, on his return, should receive money sufficient to purchase six acres and a half of good land.

May 19.
Capture of
Malta.
June 10.

This powerful armament soon reached the island of Malta, where treachery, long planned and prepared, gave them easy possession of a territory which, with only a small force faithfully employed, might have bid defiance to the combined fleets of all Europe. Bonaparte commenced a farce of provoking hostilities, by demanding permission to water his squadron. An indirect refusal being conveyed, the military were disembarked, and, after two days of pretended resistance,

* In this Narrative, I have followed that of *L'Homme d'Etat*, tome v. pp. 478 to 516. The author, whose means of knowledge were ample, is confirmed by Bonaparte himself, in the *Memoirs dictated to Montholon*, vol. iv. pp. 279 to 284.

† *Lacrételle*, tome xiv. p. 249.

1798.

a capitulation was signed, yielding the islands of Malta, Goza, and Cumino, to France. Against the justly imputed baseness of this achievement, Bonaparte, at a subsequent period, declared, to one of his scribes, that it was due only to his own wisdom : he took Malta at Mantua, by his generous treatment of Wurmser, which secured to him the submission of the Grand Master and his Knights*. For the refutation of this assertion, it is not necessary to resort to any adverse or imperfectly informed writer : it is promulgated by Bonaparte himself. Soon after the fall of Mantua (26 May, 1797), he wrote to the Executive Directory—" The " island of Malta is of the greatest importance to us : " the Grand Master is dying ; it appears that a German will be his successor ; we should have five or " six hundred thousand francs (from 21,000 to 25,000 " pounds) to get a Spaniard appointed." The money was not forthcoming, or the intrigue failed ; a German, Baron Ferdinand Hompesch, was appointed ; and, far from relying on the sentiments inspired by his conduct to Wurmser, Bonaparte, when recommending the attack on Egypt, wrote to Talleyrand (13th September, 1797)—" Why should we not seize on Malta ? Brueys " might anchor there and gain possession. The only " guard for the city of Valetta consists in four hundred " knights, and a regiment not exceeding five hundred " men. The inhabitants, amounting to at least one " hundred thousand, are very well inclined toward " us, and much disgusted with their knights, who have " no longer the means of subsistence, and are starving. " It was to produce this effect, that I confiscated all " their property in Italy. With the island of Saint " Pierre given up to us by the King of Sardinia, Malta " and Corfu, we should be masters of the Mediterra- " nean." And when the work of treachery had made still more prosperous advance, he wrote (12 November, 1797)—" I have sent Citizen Poussielgue to Malta, " under pretence of inspecting all sea ports of the Levant, but in reality to put the last hand to our schemes

* Las Cases, part i. p. 205.

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"upon that island*." So little prepared were the followers of Bonaparte for his sudden success, that, when they saw the strength of the fortifications, and reflected on the facility with which they were surrendered, they declared it was fortunate that a man was left to admit them, for they could not so easily have effected an entrance without a guide†. Hompesch obtained the promise of a pension, a sovereignty in Germany, which was to become the seat of the order, and he had a small sum in hand. The immediate fruit of this conquest was the plunder of the treasury of Saint John, containing all the money and the plate belonging to the hospitals, the palaces, and the churches. The French also acquired two men of war, a frigate, four galleys, two hundred pieces of cannon, with a large number of muskets, and a great store of ammunition. By a general press, they added to their force all the soldiers and sailors in the island. In return, the people were accommodated with a constitution on the French model; and a garrison of four thousand men was left, under the command of General Vauboist‡.

June 28.
July 1.
Landing of the
French in
Egypt.

July 2.

Capture of
Alexandria.

Taking its course by the island of Candia, the French fleet soon reached its destination; and, unopposed, except by a violent surf, four thousand three hundred men were landed at Marabou, two leagues from Alexandria, and advanced upon that city, taking possession of Aboukir and Rosetta, which gave them the command of one of the principal mouths of the Nile. Their progress was impeded only by a few Mamelouks, who hovered about the army, cut off stragglers, and fought a few unimportant skirmishes. Alexandria was without any defence, garrisoned only by about five hundred Janizaries, of whom scarcely a man knew how to level a musket: they made some resistance, and about one hundred and fifty of the invaders were killed, and two generals, Kléber and Mc-

* *Oeuvres de Napoleon*, tome i. p. 413; tome ii. pp. 18, 93.

† *Lacréteille*, tome xiv. p. 254.

‡ *Oeuvres de Napoleon*, tome ii. pp. 214 to 240; *Homme d'Etat*, tome vi. p. 77; *Du Boisgelin's History of Malta*, vol. ii. book 3, p. 55, et seqq.; and, except where other authority is cited, this narrative is derived from the histories of France in general, and of this expedition in particular.

nou, wounded. This loss, it is said, might have been avoided, had they summoned the town; but they thought it necessary to begin by striking terror into the enemy*. The inhabitants, finding the little resistance that could be made unavailing, fled from their houses; the Mamelouks and Arabs sought safety in the Desert; great multitudes filled the mosques, recommending themselves to the protection of God and their Prophet; but the conquerors, with unsparing rage, mercilessly massacred old and young, men, women, and even children at the breast; and when, after four hours, they at last desisted, the few inhabitants who remained were exceedingly astonished at finding that the French did not cut their throats also†.

To gain by fraud, as well as to subdue by terror, Bonaparte circulated a proclamation, in which he stated that there was no god but God, who had no son nor associate in his kingdom; that the French, true Mussulmen, had overthrown the Pope, who excited the Christians against the professors of Islamism, and had driven out the Knights of Malta, unbelievers, who imagined they were appointed by God to make war upon Mussulmen. To these infidel and blasphemous expressions, much more cant about liberty, equality, and the rights of man, was added; and the French state that the proclamation was received with transports of joy.

With his usual rapidity of movement, Bonaparte proceeded to Cairo, crossing the Desert of Demenhour, harassed by the Bedouin Arabs, who cut off the messengers even within gun-shot of the main body. His troops now discovered how they had been deceived by false descriptions and empty promises. No beautiful towns or villages, no fertile plains met their view, or relieved their necessities: pursuing their march over a parched desert, under the rays of a scorching sun, they found themselves destitute of all supplies. The Arabs, by stopping the wells, produced such a scarcity,

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Bonaparte's
proclamation.

July 7 to 11.
Progress
across the
Desert.

* The words of Adjutant-General Boyer, in a Letter to General Kilmaine, Intercepted Correspondence, part i. p. 131.

† This account is given by the French themselves.—Intercepted Correspondence, part i. pp. 7, 19, 131, 150.

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1798.

12.

13.

14.
Battle of
Chebreisse,
15.22.
and of the
Pyramids.

that a glass of muddy water was valued at its weight in gold. In addition to the torment of thirst, hunger beset them, occasioned by their throwing away four days' provision of bread, as an insufferable incumbrance ; while, through fever, sleep no longer afforded them refreshment ; and they underwent an additional torture, incident to the country, being led to a vain pursuit of apparent lakes and streams, the mere effect of the brilliant sun shining on the arid plain—well known by the name of mirage*. With that gaiety which went hand in hand with their courage and cruelty, and never deserted them under any circumstances, the soldiers, when they saw the sand flying in furious whirlwinds, exclaimed, “ There go my six acres “ and a half.” At Rahmanieh, where the Nile afforded some alleviation to their distress, they were joined by the division under Dugua, and by a flotilla, constructed by the General’s direction.

Having received intelligence of some motions of the Mamelouks, Bonaparte went out to encounter them. They came to action at Chebreisse, and the contest between mere courage, untaught by experience and unsupported by discipline, and equal bravery fully endowed with these advantages, terminated, as might be expected, in the triumph of the invaders. Informed of the disasters of his country, Mourad Bey, a chief of the Mamelouks, collected a force of six thousand horse and about as many foot, and formed an unskilful entrenchment between Embabeh and Giseh. Bonaparte hastened to attack him ; and the dawn of day presenting to his followers, for the first time, a view of the Pyramids, he judiciously seized the occasion to inflame their courage, by observing that on that spot they were going to combat the governors of Egypt, and from those lofty monuments forty centuries would be spectators of their deeds. The Mamelouks

* The distress and feelings of the army at this period are strongly painted by Bonaparte himself.—*Memoirs dictated to Montholon at St. Helena*, vol. ii. p. 238. His account concludes with one of the numerous characteristic traits which shew that the French “ have a conceit left them in all their misery.” It was believed that the savant, Caffarelli, had been a great promoter of the expedition, and even deceived the General : “ But,” said the soldiers, “ he laughs at all these troubles “ —he has one foot in France.” He had lost a leg.

fought with their never-failing valour, and their usual ill success ; they were completely routed, with the loss, it is said, of three thousand men, almost all killed on the field, forty pieces of artillery, four hundred loaded camels, the tents, and a great number of horses, richly caparisoned : a large booty also accrued to the soldiers, from the spoils of the dead.

After this, which was called the battle of the Pyramids, Mourad fled into Upper Egypt. Ibrahim Bey, who commanded a force similar to that of Mourad, but, being stationed on the other side of the Nile, had not shared in the engagement, retreated to Belbeis.

The populace, no longer controlled by the troops, pillaged and destroyed many buildings in Cairo, particularly the palaces of the Beys. The French made some judicious movements during the night ; but, in the morning, the chief men of the city presented their humble submission, and Bonaparte was admitted to the possession of the capital of Egypt, having a population of three hundred thousand souls*. He assured them that the only wish of the French was to remain on terms of friendship with the people of Egypt and the Ottoman Porte, and promised that their manners, customs, and religion, should be scrupulously respected ; but he speedily put in operation a provisional government, in which every thing was to be regulated by his military ; and the taxes and revenues which had belonged to the Mamelouks were not to be remitted or

Surrender of
Cairo.

23.

27.

* This description must not lead to a conclusion that Cairo possessed any real opulence, beauty, or comfort. General Dumas, in a letter to Kléber, of the 27th July, describes it as a horrible dog-hole of a city, where it would be easy to lose oneself for a whole day in the stinking narrow streets ; the inhabitants as a lazy set of wretches, who squat all day before their filthy huts, smoking and taking coffee, or eating melons and drinking water.—Intercepted Correspondence, part i. pp. 76, 158, 160, et passim. Alexandria, purchased with so much guilty bloodshed, was still worse ; wretched and unhealthy ; houses with mud walls ; holes covered with clumsy wooden lattices for windows : no raised roofs, and doors which you could not pass through without wounding yourself ; a collection of dirty, ill-built pigeon-holes, in narrow, crooked, unpaved streets, where the passenger was poisoned with dust, and suffocated with heat.—Same, p. 108. It is observed that, as these intercepted letters were written by men whose imaginations had been exalted and their hopes inflated by pompous descriptions, and whose disappointment therefore produced violent expressions, allowance should undoubtedly be made on this score ; but still there remains an indubitable residue of truth in their statements.

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1798.

Pursuit by
Admiral
Nelson.

May 9.

reduced, but collected as the property of the French Republic. He also established a literary and scientific institute, of which, in his decrees and despatches, he generally styled himself a member*.

In this expedition, fortune is said to have favoured Bonaparte: not in his military operations certainly; for the foe to whom he was opposed was deemed, both by him and his followers, too feeble and insignificant to warrant the boasts with which his adulators have commemorated his exploits†; but in escaping so long from a danger much more feared, and a foe of a very different description. On the first intelligence of the preparations of the French at Toulon, every possible exertion was made by the British government to discover and frustrate its intended objects. Impelled by that noble feeling which will not permit a brave and lofty-minded man to foresee, in an able supporter of the cause in which he is engaged, a probable rival in his fame and his honours, Lord Saint Vincent, readily following an intimation from the Admiralty, confided to Admiral Nelson† the charge of opposing the enemy, in whatever quarter they might be discovered, and put under his immediate command two seventy-fours, two frigates, and a sloop, with promises of a speedy and important addition§. Nelson applied at Gibraltar;

* Berthier, *Relation des Campagnes du Général Bonaparte en Egypte : Mémoires de Savary* (Duke of Rovigo), tome i. chap. ii. to v. pp. 27 to 67; Miot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Expéditions en Egypte et Syrie*; Alison, vol. iii. c. xxiv; *Bonaparte au Caire ; Victoires et Conquêtes*, tome ix; all the histories of the time; and the Intercepted Correspondence.

† Adjudant-General Boyer describes them (*Intercepted Correspondence*, p. 133) as a rabble, for he cannot call them soldiers, which has not any idea of tactics, and which knows nothing of war, but the blood which is spilt in it. And again he speaks of them (p. 155) as knowing of no superiority in arms, but that of sleight and agility; without order or firmness, unable even to march in platoons, advancing in confused groups, and falling on the enemy in sudden starts of wild and savage fury. Bonaparte himself entertained a much more contemptuous opinion of them. "I could scarcely understand your orders," Berthier said to him, long afterward, "when I heard you call out to an officer of the guards, pointing at the same time to a detachment of one thousand Turkish horse, 'Hercules, my dear fellow, take five and twenty men, and charge that 'rabble'!'"—*Les Caées*, part i. page 224.

‡ The mention of this illustrious commander affords an opportunity for correcting a mistake in vol. vi. p. 643; where it is said that, in the attempt on Santa Cruz, he lost his *left*, when in fact it was his *right* arm.

§ Sir John Orde, who was in rank superior to Admiral Nelson, felt himself hurt by this appointment, and entered into a correspondence with Lord Saint Vincent, which would have terminated in a duel, but for the vigilance and ju-

but General O'Hara could give him no information. The capture of a small corvette, coming out of Toulon, enabled him to form some judgment of the enemy's destination. A violent squall in the Gulf of Lyons, which damaged several of his ships, prevented him from perceiving the French fleet, which put to sea on that very day. He was obliged to obtain, from the governor of Saint Pierre, in the island of Sardinia, almost by force (such was the influence of the French), the permission, which from a neutral power he had a right to demand, to anchor and refit his squadron. Soon afterward, to his inexpressible satisfaction, his friend, Captain Hardy, in the *Mutine*, brought him intelligence that Captain Trowbridge, with ten sail of the line and a fifty-four, had been detached to reinforce him ; and the junction being effected, he considered himself able to cope with any force the French could employ in the Mediterranean.

Pursuing his enquiries after the enemy, he repaired to Naples, and vainly endeavoured to inspire the terror-stricken sovereign with resolution to renounce his neutrality : the King, and his minister, General Acton, resolved that nothing should be done which might endanger their peace with the French Republic : they would not even afford to the English Admiral the succours and supplies which were most urgently wanted ; but, by secret means, Lady Hamilton, wife of the British Ambassador, enabled him to obtain, in ample quantities, every thing requisite. The people of Sicily, feeling differently from their rulers, crowded in boats around the British fleet, and, with loud acclamations, hailed them as friends and protectors ; and the Admiral obtained the indispensable aid of Neapolitan pilots, to pass in safety through the Straits of Messina.

Having received intelligence that the French were at Malta, and unapprized of the perfidy which occasioned its surrender, Nelson arrived there only to learn the unsatisfactory news, and to find that the French

dicious interference of Mr. (Sir Richard) Ford, the magistrate at Bow Street. Ample recognizances for keeping the peace were entered into, and Lord Spencer and Mr. Dundas became sureties for the parties.

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1798.

17.

22.

24.

June 4.
He is joined
by Captain
Hardy. •

8.

16.
His reception
at Naples.

17.
His further
pursuit.

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1798.

20.

July 4.

20.

25.

August 1.

fleet had departed. Following the dictates of his own judgment, and unguided by any local information, he repaired to Alexandria ; but discovered that the French were not there ; nor could he gain any tidings. He then shaped his course for the coast of Caramania, and, passing the south side of Candia, with a contrary wind, returned to Sicily, and entered the port of Syracuse, after performing a round of six hundred leagues, and with such care and attention to order and discipline, that he had not one sick man in the fleet. By Lady Hamilton's influence, he was enabled to baffle that of the French resident, and gain supplies, particularly of water, without which, his further progress would have been impossible. When he had refitted, he renewed his pursuit ; and Captain Trowbridge obtained from the government of Coron, in the Morea, correct intelligence, which being pursued, the Admiral had the satisfaction to descry the enemy's transports in the harbour of Alexandria.

It is justly observed, by a French officer engaged in the expedition, that “ the English fleet played “ against a run of ill luck ; it missed us on the coast “ of Sardinia ; next it missed a convoy of fifty-seven “ sail, coming from Civita Vecchia, with seven thou-“ sand troops of the army of Ireland ; it did not arrive “ at Malta till five days after we left it ; and it reached “ Alexandria two days before us*.” It may seem surprising that so large a fleet should so long have escaped the observation of the British squadron ; but it is to be observed, that the French, steering from Malta for Candia, made an angular passage toward Alexandria, while Nelson proceeded directly for that place, without approaching Candia, which considerably shortened the distance. The smallness of the British squadron rendered it necessary to sail in close order ; it therefore covered a limited space ; and the want of frigates to detach on the look-out, and the constant haze which prevails in that atmosphere, greatly diminished the chance of descrying the enemy. Nelson, on more than

* Letter from Jaubert, supposed to his brother, 8th July, off Aboukir.—Intercepted Correspondence, part i. p. 18.

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August 9.

one occasion, mentions with regret his want of frigates. The two he had at first were separated from him by the storm in the Gulf of Lyons. In most affecting terms he begins a letter to the First Lord of the Admiralty :—“ Were I to die this moment, want of frigates would be found stamped on my heart; no words of mine can express what I have suffered, and am suffering, for want of them.” He never imputes blame to any one for the deficiency. Lord Saint Vincent, an experienced and able commander, was too sensible of the importance of these vessels, justly termed the eyes of a fleet, voluntarily or negligently to occasion a want of them ; it must therefore have arisen from circumstances uncontrollable. The distance likewise between Candia and the Barbary coast, being about thirty-five leagues, leaves ample space for two of the largest squadrons to pass without mutual observation*. Apprehensive of the danger he had to anticipate from the arrival of a British fleet, Bonaparte had ineffectually offered ten thousand livres (about four hundred guineas) to any pilot who would carry his squadron into Alexandria : the fleet, consequently, remained at anchor in the Bay of Aboukir.

When assured of their being discovered, Nelson joyously exclaimed, “ To-morrow I shall gain a peerage, or Westminster Abbey.” Animated as the crews were with the hope of glory, and irritated by the disappointments experienced in a protracted chace, no proclamation was necessary to inspire contempt of danger, and eagerness to perform their duty. The British fleet approached the enemy in a close line of battle, each ship sounding as she stood in. The position of the enemy presented most formidable obstacles : from their situation, they had no manœuvres to perform ; but their attention was confined to their artillery, in the use of which they so much and so justly prided themselves. The British Admiral, who viewed all the advantages they possessed with a seaman’s eye, knew that they must have room to swing the length of their cables, and consequently that there would be

Battle of
Aboukir.

* Authentic Narrative, by an Officer of Rank (Sir Edward Berry), p. 15.

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space enough for his ships to anchor between them and the shore. The French, expecting to be attacked on the sea side, were unprepared for this manœuvre. At a quarter past six in the evening, the engagement commenced. Captain Foley led the Goliah into action, doubling the enemy's line, and anchoring alongside of the second ship in the van ; and four others, following his course, took their stations opposite the vessels they were directed to combat. The Vanguard soon dismasted the Spartiate, and obliged her to surrender ; and the Aquilon yielded to Captain Louis, in the Minatour. The Bellerophon, commanded by Captain Darby, running down the line, dropped anchor alongside of the French Admiral's huge flag ship, l'Orient. Captain Peyton, in the Defence, followed close, and took his station, with great judgment, a head of the Minotaur : he engaged the Franklin, of eighty guns, which bore the flag of Contre-Amiral Blanquet Du Chelard, second in command. The Majestic, with the Alexander and Swiftsure, which had been prevented assisting at the commencement of the battle, by reconnoitring Alexandria, and afterwards being obliged to alter their course to avoid the shoal on which the Culloden had struck, came into action at eight o'clock, when darkness had for some time enveloped the combatants. The last ship that entered the conflict was the Leander, whose captain, Thompson, had lost some time in vain endeavours to assist the Culloden. In the van, four French ships had already struck their colours ; and the battle raged chiefly in the centre, where the Franklin, l'Orient, le Tonnant, and l'Heureux, were making every exertion to recover the glory of the day. At nine o'clock, a fire was observed to have broken out in the cabin of l'Orient ; but, although the conflagration soon raged with dreadful fury, the French Admiral sustained the honour of his flag with heroic firmness, till he was cut asunder by a cannon ball. He had before received three desperate wounds, but could not be prevailed on to quit his station on the arm chest. His captain, Casa Bianca, fell by his side. Several of the officers and men, seeing the impractica-

bility of extinguishing the fire, which had now extended itself along the upper decks, and was flaming up the masts, jumped overboard, some supporting themselves on spars and pieces of wreck, others swimming with all their might, to escape the dreaded catastrophe. Shot, flying in all directions, dashed many of them to pieces ; others were picked up by the boats of the fleet, or dragged into the lower ports of the nearest ships. The British sailors humanely stretched forth their hands to save a fallen enemy, although the battle, at that moment, raged with uncontrolled fury. The situation of the Alexander and Swiftsure was extremely perilous ; as the explosion of such a ship as l'Orient might involve all around in destruction. Captain Hallowell, of the Swiftsure, being to windward of the burning ship, would not remove ; but Captain Ball's ship having been twice set on fire by the flames of l'Orient, he was obliged to take a more distant station. Admiral Nelson, who had been carried off, severely wounded on the head, when informed of the situation of l'Orient, hastened on deck, directing that every exertion should be made to save as many lives as possible. Boats were immediately put out from his ship, the Vanguard, and above seventy Frenchmen rescued. At half-past nine, the fire communicated to the magazine, and l'Orient blew up : a tremulous motion was felt to the very bottom of each ship, similar to that of an earthquake ; and fragments, hurled to a vast height into the air, descended on the decks and rigging of the ships. An awful silence reigned for several minutes ; but vengeance soon roused the drooping spirits of the French ; the engagement was renewed, and continued till about three o'clock in the morning, when the firing ceased entirely, both squadrons being equally exhausted with fatigue. At four, just as the day began to dawn, the conflict was revived ; in the course of which, l'Artemise frigate fired a broadside at the Theseus, and then struck her colours ; but, just as a boat sent to take possession had come within a short distance, she burst into a flame, and soon afterwards blew up. This event arose from the treachery of Estandlet, who com-

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3.

manded, and who, having set his vessel on fire after his surrender, escaped to the shore, with most of his crew. Separate engagements between different ships were maintained during the greater part of the day. About noon, Rear Admiral Villeneuve, in the Guillaume Tell, of eighty guns, with the Généreux, of seventy-four, and La Justice and Diane frigates, got under weigh and made their escape.

On the ensuing morning, the only French ships remaining in the Bay, not captured or destroyed, were the Timoléon and the Tonnant. The former being aground near the coast, the captain (Trullet), with his crew, escaped in boats, after setting her on fire; and in a short time she blew up. Le Tonnant submitted to the Theseus, Leander, and Swiftsure, which completed the conquest of the fleet*.

The French distinctly beheld, from the heights of Rosetta, the progress of this astonishing, and to them afflictive, engagement: their hopes vanished with the chance of victory; and they now considered themselves for ever lost to their country, and cooped up in a strange and detested land, to struggle for existence, and lengthen life only to protract their despair and horror. Sir Edward Berry being ordered home with dispatches in the Leander, of fifty guns, encountered, near Goza, Le Généreux, of seventy-four, which had escaped from the battle, and, after maintaining an obstinate, though unequal, contest for six hours, was obliged to strike. After the victory, six of the prizes sailed for England, under Sir James Saumerez. It was at first attempted to repair the Guerrier, Heureux, and Mercure; but as the delay, consequent on rendering them fit to sail to Gibraltar, would have cost at least a month, Nelson, who had received secret and urgent orders from Lord Saint Vincent, judged it expedient to burn those three vessels; but at the same time petitioned the Admiralty to make a liberal allow-

* The difference of force of the French and English fleets was—English, one thousand and twenty-eight guns, and eight thousand and sixty-five men; French, twelve hundred and sixteen guns, and ten thousand seven hundred and ten men.

ance to the sailors, whose legal advantages from the prizes would be thus destroyed.

Such was the ever-memorable battle of Aboukir, or the Nile, for it is with equal propriety distinguished by both denominations; and it may be safely averred, that the records of history do not produce an instance of one more judiciously conceived or bravely conducted, more glorious in its achievement, or more important in its consequences*.

On the Continent of Europe, the ascendancy of the French Republic, asserted with merciless arrogance, and submitted to with tame acquiescence, was first shaken by this noble triumph of British valour. The honours paid to Nelson, and the acclamations which accompanied his name, wherever pronounced, afforded to the French a sufficient demonstration of the state of public feeling, and a sure indication that opportunity and mutual understanding alone were wanting to excite the dormant spirit of sovereigns, reanimate their depressed people, and create new hostilities. Compressed by fear, the spring of hatred against the French Republic seemed only to await this opportunity to exert its force. In every part, joy was evinced without concealment; the roads were thronged with couriers, and the public papers reproduced the intelligence in every possible form; it engrossed general attention.

This was the glory acquired by Great Britain, at a moment when standing alone in opposition to an enemy before whom half the nations of the Continent had laid down their arms; at a time when she was combating a most alarming rebellion; when, by the mere operation of reason, national honour, and confidence in a vigorous authority, she surmounted difficulties

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Observations.

* In the narrative, besides the *Gazettes* and public documents, I have consulted the biographies of Nelson, Clarke, and M'Artur, Southey and Harrison, following principally the judicious and well-detailed descriptions of the latter. Also Sir Richard Berry's *Narrative*; *A Voyage up the Mediterranean*, by the Rev Cooper Willyams; Thibaudeau, *Histoire générale de Bonaparte*, tome i. c. i. to iv.; Dénon, *Voyage en Egypte*; Miot, *Mémoires de l'Expedition*; and the Intercepted Correspondence, part i. p. 178 to the end. In a dispatch to the Executive Directory (19th August, 1798), Bonaparte, unjustly as it seems, attributes the loss of the fleet to Admiral Brueys, who would not leave his position and proceed to Corfu.—See Moniteur, and Montholon, vol. ii. p. 354; *Mémoires du Duc de Rovigo*, tome i pp. 60, 63.

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and dissensions, alarmed the coasts of France and Holland, shut up the naval forces of Spain, supported Portugal, defended her own external establishments, and carried on, exclusively, the commerce of the whole world*.

* This paragraph is taken entirely from *Homme d'Etat*, tome vi. p. 349.

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHT.

1798, 1799.

Effects of recent transactions—at Constantinople.—Russia.—The Emperor favours the Knights of Malta.—Effects of Nelson's victory—at Constantinople—Russia—and Sardinia.—Russian fleet in the Bosphorus.—Change of ministers in Turkey—and in Russia.—Treaties formed.—Naples.—Prevailing hatred of the French.—Insurrection at Malta.—Capture of Goza—and Minorca.—Recapture of the Peterell.—Position of the Emperor of Germany.—Attempts of the French on the Grisons.—Spirit of the imperial ministers.—Conduct of the people.—Ineffectual efforts of the French.—Honours paid to Nelson in England.—The City of London.—Other corporations.—Nelson's peerage.—Medals.—Public thanksgiving.—Parliament.—King's speech.—House of Lords.—Marquis of Lansdowne.—Answer.—Marquis of Lansdowne.—House of Commons.—Lord Leveson Gower.—Sir John Sinclair.—Sir Francis Burdett.—Addresses carried.—Motions in honour of Lord Nelson—his officers and seamen.—Annuity granted.—Mr. Tierney's motion on peace.—Income-tax—introduced by Mr. Pitt.—Mr. Tierney—Mr. Hobhouse's objections.—Bill brought in.—House of Lords.—Opposition.—The Earl of Suffolk.—Earl of Liverpool.—Lord Auckland.—Bill passed.—Budget.—Mr. Tierney's resolutions.—Mr. Pitt's.—Russian subsidy.—Debate.—Mr. Windham.—Resolution carried.—House of Lords.—Amendment moved.—Marquis of Lansdowne.—Lord Grenville.—Amendment rejected.—The Press.—Mr. Wilberforce.—Mr. Tierney.—Flower punished.—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus.—Mr. Courtenay.—Colonel Despard's

case.—Smith's.—Mr. Dundas.—Mr. Pitt.—Other members.—Answer.—Debate on the motion for a commitment.—Mrs. Despard's letter.—Charges refuted.—Bill passed.—House of Lords.—Report on Colonel Despard.—Secret committee.—Their report.—Proclamation.—King's message.—Mr. Pitt's motion on secret societies.—On debating societies—and on the press.—Mr. Tierney.—Answers.—House of Lords.—Bill passed.—Its effects.—Forfeiture for high treason.—Bill brought in.—Opposed.—House of Lords. Slave trade.—Mr. Wilberforce's motion.—Opposed—supported—rejected.—House of Lords.—Limitation bill.—Observations of the Duke of Clarence.—Lord Grenville.—A point of order.—The Earl of Westmorland.—Bishop of Rochester.—Lord Thurlow.—The trade regulated.—Evacuation of St. Domingo.—Account of Toussaint.—Speaker's speech to the King.—Prorogation.

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CVIII.

1798.
Effect of recent
transactions.

At Constanti-
nople.

July 3.

ALL the events which had recently taken place, shewed the great probability of a renewed war, and a powerful combination against France. It had not escaped the discernment of Bonaparte that the unprincipled invasion of Egypt must occasion angry feelings at Constantinople; but he lulled himself with the notion that the Turkish power was falling into ruin; and he relied on the address of Talleyrand, who he supposed was to be employed as ambassador, to avert any consequences to be apprehended from that quarter. In both points he was deceived: the Directory never intended to deprive themselves of the inestimable services of Talleyrand. That sagacious statesman had no desire to undertake a mission, the probable termination of which would be a visit to the Seven Towers; and they soon had reason to acknowledge how empty was the boast of one of their adherents, that, if the Grand Signor felt displeased, a general peace should be dictated under the walls of his capital. Elated with the acquisition of Malta, Bonaparte thought of nothing less than revolutionizing Asia and Africa: he flattered himself that the powers dependent on the

Turkish empire would gladly throw off that yoke. By the intervention of Lavalette, he sought to attach to his views the celebrated Ali, Pacha of Janina, Albania, and Epirus, to obtain possession of Macedonia, and to create a general insurrection of the Greeks. To forward these schemes, and to tranquillize the Porte, the Directory asserted that the expedition from Toulon was intended solely for the capture of Malta, and that no views on Egypt were entertained. Indisputable intelligence soon unveiled this falsity. The French minister vainly endeavoured to impose on the Divan with other fables, accompanied with declarations that the rights, interests, and sovereignty of the Porte should always be sacredly respected. The Turkish government, dissuaded by the ministers of Spain and Holland from their first determination to shut up Ruffin, the French ambassador, in the Seven Towers, made him a prisoner in the hotel of the chargé d'affaires, where, by the aid of guards alone, he was protected from the fury of the people. Orders were issued for arming all ships of the line and frigates : war was not actually declared ; but every thing tended to shew the daily increasing ascendancy of England and Russia.

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CVIII.

1798.

22.

From the time of his accession, the Emperor Paul had shewn particular favour to the order of Saint John of Jerusalem, considering the institution as a school in which nobility would acquire sentiments of honour, which might be opposed to the menacing progress of the system of equality. At the request of the Count De Litta, he granted a restitution of the revenues arising from the Grand Priory of Poland, adding an annual income of three hundred thousand florins (£17,500) to their revenues, distributed rich commanderies to the Prince of Condé and the Polish seigneurs, with other munificent and honourable favours and distinctions, which the Grand Master and Council gratefully acknowledged, by presenting him, at a solemn audience, with the cross formerly worn by their illustrious Grand Master, Lavalette, and conferring on him the title of their Protector. When the surrender of the island

Russia.

The Emperor
favours the
Knights of
Malta.

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CVIII.

1798.

August 26.

Effect of
Nelson's
victory.At Constan-
tinople.Russia,
and Sardinia.Russian fleet
in the Bos-
phorus.Change of
ministere in
Turkey,

5.

and in Russia.

was known at Petersburg, the dignitaries and knights of the Grand Priory assembled, and, before God, and all those who deemed honour and fidelity virtues, protested against the perfidy which had been exercised against the order, pronounced the degradation of all who had composed and accepted the infamous treaty, deprived Ferdinand De Hompesch, and threw themselves into the arms of Paul, their Sovereign Protector, whom they solemnly inaugurated as Grand Master*.

While these affairs were in progress, the welcome intelligence of the victory of Aboukir excited the spirits and confirmed the resolution of the various powers, and produced marks of favour and consideration to the British Admiral, valuable in themselves, but rendered important by the hopes they gave of a general good feeling. The Grand Seignor ordered a magnificent diamond aigrette to be taken from one of his own turbans and called a chelengh, or plume of triumph, to be presented to him, accompanied with a fur pelisse of the greatest dignity: and a munificent donation in money was distributed among his crews. The Emperor Paul also presented the noble Admiral with his portrait set in diamonds, in a gold box; and the King of Sardinia made a similar compliment†.

The ambassadors from England had not been remiss in their efforts to turn existing circumstances to the advantage of their country: alliances were formed, in consequence of which the unusual spectacle was presented of a Christian fleet received on friendly terms in the Bosphorus. The Grand Vizier, Yzzed Mehemet Pacha, distinguished by his devotion to France, and consequent enmity to Great Britain, was deposed and exiled to the island of Scio, for having neglected to give timely information of the projects for the invasion of Egypt. Other ministers, friendly to him, were also displaced; and Joussouf Pacha was appointed his successor. In like manner, the Emperor of Russia also discarded Prince Kurakin, whose influence had produced his early measures so beneficial to the French.

* *Homme d'Etat*, tome vi p. 289, et seqq.; *De Boisgelin*, vol ii part iii. p. 104.

† *Southey's Life of Nelson*, vol. i. p. 247.

In fact, treaties were entered into between Russia, the Porte, and, before the close of the year, with Great Britain ; fleets were equipped, and troops put in motion, in a manner which, although some of the recent compacts were not yet published, excluded all doubt that hostilities were meditated, and must speedily ensue.

CHAP.
CVIII.1793.
Treaties
formed.

In no part of the Continent did Nelson's victory ^{Naples.} occasion such public and lively displays of satisfaction as in Naples. There the King, or rather the Queen—for her spirit and judgment predominated in all public affairs,—felt with indignation the servile state to which the country was reduced by the prevalence of French intrigue, and the dread of French power : the people, except a revolutionary faction, created and nourished by the emissaries of the Republic, cordially responded to these sentiments. The British fleet, which so recently had been clandestinely provided with necessaries, was hailed, on its return, with almost frantic transports of joy. When Nelson's ship, the Vanguard, came in sight, the King paid him the unusual, if not unprecedented, compliment of going, with his suite, in a royal barge, three leagues out to sea, to embrace the hero, whom his Majesty, his ministers, and all his subjects, hailed by the title of their deliverer. The Queen, who, with all her family, had gone out in another barge, but was too late to meet him on board the Vanguard, gave full vent to her feelings of exultation on his being introduced at the palace. The people hailed him with shouts of joy, terming him “*Nostro liberatore*,” our deliverer ; the Lazzaroni, in particular, crowded around him, bearing in baskets birds of different species, which, at his approach, they set at liberty, watching their flight with the solemn anxiety of Roman augury. For three days, the city resounded with festivity and rejoicing, and the nights were rendered brilliant by general illuminations, enriched with apt and ingenious devices. When he had been at Naples a week, his ^{29.} birth-day, the conclusion of his fortieth year, occurred ; it was celebrated by Sir William Hamilton with a brilliant fête, at which eighteen hundred persons were

Sept. 22.

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CVIII.

1798.

Prevailing
hatred of the
French.
20.

present; a great rostral column was erected in the principal saloon, inscribed with the well-known and appropriately selected sentence, “*Veni, vidi, vici.*”

In full proportion to the exaltation of the British name and influence, was the depression of those of France. Two days before Nelson’s arrival, Lachavaudière, the French consul for Palermo, who had just escaped from Egypt, wrote to his government in these terms:—“The French name is heard here with horror. The King is arming eighty thousand men. “The cabinet either refuses to answer, or answers with insolence, the notes presented by our chargé-des-“affaires, La Chaise, who is an excellent republican. “The French are forbidden to enter the country, and “the most extravagant predilection prevails in favour “of the English. The people of Sicily are still more “incensed against us. Our vessels are driven out of “their ports; and, wherever the French appear, the “populace pelt them with stones, and sometimes fire “on them. Not one French cockade is suffered*.”

Insurrection at
Malta

Rapacity and oppression soon drove the inhabitants of Malta to a revolt: they rose, and obliged the French garrison to take refuge in the fort, while a British squadron of three sail of the line, a brig, and a fireship, blockaded them by sea; and the dependent isle of Goza was captured without resistance. With somewhat more difficulty, but without loss, the Honourable Charles Stuart, ably aided by Commodore Duckworth, attacked the island of Minorca, garrisoned by four thousand Spaniards, and, although their forces were very unequal, the spirited combination of both services, and some judicious manœuvres and well-contrived feints, obtained a surrender of the island, with ample military and naval stores, and prisoners in number greatly exceeding the whole force of the victors. In their course toward Minorca, the English recaptured the Peterell, which had been taken by a squadron of Spanish frigates, the officers robbed and treated with great inhumanity, one of them having been murdered

October 15.
Capture of
Gozo,and Minorca.
November 17.15.
Recapture of
the Peterell.

* The Histories in general; Harrison’s Life of Nelson, vol. i. pp. 320 to 329; Southey’s Life, vol. ii. pp. 1 to 10; l’Homme d’État, tome vi. p. 401, et seqq.

for the purpose of obtaining his property: and the captors of the Leander shewed a disposition equally cruel and rapacious, reducing the character of generous warriors to that of remorseless, greedy, sanguinary pirates or banditti*.

Although the congress at Rastadt continued its sittings, the hope that it would settle the affairs of Europe on a basis from which permanent tranquillity might be expected, daily diminished. The continued intrigues and violences of the French combined with other causes to render such a result highly improbable. The Emperor of Germany could not be insensible of the affronts put upon him in the transaction relative to Bernadotte; but his attention was more particularly and powerfully called to another effort of ambition and injustice.

When they found themselves assured of domination in Switzerland and Sardinia, the French turned their attention to the small republic of the Grisons, not invited by the wealth, the number of the population, or the productiveness of the soil, but by its importance as a station, to favour any further views that might be entertained on the Swiss, the Cisalpine, or the Venetian territories, or on the Tyrol. From an early period of the French revolution, clubs had been established, conspiracies formed, and agents commissioned, to encourage discontents, and teach their adherents to rely on French succour, whenever they should declare against their rulers. When he had conquered the Milanese, Bonaparte, by the efforts of an obscure and intriguing lawyer, named Comeyras, was enabled, before the signing of the treaty of Campo Formio, to annex the Valteline and Chiavenna to the Cisalpine Republic. Efforts were now made to procure a renunciation of the independence and individuality of the Grisons, by an incorporation with Switzerland; but the events which had taken place alarmed the people, and the Emperor, being applied to, declared that, if any innovation took place, preju-

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CVIII.

1798.

Position of the
Emperor of
Germany.Attempt of the
French on the
Grisons.

June 22, 23.

* The particulars respecting the capture of the Leander are well detailed in Harrison's Life of Nelson, vol. i. p. 329.

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CVIII.

1799.

July 29.

dicial to good order, and injurious to his hereditary states, he could not see it with indifference ; and if changes were attempted by force, he would not suffer them. The French, on the contrary, announced that the promise they had made to respect the independence and free will of the people of the Grisons, comprised an engagement not to permit that liberty and free will to be in any manner checked or restrained, and an obligation to protect communes and individuals who might be attacked on account of their vote for an union with Switzerland. Their agents procured the nomination of a day for deciding by vote this important question ; but, to their great disappointment, only eleven communes approved the measure : fifteen, desirous of temporizing, voted for an adjournment of the question ; while thirty-six pronounced an uncompromising negative. In the city of Coire, and many places, even the women intruded into the assemblies, urging their husbands and relatives to oppose the measure : many tumults took place, and the supporters of the union were obliged to conceal themselves from the fury of their opponents. Had the same spirit been displayed on their side, the French would have hailed it as the disinterested demonstration of the will of the nation : as it was, they treated it merely as the effect of an evident delusion, created by the treacherous contrivances of a faction, which had sold the liberty and happiness of their countrymen, and wanted to lead them to slavery through the blood-stained paths of disorder and civil war. Insurrectionary movements having taken place against the partizans of the union, the French minister retired from the country, and General Schaumbourg was ordered to invade it ; but the order was suspended, in consequence of the movement of a body of imperial troops into the Voralberg, and to the frontiers of the Grisons.

In this state of affairs, the intelligence of Nelson's victory gave spirit and firmness to those who were disposed to resist the encroachments of the French. " Providence," Count Lehrbach observed, in a confidential dispatch from Rastadt to Baron Thugut, " seems

Spirit of the
imperial
ministers.
Sept.

1798.

" to have chosen the arm of the British navy to punish
 " the crimes committed against Italy and Switzerland.
 " Through all the bravadoes of the French legation, the
 " feeling of fear is to be discerned. The unexpected
 " declaration of war by the Ottoman Porte, the unequi-
 " vocal part taken by the Emperor of Russia, the disaster
 " of the Toulon fleet, the dangerous situation of Bona-
 " parte, and the ill success of the attempt on Ireland,
 " have augmented the desire of peace, and caused some
 " concessions by the French at the congress. Do not
 " relax, then, on the subject of the Grisons; take pos-
 " session of the country, if you wish, by preserving the
 " Tyrol, to close one of the gates of Italy and the Aus-
 " trian monarchy; do not fear that you will provoke a
 " war; they are not equal to such a measure at Paris.
 " Quick! occupy the Grisons, if you wish that Austria
 " should reassume her superiority at Rastadt, in Ger-
 " many, and in Italy."

These spirited suggestions were well sustained by the people of the Grisons. A general diet, opened at Ilantz, restored to their offices those friends of their country who, by the prevalence of French influence, had, in the early part of the year, been displaced, and voted, by a great majority, a defensive armament, the command of which was entrusted to Baron De Salis Marschlins. The French party still continued their plots and contrivances; their resident at Ragatz still pressed the union, demanding a second scrutiny; and a military force was kept up on an undefended portion of the Rhine, ready to enter the Grisons, if a plausible pretext could be afforded. Explanations took place at Rastadt between the imperial plenipotentiary, Lehrbach, and the French minister, Roberjot; in which the imperial court, citing the obligations of ancient treaties, as well as the importance of the Grison territories, declared a determination to maintain their independence and integrity.

While this correspondence was pending, the revolutionary party, instigated and supported by Florent Guyot, armed, and endeavoured to secure important posts, that they might favour the invasion of the French.

Conduct of the people.

Sept. 12.

Ineffectual efforts of the French.

October 5.

CHAP.
CVIII.

1798.

14.

15.

17.

18.

October 2.
Honours paid
to Nelson in
England.

August 8.
The City of
London.

Their plot was discovered; the adjacent country rose against them; some of the principal leaders were secured; and three hundred of the traitors fled into Switzerland. The French agent, in the usual tone of his masters, remonstrated, and demanded satisfaction for the outrages committed against the French and their friends, and the liberation of the prisoners, threatening war, unless the union with Switzerland was immediately assented to; and he assured the regulator of the assembly, on his word of honour, that their reliance on the Emperor was without foundation. Having received a firm, though temperate, answer to this blustering missive, he essayed terms more gently persuasive; but this effort also failing, he announced, in abusive terms, his departure from the country. The Emperor had made military arrangements suited to the crisis; and, by desire of the people, a convention was executed, by which he engaged to protect the country against all assailants, to abstain from interference in the government of the interior, and to maintain a strict discipline. An army, under the Archduke John, was consequently admitted, with the junction of the native troops, to occupy all the important passes of the Grisons. The baffled Directory did not declare war; but their army, under General Schaubourg, occupied posts in Switzerland; and it was declared, in the general orders, that the recent proceedings would not disturb the harmony between the Emperor and France*.

Intelligence of the victory of Aboukir did not reach England until two months after its achievement; it was received by all classes, and in all places, with enthusiastic joy. Every city, every town, every village, throughout the realm, displayed the signs of this feeling by three nights of illumination; the name of the hero was the theme of all praise—the triumph of his valour, of all admiration. Speedily after the battle, by a letter to the Lord Mayor of London, he offered, as a present to the City, the sword he had taken from Admiral Blanquet. The Court of Common Council

* *Homme d'Etat*, tome vi. pp. 350 to 370.

ordered the trophy to be properly displayed in the council room at Guildhall. A sword, of two hundred guineas value, was voted to the Admiral ; and the freedom of the City, in a gold box of the cost of one hundred guineas, was given to Captain Berry. The East India Company voted to the Admiral, who had so essentially served their interests, a donation of ten thousand pounds ; the London Turkey Company, plate of large value ; and several corporate bodies, as well in the metropolis as in provincial cities, presented the freedom of their communities, in gold boxes. But the present, if not the most costly, perhaps the most highly esteemed, was that of a sword, the hilt surmounted by a crocodile, which was offered as a mark of affection from his brave brothers in arms, the Captains of his own squadron. The City and the opulent members of the community, with that most public-spirited liberality which is founded on justice and gratitude, effected ample subscriptions for the widows and children of those who had fallen ; and a fund was established, under the management of a committee at Lloyd's Coffee-house, which, becoming permanent, gave reason to many, whose relatives fell in maritime engagements, to bless the hero who had achieved the victory of the Nile.

His Majesty elevated the illustrious Admiral to the peerage, with the title of Baron Nelson of the Nile, and of Burnham Thorpe, in the County of Norfolk, with an appropriate enlargement of his coat of arms, and a well-chosen motto—"Palman qui meruit ferat ;" and presented an elegant gold medal to the Captains who had shared in the action, conferring on each the honour of knighthood*. A form of prayer and thanksgiving was appointed to be read three Sundays in churches ; and a day was set apart, and duly observed by the Royal Family, and by the people at large, to

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October 3.Other corpora-
tions.Nelson's
peerage.

Medals.

21.
Public thanks-
giving.

* Mr. Alexander Davison, at his private cost, provided another medal, of excellent conception and workmanship, which was presented in gold to Lord Nelson—and to his captains, warrant officers, petty officers, and seamen, respectively, in silver, gilt metal, and copper, as a perpetual memorial of their glorious achievement.

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evince the gratitude of the nation to the Dispenser of all good, and the Protector of those who trust in Him*.

1798.
November 20.
Parliament.
King's speech.

On the meeting of Parliament, the King spoke with patriotic animation of this victory; and, from the wisdom and magnanimity of Russia, and the decision and vigour displayed by the Ottoman Porte, augured happy effects on other countries; and he spoke with satisfaction of the preparations at home, which had prevented an invasion, and the repression of rebellion in Ireland.

House of Lords
Marquis of
Lansdowne.

On a motion for an address, made by the Earl of Darnley, and seconded by the Earl of Craven, the Marquis of Lansdowne observed, that ministers ought to draw from our naval successes the advantage of checking the French in their career. It had never been denied, that, if a sense of general danger should bring the powers of Europe to a league upon honest principles, they must prevail over the revolutionary system; but their present state of mutual jealousy prevented confidence in their success. The family on the throne of Russia had uniformly cherished a notion that Constantinople was to be a part of their inheritance; and the Porte, the most helpless of countries, was not merely incapable of external operations, but even of domestic defence. He recommended a renewal of our attempts to negotiate for peace; the renunciation of all idle plans of conquest, seeking acquisitions which we could not maintain, like Corsica and Saint Domingo; cheap and economical defence; a refusal of assent to all continental intrigues, in which the French would outmanœuvre us; a display of a disinterested spirit; and, above all, the marking of our character by moderation. Opposition had disappeared; some said it was dead and buried: to conciliate public opinion, and secure the prevailing unanimity, he recommended economy and order in every department of the state, a renunciation of corrupt influence, and a repeal of those petty, irksome, and unproductive exactions, which fretted and disturbed men's minds, created irritation, and favoured the views of faction.

* Annual Register, vol. xl. pp. *100, *115.

Lord Grenville deprecated an offer of negotiation at the present moment, as an unquestionable proof of pusillanimity and meanness. No longer misled by mutual jealousy, Austria and Prussia had become sensible of the necessity of pursuing, with united firmness, measures calculated to promote their true interests. The Turks were intitled to high commendation ; and it was not to be doubted that a prince so remarkable for virtue as the Emperor Paul, would be faithful to his engagements. As to the supposed results of the war, when Corsica and Saint Domingo were mentioned, Saint Lucia, Martinique, and the Cape of Good Hope, ought not to be forgotten.

In a few additional observations, the Marquis of Lansdowne treated the schemes for a new coalition, and taking the lead in Europe, as foolish and idle, leading only to confusion and disaster. The Duke of Marlborough, who was most eminently in possession of conciliatory talents, stated it as some merit, to have made eight nations act as one man ; but he could not, if now alive, form such a confederacy, or induce four nations to act as one man.

In the House of Commons, the motion for an address was introduced with an eloquent speech by Lord Granville Leveson Gower, who maintained that an attempt at negotiation would be no less impolitic than fruitless. The French government was intimidated, and their mighty preparations for invasion terminated in empty gasconade. Their attempts on Ireland, although aided by the co-operation of a diabolical faction, involved them in fresh disappointments and disgrace. To shew the impracticability of our negotiating with safety, he adverted to the treatment experienced by Switzerland, enslaved, plundered, and ruined, under pretext of friendship ; Spain, reduced to the lowest degree of humiliation ; and Austria, insulted and deceived, even during the continuance of the conferences at Rastadt. When Russia and the Ottoman Porte had so magnanimously stepped forward in the cause of social order, would it become that House to paralyze the efforts of the people of England, and blast the

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Lord GrenvilleMarquis of
Lansdowne.House of
Commons.Lord Leveson
Gower.

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hopes of every civilized state, whose sole prospect of relief centered in this country ?

1798.
Sir John
Sinclair.

Sir Henry Mildmay having seconded the motion, Sir John Sinclair eulogized the victory of the Nile, as superior to that of La Hogue, or any other naval exploit, but still complained of the defective equipment of our fleet : but for that, Lord Nelson might have attacked the French at Malta, where both the fleet and army must have surrendered ; and, from the want of frigates and bomb-vessels, the transports in the harbour of Alexandria had yet escaped destruction. Bonaparte, as well as his fleet, should have been captured, and the hero himself brought in chains to the metropolis which he had proudly threatened to enter as a conqueror. He disapproved of the measures of finance, particularly the departure from the funding system—the most complete and unexceptionable ever produced by the wit of man, and which might be carried on many years without the smallest risk of interruption.

Sir Francis
Burdett.

Sir Francis Burdett, while he spoke with due praise of the great naval victory, regretted that it was not to be used for the obtainment of peace, but the formation of new alliances. In speaking of Ireland, it would have been merely decent, had ministers put into his Majesty's mouth expressions of regret at the sufferings of his people ; and on the sentence in which his Majesty declared his firm determination to repel any attack on our laws and constitution, he animadverted in terms of bitter invective. On the part of the people of England, he complained of many innovations in the jurisprudence of the country ; of the interference of the executive with the management of prisons, and treatment of prisoners ; of those bastiles called Houses of Correction, where unheard-of severities were exercised upon men not even charged with a crime,—thrown into prison on suspicion, and, after months of solitary confinement, turned naked into the world. He could not fall down in vile prostration before his Majesty's throne, and, like a trembling slave, lick the dust from his feet. If his Majesty was sincere in wishing to promote unanimity among all

ranks of his subjects, let them be restored to their rights and liberties ; let the old law of the land be again made the rule of action ; let these new prisons, these receptacles of misery and instruments of tyranny, be destroyed ; let a wise system of economy succeed to the present profligate, wasteful, and corrupt expenditure ; and let the blessings of liberty be secured by a full, free, and fair representation of the people in Parliament.

No amendment was moved in either house, and the addresses were voted without a division.

A motion, in the House of Lords, made by Earl Spencer, seconded by Lord Hood, and supported by the Duke of Clarence, for thanks to Lord Nelson and the captains and officers of his fleet, with an expression of approbation of the conduct of the seamen and marines, was carried without the slightest dissent. The House of Commons acquiesced as readily in one of the same import, made by Mr. Dundas, with the addition, that a monument should be erected in Saint Paul's Cathedral to the memory of Captain Westcott, of the Majestic, who fell in the battle.

In consequence of a message from his Majesty, the House of Commons also voted an annuity of two thousand pounds to Lord Nelson and his two next succeeding heirs male to whom his titles should descend.

In pursuance of opinions expressed in the debates on the address, Mr. Tierney moved a resolution, that it was the duty of ministers to advise his Majesty against entering into engagements which might prevent or impede a negotiation for peace, whenever the French should shew a disposition to treat on proper terms. This motion, supported by no argument of force or novelty, produced from Mr. Canning a speech which would, if it had been necessary, fully have established his character as a scholar, a wit, an orator, and a statesman. With equal force of reasoning and of ridicule, he exposed the weakness and presumption of the mover, the triteness of his notions, and the crudities of his argumentation. Mr. Jekyll humanely

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1798.

Addresses
carried.

Motions in
honour of Lord
Nelson,

his officers and
seamen.

Annuity
granted.
22.

December 11.
Mr. Tierney's
motion on
peace.

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interposed a few words in protection of Mr. Tierney ; but his motion was negative without a division.

1798.
Income tax.

It was well known that the minister intended, as Sir John Sinclair anticipated, to alleviate the inconvenience of the funding system and mitigate the increase of the national debt, and raise a supply within the year by a tax on property. Such a measure had been often alluded to in the writings of speculative financiers, and recommended to the minister by the Bishop of Landaff, a prelate not generally favouring his measures*.

Proposed by
Mr. Pitt.

In a committee of ways and means, Mr. Pitt stated the necessary amount of expenditure at £29,272,000. After the application of the usual resources, there would remain upward of twenty-three millions unprovided for. Acting on the fundamental principles established in the preceding year, he should endeavour so to regulate the sum raised by loan, that a temporary tax would be sufficient to defray it within a limited time. The increased assessment had not been so productive as was expected ; but the voluntary contributions, by their excess, had more than compensated for the deficiency. To meet the general wishes and interests, and to guard against the evasions which had been favoured by the assumption that the assessed taxes furnished a criterion of taxation, a general tax should be imposed on all the leading branches of income. Commissioners, properly qualified by their situation in life and their property, should have the power, and a considerable discretion in exercising it, of fixing the rate of assessment. Estimating the rents of lands, of houses, tithes, mines, profits of professions and different pursuits of commerce, income from possessions beyond the seas, and in various other modes, at an aggregate sum of one hundred and two millions, ten per cent. would produce ten millions a year. The scale of assessment began at sixty-five pounds per annum, from which one one-hundred-and-twentieth part was to be taken, and went on progressively, with minute advances, up to two hundred pounds, on which,

* Life of Dr. Watson, vol. ii. p. 41.

and all exceeding revenues, ten per cent. was to be imposed.

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Mr. Tierney made many observations on the disclosure of private circumstances which the proposed measure would require ; it was putting a tenth part of the property of England in a state of requisition. The French, in their career of revolutionary rapine, had followed such a course ; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had justly reprobated it with the hardest epithets. It was most unjust to subject an income for life to an equal amount with one derived from the interest of a permanent capital. There were other resources yet untouched, which ought to be resorted to before the proposed measure should be sanctioned. There were many valuable things under the church establishment, not in the smallest degree beneficial to religion, but which only swelled out the pomp and pride and imaginary greatness of some inflated individuals, and the exorbitant wealth of corporations, which ought to be brought in aid of the public burthens.

1798.
Mr. Tierney.

The resolutions were agreed to ; but, on bringing up the report, Mr. Hobhouse objected to the plan, whether the tax were to operate on expenditure, income, or whether property was made the basis of taxation. If expenditure, the pressure would be most severe on him, who, having exceeded his means, would be least able to pay ; if income, the evils before mentioned by Mr. Tierney would certainly occur ; and with respect to the remaining ground, they who had the greatest property might not have the greatest income, nor the greatest necessary expenditure. A tax on income would strike with peculiar force at the fruits of industry, while indolence was left untouched and encouraged, and would relax those springs which give life and activity to commerce and agriculture. The 7th. Bill brought in.

Mr. Hob-
house's objec-
tions.

When the report was to be taken into consideration, a debate ensued, in which Sir John Sinclair and Mr. M. A. Taylor advanced objections which were

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1799.
January 8.
House of
Lords.

Opposition.

The Earl of
Suffolk.The Earl of
Liverpool.Lord
Auckland.

neither new, nor particularly forcible. They were answered by Mr. Simeon, the Solicitor General, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The House divided, on the question for taking the report into further consideration, much to the disadvantage of opposition*. Another division on the question for the third reading was still more unfavourable†.

In the House of Lords, on the motion for a third reading, the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Holland, and the Duke of Bedford, objected to the measure as a financial resource, and to its mischievous political effects, as creating a new mode of taxation, and placing within the knowledge of ministers the exact amount of every man's individual fortune. The Earl of Suffolk made severe observations on the difference between the income of those who filled lucrative public situations, and the landed proprietors. The public functionaries had only to pay their ten per cent. out of the seven, eight, or ten thousand a year which they received; but they were exempt from salt duties, poor-rate, and other incidental charges, which fell upon the landholder.

The Earl of Liverpool shewed that many of the peculiar expenses attached to land were allowed to be deducted, in making returns under the bill; and that others, such as the salt tax, were reimbursed by the enhanced price of the articles to which they applied.

In a detailed and cogent defence of the bill, Lord Auckland analyzed all its provisions, and shewed its benevolent mitigations and exemptions, and the advantage of raising the sum required in the manner proposed, instead of funding at the existing price of stocks. In its vindication, he also energetically described the necessity and importance of the struggle in which the country was engaged, and drew a just and animated picture of the grasping ambition and unappeasable rancour of France, her degraded state, her violence and oppression toward other countries, and unmitigated hatred of this. In his censure of the French, however, he made this candid and liberal qua-

lification :—“ On the present and on other occasions, “ I have used harsh language respecting them as a “ nation ; and surely they have been, during nine years, “ the most detestable people that ever disgraced the “ globe ; the scourge and pest of afflicted humanity. “ But I speak not of the French such as I saw and “ knew them twelve years ago ; nor as I hope one day “ again to see them. I speak of them as they are—a “ credulous, subjugated, irreligious, immoral, and cruel “ people ; blind instruments of the corruptions, ca- “ prises, and crimes, of a few desperate regicides. I “ will continue so to speak of them on every occasion ; “ because I feel and know that we cannot be too often “ and too strongly impressed with a true opinion of our “ enemy, and with a true sense of our own danger. “ But God forbid that I should apply such expressions “ to the nation which I saw, composed of a brave and “ generous nobility, and a good-tempered and ingenious “ people : even then, however, following false lights, “ and tending toward the precipice down which they “ have since fallen.”

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1799.

No division was attempted, and the bill passed. Bill passed.

At a late period of the session, the Chancellor of the Exchequer produced his plan of additional supplies, or budget. The sum of fifteen millions was raised by the usual mode of competition ; the terms created no debt ; and as the means for defraying the interest did not press with particular severity on the subject, they occasioned no discussion. On a subsequent day, Mr. Tierney proposed a series of twenty-one resolutions on the national debt, finance, and commerce : they were printed ; and, on the day fixed for their consideration, Mr. Pitt offered, in opposition, thirty-one resolutions. Probably, the certainty that a debate, founded on so many difficult calculations, must be uninteresting and wearisome, alarmed the members. It was conducted solely by the two great opponents themselves. Mr. Tierney compared the national debt in 1793, when it was £209,553,599, with that of the present time, which was £426,452,269, exclusive of annuities. The sum to be raised for 1799, he estimated at £59,443,552;

June 7.
Budget.28.
Mr. Tierney's
resolutions.July 3, 11.
Mr. Pitt's.

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1799.

the revenue at £26,039,046. The future peace establishment was taken at not less than £25,614,225; and during the continuance of the tax on income, at £33,114,225 per annum: and, in conclusion, appeared two estimates of the very limited and lingering progress of redemption of the debt.

Mr. Pitt's chief object, as affording a fairer estimate, was to compare the situation of the country, not with 1793, after a long and prosperous peace, but in 1784, the first year after the conclusion of a war. He differed also from some of Mr. Tierney's items, and shewed that, from a fallacy caused by the inclusion of Ireland, and the neglect of the sum to be reduced by the appropriation of the income tax, the national debt had been unduly swelled from its actual amount of 386,000,000 to 426,000,000. The state of the revenue clearly proved that, after six years of war, we were nearer to a liberation from debt, than either at the commencement of it, or at the beginning of the late peace. The previous question was moved upon each of Mr. Tierney's resolutions, and those of Mr. Pitt were carried without a division*.

Lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas presented messages from his Majesty, announcing a treaty with the Emperor of Russia, which would require the payment of £225,000, by stipulated instalments, as preparation-money, and a monthly subsidy of £75,000, with a further payment at the rate of £37,500 per month, to take place after the conclusion of a peace, made by common consent.

Debated.

Mr. Tierney.

Embracing with joy the extensive views of enlarged benefit to Europe and to society, looking at the period as not far distant when we should see the just balance of power restored, and ancient principles and lawful government again recognized, Mr. Pitt moved that £825,000 should be granted. The debate was chiefly carried on between the minister and Mr. Tierney, who objected to the grant of English money for unknown and undefined purposes, and did not know what was

* Annual Register, vol. xli. p. 201; and for the resolutions, see Parliamentary History, vol. xxxiv. pp. 114¹, 1146.

meant by the deliverance of Europe. He made sarcastic observations on the conduct of the Emperor of Germany, who might not think Europe delivered, but by stripping France of her conquests, and decorating himself with the spoils. The deliverance of Europe must be as dear to Russia as to England; and yet Russia had contributed nothing but manifestoes and proclamations. He would not consent to fight with English blood and English treasure, not merely against the power of France, but her system; to drive her back, not merely within her ancient limits, but to her ancient opinions. "No man," he added, "more de-
" tests France than I do. I feel the greatest indigna-
" tion at her perfidy and deceit, her pretence of deliver-
" ing surrounding nations from tyranny, and ruling
" them, when in her power, like the most ferocious
" despot. I own I loved the principle of the revolu-
" tion in its commencement, and therefore may be
" allowed the more to lament the direction which its
" progress has taken."

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1799.

Mr. Pitt vindicated the high character and indis-
putable good faith of the Russian Emperor, who would
not act dishonourably in a cause which he knew to be
that of all good government, religion, and humanity,
against a monstrous medley of tyranny, injustice, irreligion,
ignorance, and folly. He had never thought
that the war should be persevered in until the monar-
chy of France was restored: he would give no opinion
on the kind of government called a republic; but while
the spirit of France remained as at present, its govern-
ment despotic and vindictive, unjust, with a temper
untamed, a character unchanged, if its power to do
wrong at all remained, any security for this country or
Europe could not be expected. Our simple object was
security, just security, with a little mixture of indem-
nification. "We do not wage war," he said, "against
" the opinions of the closet, nor the speculations of the
" school; but with armed opinions, which the sword
" of audacious, unprincipled, and impious innovation,
" seeks to propagate amidst the ruins of empires, the
" demolition of altars, the destruction of every vene-

Mr. Pitt.

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"rable and good and liberal institution, under what-
"ever form of polity they have been raised."

1799.
Mr. Windham.

To these observations, Mr. Windham added some spirited remarks on the state and government of France. He would not conceal that he thought no system so suitable to France as her ancient monarchy. Gentlemen might indulge their fancies in drawing comparisons between the present humane, just, and amiable government, and that of the tyrant Louis the Sixteenth; but, in his opinion, such language was fit only for ale-houses, and deserved to be classed with the vulgar exclamations of *soup maigre* and *wooden shoes*.

Resolution
carried.

11th.
House of
Lords.
Amendment
moved.

No amendment was moved, and the resolution was agreed to.

In the House of Lords, two amendments to the address were proposed, on grounds diametrically opposite. Earl Fitzwilliam, declaring that the object of the war should be not only to deliver Europe from the tyranny of the French republic, but from the French republic itself, offered an amendment in those terms. Lord Holland, on the contrary, maintained that nothing could be more idle than to imagine that France would accept from any foreign power a government not of its own choice. An armed foe at the gates would unite the people, and secure the defence and triumph of the government. His amendment therefore pledged the country to the prosecution of a vigorous war, till the Republic of France should be disposed to enter on the work of a general pacification, in a spirit of conciliation and equity.

Marquis of
Lansdowne.

The Marquis of Lansdowne considered the present war as a mere confederacy of kings, who carried it on to support their own power; and he supported his opinion by referring to the partition of Poland—an act which England, on account of the war in which she was engaged, could not prevent.

Lord Grenville.

Lord Grenville observed that it had, perhaps, been only decent to have spared these censures. The conduct of Austria and Russia in that transaction was highly blameable; but, with respect to the Emperor of Russia, it should, for the sake of justice and truth,

have been recollected that the event belonged to another reign : and who would say that it would have been politic—that it would have added to the happiness of his old subjects, or his new, had the Emperor Paul, at his accession, restored his portion of Poland to its former masters and governments ?

Both amendments were negatived, and the address carried.

Several occasional discussions arose on the liberty of the press, and of the subject. Mr. Wilberforce complained of the manner in which debates were reported in newspapers, alleging a studied design to misrepresent and even to vilify the members and their proceedings ; but, as he specified no particular publication, his speech could be considered only as a general admonition to reporters.

Mr. Tierney, having made an unfounded and unwarranted allegation, that a nobleman had in a most unworthy manner evaded the triple assessment, drew upon himself some strong animadversions in the newspaper called the Times. He treated all requisitions to name the party, as interrogations under torture ; but it appeared that Lord Auckland was the person calumniated. Ready as he had shewn himself to advance false accusations against another, the honourable member was extremely sensitive with respect to himself, when censured upon known and indisputable facts. He made a motion against the paper, as containing a breach of privilege, which was reduced into a regular shape by the Speaker. It was unopposed ; but Mr. Tierney, shrinking under the reproof of Mr. Dundas, who reminded him of speeches of his own, much more insulting to Parliament than any thing in the publication in question, obtained leave to withdraw his motion.

Benjamin Flower, the proprietor of the Cambridge Intelligencer, was brought to the bar of the House of Lords, on the motion of Lord Grenville, for some insulting remarks on a speech of the Bishop of Landaff, and sentenced to pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and to an imprisonment of six months in Newgate.

On the grounds of religion, morality, and propriety— May 27.

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1799.

Amendment
rejected.

The press.
1798.
December 20.
Mr. Wilber-
force.

December 22.
Mr. Tierney.

1799.
May 3.
Flower
punished.

CHAP.
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30.1798
December 21.
Suspension of
the Habeas
Corpus.

Mr. Courtenay

Colonel
Despard's
case.

ety, Lord Belgrave brought in a bill for suppressing Sunday newspapers. The motion to fix a day for a second reading, opposed by Mr. Sheridan, was carried only by a small majority*; and, after a speech against it by Mr. Jekyll, and one in its favour by Mr. Windham, the bill was lost†.

A bill for continuing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus furnished occasion for several debates, not so much on the measure itself, as on some rumours, assertions, and complaints, respecting the treatment of persons confined, particularly in the House of Correction, in Cold Bath Fields. On the motion for a second reading, Mr. Courtenay maintained that the non-existence of insurrection, the general loyalty of the people, unexampled at any period since the Revolution, the absence of fear from invasion, the defeat of the enemy's fleet, and the security derived from the arming of between two and three hundred thousand men, rendered the measure unnecessary. Within the last year, seventy or eighty persons had been arrested; but not one brought to trial. In consequence of the reports circulated, and the cavalier treatment of his friend, Sir Francis Burdett, he had, in company with the honourable Baronet and another gentleman distinguished for his humanity, inspected the prison: the numbers, indeed, were exaggerated; but the situation of the prisoners was extremely wretched; they were treated with unexampled rigour. He found them without fire or candle; denied every kind of society; exposed to the cold and rain; only allowed to breathe the air out of their cells for about an hour daily; denied every comfort, every innocent amusement; excluded from all intercourse with each other, and every night locked up from all the rest of the world; they could not enjoy the light of heaven without throwing open a wooden shutter, which subjected them to the cold and rain: these circumstances had caused the prison to be curiously known by the name of the Bastile. The honourable member dwelt particularly on the case of Colonel Despard; whose hardships had, however, been greatly

• 25 to 22.

† 40 to 20.

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1799.

Smith's.

mitigated through the humane interference of Mr. John Reeves; and on the sufferings of a female street-walker, and a disobedient apprentice, who had been committed as vagrants. He also noticed the treatment experienced by Smith, who was imprisoned for publishing a seditious pamphlet.

From this style of opposition the debate divided itself into two heads, severally affecting the general policy of adopting and continuing the measure, and the treatment of the persons detained. The latter point, Mr. Dundas observed, had no connexion with the bill: if there was any just cause of complaint, the magistrates had jurisdiction. Mr. Tierney, Mr. Alderman Combe, and Mr. Western, opposed the bill,—in general, on the ground that, from the change which had taken place in the state of the country, our domestic safety was never in less danger.

Mr. Dundas.

Mr. Pitt expressed warm satisfaction at these statements, reminding the House that this change had arisen from the adoption of the very measures which gentlemen, who now exulted in our safety, had represented as calculated to produce disaster abroad, and destroy the constitution at home. It was surely an extraordinary mode of argument for those who exulted in the effect, to say that, in the very moment of their exultation, they were to throw away the means by which the beneficial change had been effected. Jacobinism might be curbed and repressed; but, while the principle remained unextinguished, its efforts would not cease. He hoped that, during the present session, through the medium of a secret committee, the public might be put in possession of many circumstances which would display the system of treason which had been carried on, and the links by which Irish traitors were connected with traitorous societies in this country.

Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Courtenay's assertions respecting solitary confinement and severe treatment were supported by Mr. Tierney, Sir Francis Burdett, and Mr. Michael Angelo Taylor, who altogether deprecated solitary confinement, and dwelt on the case of Colonel Despard, a man

Other
members.

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CVIII.

1799.

Answer.

of rank, a colonel in the army, who was treated with so much inhumanity. It was admitted that publications more diabolical than those of Citizen Smith had never existed; but still the grounds of the present measure ought to be submitted to a select committee.

On the other side, the Attorney and Solicitor General vindicated the sentence under which Smith and other atrocious and blasphemous libellers were punished. The use of the word Bastile, as a name to places for the imprisonment of such offenders, claimed close kindred with the revolutionists of France; for our prisons were first called Bastiles by the orators of Copenhagen House and Pancras Fields, who used it not only in their public harangues, but in their confidential letters.

Mr. Mainwaring, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Burdon, positively contradicted the assertions of the rigid confinement, the hard treatment, and miserable sufferings, of the prisoners; and the second reading was carried by a great majority*.

26.
Debate on the motion for a commitment.

Mrs. Despard's letter.

Charges refuted.

On the motion for going into a committee, Mr. Courtenay renewed his observations on the treatment experienced by Colonel Despard, reading, in corroboration, a letter from the Colonel's wife, replete with allegations of grievances. His cell was damp, not seven feet square; he had neither fire nor candle, chair, table, knife, fork, glazed window, or even a book to read; and her applications to Mr. Wickham, the under secretary of state, and the Duke of Portland, had been ineffectual. On the twentieth of November, he had been removed; but not until his feet were ulcerated with frost.

In answer to this accusation, the Attorney General stated minutely the applications which had been made to Mr. Wickham and the Duke of Portland, the answer given, the inquiries instituted, and the measures adopted, by which every attention, which the rank and situation of the Colonel could demand, had been directed, and books and every possible indulgence allowed. Mr. Burdon also stated, that, having seen the letter

now produced, he had conversed with the Colonel, who informed him that he was as comfortable, in every circumstance, as the nature of a prison would admit. It was true that in September he had a chilblain on his heel ; but so little did he think of it, that he would not employ the surgeon of the prison to relieve it. Had he known of the letter written by his wife, he would have disapproved of it. This letter, it was observed, did not appear to be the composition of Mrs. Despard ; not written by her, Mr. Canning said, but by a friend. He would not say that it was composed by Mr. Courtenay himself ; for he had seen some of his writings, and the letter was as far superior to them, as it was above the former epistolary specimens of Mrs. Despard. Without division, or further discussion, the bill passed.

Bill passed.

In the Lords, it produced one debate, in which the principle of the measure was attacked, and a division taken*, for the purpose that the solitary peer who divided might enter on the journals a solitary protest.

*1799.
January 4.
House of
Lords.*

A petition from Colonel Despard being referred to a committee, their report contradicted in every respect the general charges made against the prison, and the particular treatment of the prisoner. The whole matter only deserves attention, as, for several years afterward, it formed a leading topic of factious clamour and incendiary excitement.

*February 25.
Report on
Colonel
Despard.*

At an early period of the session, certain papers, presented by his Majesty's command to the House of Commons, sealed up, had been referred to a select committee. They reported that they had found the clearest proofs of a systematic design, long since adopted and acted upon by France, in conjunction with domestic traitors, and pursued up to the present moment, with unabated perseverance, to overturn the laws, constitution, and government, and every existing establishment, civil and ecclesiastical, both in Great Britain and Ireland, and to dissolve the connexion between the two kingdoms. Their chief means were the propagation of those destructive principles which pro-

*January 23.
Secret
committee.*

*March 15.
Their report.*

* 26 to 1 (Lord Holland).

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CVIII.

1799.

duced the French revolution, by the institution of political societies; and the effect had been unhappily exemplified in the distractions and calamities of Ireland. These measures, successful in subverting so many European governments, and reducing so many independent states to vassalage and subjection, had only failed in this country through the precautions of the legislature, the vigilance of government, and, still more, the general good sense and loyalty of the nation. Still the object was not abandoned; the utmost diligence was still employed in endeavouring, not only to sustain and revive those societies, but to extend their correspondence to every part of this kingdom, to Ireland, to France, and other places, where French emissaries were established; and to institute new societies, on the same plan, and with the same object, as those in Ireland, which had produced such pernicious and formidable effects. All these societies maintained, through their leading members, a frequent communication with the government of France, to which they appeared to look as their protector and ally.

Minute and copious details were then given of the nature and system of the society of United Irishmen; the rise of different societies in Great Britain; the attempts to form national conventions in Scotland and in England; the proceedings subsequent to the arrests in 1794, including the field meetings for the delivery of inflammatory harangues; the effect of the treason and sedition acts; the mission of delegates by the London Corresponding Society; the mutiny in the Fleet; and the attempts to seduce the military. The report then returned to transactions in Ireland, displaying the progress of the United Irishmen till the period of the rebellion, their intercourse with France, and with the leading members of societies in England, particularly one called the United Englishmen, the centre of which was at Manchester, and another formed in Scotland. In all these, signs for mutual recognition, like those of Freemasons, had been established, though not generally communicated; and plans were formed for subverting the existing government, and establishing a

1799.

system entirely new. Early in 1798, it was seriously in agitation, among the conspirators in Ireland, to convey, in small vessels, a great number of United Irishmen, and to land them on different parts of the English coast, with instructions to divide into small bodies, and make their way to the capital, under the disguise of those trades and occupations in which the Irish here are principally engaged. Their object was to co-operate with the Corresponding Society, in effecting an insurrection in London at the time of the rebellion breaking out in Ireland, for the purpose of distracting the military force, and preventing the dispatch of reinforcements to that country ; and the plan was said to have failed through the apprehensions of the Corresponding Society. Another project was secretly formed, for collecting at one point a chosen body of the United Irishmen employed on the Thames, who, under a new oath of secrecy, obedience, and fidelity, and promises of large rewards, but wholly ignorant of the precise service they were intended to perform, were, as soon as an attack on some part of the coast was announced on the part of the French, to be privately armed with daggers, to be put under leaders of known talents and courage, and formed into three divisions, to make an attack, by surprise, at the same moment, on both Houses of Parliament, on the Tower, and on the Bank. And, notwithstanding the continuance of every precaution, with a knowledge of the prepared and formidable force, and the determined spirit and general loyalty with which such an enterprise would be immediately resisted, plans of this nature were now more than ever in agitation. Agents from Ireland were concerting with the French a fresh and general insurrection ; and the utmost diligence was used in France to prepare another expedition to co-operate with the rebels. In Hamburg, the resort of the disaffected of every country, a committee of United Irishmen had been formed, which had become the centre of a correspondence among the British and Irish societies.

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CVIII.

In an ample appendix, papers and extracts were given in support of the deductions of the committee.

1799.
Proclamation.
18th.

A proclamation was immediately issued, ordering that no person coming from Ireland, except those actually employed in the public service, should be permitted to land in this kingdom, without producing to an officer of the customs, a passport, signed by the Lord Lieutenant, his secretary, the mayor of some city or town, or a general officer commanding in that country. And, by a message from the King, it was communicated to the House of Commons, that several persons, who were in custody in Dublin and Belfast for treasonable practices, would be brought over, and, for the present, confined in Fort George.

April 3.
King's
message.

Mr Pitt's
motion on
secret societies

Mr. Pitt observed that the report was so full of convincing proofs, and the facts spoke so plainly and so forcibly, that recapitulation or comment would be needless. He submitted that whoever should continue, after a day to be named, to be a member of the Corresponding Society, the United Irishmen or United Englishmen, should be subject to a penalty, to be recovered before a magistrate, or, if prosecuted in a court of record, to be punished according to the circumstances of the case, by fine, imprisonment, or transportation, at the discretion of the judges. But as it was impossible to guard against all the various shapes which treason might assume, he was desirous also of subjecting to the same penalties the members of all societies which, like those he had mentioned, were bound together by ties of secrecy and connected by oaths, which not only concealed the names of the leaders from the knowledge of government, but from their associates themselves. It would be found requisite also to make provisions against the owners of houses, public or private, who should harbour such societies.

On debating
societies,

There were other societies calculated to corrupt the morals and vitiate the understanding of the community; namely, debating societies; where questions were agitated little suited to the capacity of the au-

dience, and which operated to loosen the foundations of morality, religion, and social happiness. To them he proposed to extend the restrictions already applied to lecture rooms; and that in no place, where money should be taken for admission, should people be permitted to assemble, unless licensed by a magistrate, and subject to his inspection.

A third intended measure would relate to the liberty of the press. It was allowed that every author or publisher should be amenable to the laws; and therefore he meant to propose regulations which would make it impossible that any publication should be circulated without attaching to it the due responsibility. He concluded by recommending the introduction of bills founded on these observations.

Mr. Tierney attributed the brevity of the minister's remarks on the report to its defects; for a document of that description less supported by evidence had never been submitted to the House. The existing laws were sufficient for removing the evils complained of; for, excepting France, no country possessed stronger means of repressing sedition than this. Government had all the powers of seduction and terrors of punishment that could be devised. The influence of the Crown, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, the treason and sedition acts, and many existing laws, afforded full guarantees of public security; and, for upward of a century, a government much less strengthened had been able, with only an occasional suspension of the Habeas Corpus, to maintain the general safety. The cruelty of committals on mere suspicion tended to the introduction of torture, and consequently of a military tribunal; for without martial law such a system could not be supported. The proposed regulation of debating societies amounted to a prohibition of all clubs; for, without the payment of money for admission, no club could be maintained: and the regulation on the press was worse than an imprimatur. He recommended, as the great foundation for content and tranquillity, the usual panacea—extinction of abuses, and reform in Parliament.

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1799.

and on the
press.

Mr. Tierney.

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CVIII.1799.
Answers.

Without much difficulty, the Attorney General and Mr. Abbott refuted the assertion of the sufficiency of existing laws, and shewed the difference between the circumstances of rebellion in 1715 and 1745, when the question was the contention of rival royalties, and the present day, when the pretension was that two branches of the legislature should not exist at all, and that the third should be founded on a basis different from that now established.

Lord Grenville also presented to the House of Lords the report of a committee to whom the same papers had been referred, fully approving that which had been offered to the other House, and giving it as their opinion, that no form of government could be considered secure, under which the system of secret societies there described was permitted to exist.

The bill, prepared on the motion of Mr. Pitt, passed both Houses without much opposition. It abolished the societies of United Englishmen, United Scotchmen, United Irishmen, and the London Corresponding Society, as unlawful confederacies, and enacted that every member of any society in which oaths were taken, or engagements entered into, or which had select or secret bodies, committees, or officers not known to the society at large, and all who should maintain any intercourse with, or contribute money to, such societies, guilty of an unlawful combination and confederacy. They might be proceeded against by information before justices of peace, and fined twenty pounds, or be imprisoned three months; or by indictment, and transported for seven, or imprisoned two, years. Those who permitted such meetings to be held in their houses, were, for the first offence, to forfeit five pounds, and, on conviction for a subsequent act, to be deemed guilty of an unlawful combination, and suffer like the offenders previously named; and if licensed to sell spirituous or other liquors, their license to be forfeited. Every house, room, field, or place, opened for the purpose of lectures, debates, or of reading books, pamphlets, or newspapers, for admission to which any money or other premium was required, was to be

May 27.
House of
Lords.

Bill passed.

Its effects.

sanctioned by a license, or the owner to be liable to a penalty of one hundred pounds for every day such place should be opened; justices of the peace might demand admission, and, if refused, the place to be deemed disorderly, and the person acting as master subjected to a fine of twenty pounds. Persons having presses or types for printing, were to obtain certificates from clerks of the peace: should they omit that form, or use the types in any other place, they were to forfeit twenty pounds; and, under a similar penalty, the name and abode of the printer was to appear on every copy of every paper or book printed: proper provisions and exceptions were included for protection of societies of Freemasons, lectures at the Universities, and papers issued by authority of either House of Parliament*.

In both Houses, debates arose on a bill for perpetuating the law of forfeiture for high treason. As it stood, it would terminate with the life of the Cardinal of York, which, by the course of nature, could not be of long duration. Mr. Abbott introduced the measure with a learned and well-composed speech, deprecating an omission which would render it less penal to commit high treason than a common felony, and afforded less protection to the life of the sovereign and the liberties of the country, than to the life and property of the most humble individual.

Dr. Laurence, Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Jolliffe, ^{Opposed.} and Mr. Hobhouse, opposed the measure on different grounds, as affecting the law made on the union with Scotland, as a branch of a system of terror, and as unjust and cruel, in punishing the innocent descendants for the crimes of an ancestor. One occasion only, a division was taken, and then the sense of the House was shewn by an ample majority†.

In the House of Lords, the measure was opposed by Lord Holland and the Earls of Radnor and Fitzwilliam: many quotations were made from the works of lawyers and statesmen, and modern instances and individuals were referred to. The Duke of Orleans had not been deterred from pursuing his destructive

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1799.

Forfeiture for
high treason.Bill brought
in.

June 25.

July 4.
House of
Lords.

* Stat. 39 Geo. 3, c. 79.

† 57 to 8.

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CVIII.

1799.

measures by the fear of forfeiting his immense property: and the Earl of Radnor, alluding to the attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, said, he much doubted the propriety of that forfeiture. Without giving any opinion as to the guilt of the individual, he thought the proceedings very doubtful; because the party had no opportunity to defend himself, and there was a possibility that he might have been innocent, since he did not fall in battle against the crown and government—a case that could have left no doubt as to his guilt. The bill was supported by the Lord Chancellor and Lord Grenville, and the motion for a second reading carried in a very thinly attended house*. A protest was signed by Lord Ponsonby and Lord Holland.

Slave trade.
March 1.
Mr. Wilberforce's motion

Always persevering in the distinguishing effort of his political life, Mr. Wilberforce moved for a bill to abolish the slave trade at a limited time, and for a committee of the whole House to consider that proposition. His speech comprised many statistical details, and some general political observations. The safety of the country demanded that this iniquitous commerce should exist no longer. Vice and immorality never produced prosperity and happiness. Misery was invariably the attendant on guilt. The motion, opposed by Mr. Young, Mr. Petrie, Mr. Dent, Mr. Sewell, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Windham, and supported by Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and principally, in a most eloquent and powerful speech, by Mr. Canning, was lost on a division†.

Opposed.

Supported.

Rejected.

House of
Lords.Limitation
bill.

In the House of Lords, this subject was renewed, by the introduction of a bill to prohibit the trading for slaves on the coast of Africa within certain limits. Petitions being presented, counsel were heard and witnesses examined before a committee†. On the order

• 8 to 4.

† 84 to 54.

‡ For the petitioners, Mr. Law was retained, and displayed his known vigour and ability. On the other side was Mr. James Stephen, a gentleman who felt on the subject more than can be imparted by the ingenuity of a solicitor or the anxiety of a client. At an early period of his life, in 1784, he made his first effort at the bar, in the island of Saint Christopher, where he was most respectfully connected. His great abilities brought him instantly into the highest practice, and the road to opulence was open before him. The question of abolition was then in its infancy, and of course, in that region, not popular; but Mr. Ste-

of the day being moved for going into a committee on the bill, the Duke of Clarence, who, in his early life, had seen and known every thing relating to the obtaining and treatment of slaves, delivered an able argument against the bill. He traced, historically, the rise of the trade in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and its progress and encouragement ; the charters by which it was protected, and the arguments of great statesmen by which it had been vindicated, down to the present period. He controverted many of the accredited assertions respecting the kingdoms of Africa, and the means used to obtain supplies of slaves ; and he displayed the value of the West India islands, and the injury they must sustain were the trade abolished, and were the traders excluded from the large portion of coast described in the bill. Nor did his Royal Highness spare some strong animadversions on the Sierra-Leone Company, to whom he attributed the origination of the bill ; on the witnesses who had been called to support it, and particularly on the non-production of Mr. Mungo Park, the traveller in Africa, whose work had been copiously quoted, while the traveller himself, although it was perfectly easy, had not been brought forward.

In rising to support the bill, Lord Grenville disclaimed all intention to comment on what had fallen from the illustrious Prince ; there could be no personal debate, because there could be no equality between them. This polite act of self-denial produced a call to order from Lord Romney, who was supported by Lord Thurlow in maintaining that, in the House, all peers, in delivering their opinions, stood upon a perfect equality. Lord Grenville, continuing his observations, declared that no advantage which individuals or the public could derive from the continuance of the slave trade between the coast of Africa and the West Indies, should ever induce him to give it his approbation, or

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CVIII.

1799.
July 6.
Observations
of the Duke of
Clarence.

Lord Grenville.

A point of
order.

phen brought with him decided and immovable principles on the subject, and professed them on all occasions ; to such a height did he carry them, that he would never possess, nor, so far as it could be avoided, avail himself of the services of a slave ; and he soon renounced the certain acquisition of great wealth, by leaving the West Indies, to pursue his profession in London.

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CVIII.

1799.

The Earl of
Westmorland.Bishop of
Rochester.

to consider it in any other light than a system of fraud, robbery, and murder. But, detestable as that system was, it was not the object of this bill to do it away ; it was to prevent its continuance in a particular spot, where it was carried on under circumstances of aggravation tenfold greater than in any other place.

Lord Westmorland having made some judicious observations on the general subject, as well as on the particular provisions of the bill, the Bishop of Rochester reviewed both subjects, in an argument distinguished by profound learning and diligent research. His mind, he said, did not shrink from the difficulty and magnitude of the great question of abolition : it was not then before the House ; but he trusted the time was not far distant when he should rise to arraign the injustice and impolicy of that nefarious traffic ; injustice which no considerations of policy could extenuate ; impolicy equal in degree to the injustice. Its continuance, rather than its abolition, was to be dreaded, as a probable means of setting a new edge upon the reeking knife of Saint Domingo. His lordship recapitulated the loss of lives sustained in the middle passage, of which the evidence before the committee afforded remarkable instances. It had been said that the birth-right of the African was slavery, and that by the trade he was only removed from one slavery to another. In examining this point, he entered into an able disquisition on the meaning of the term ; what slaves were in the patriarchal times, and in the descriptions of ancient authors ; how respectable their position in some descriptions ; and when it was asserted that the Holy Scriptures contained no prohibition, such as “ thou shalt not have a slave,” or “ thou shalt not hold any one in slavery,” he should say that there was no occasion for any such prohibition or reprobation ; because slavery was condemned by something anterior either to the Christian or the Mosaic dispensation ; and supported the assertion by grave authorities, —not the authorities of the new-fashioned advocates of the rights of men, not such authorities as Vattel or Tom Paine ; the authorities he cited were the impe-

rial institutes, the scholiasts, and the proper meaning of what, in the English translation of the Bible, is termed "man-stealers," but which, correctly interpreted, is "dealers in men."

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CVIII.

1799.

Lord Thurlow.

Lord Thurlow rather ridiculed than answered some portion of this argument, observing that perhaps there was no text of Scripture to which some learned gownsmen might not, by recurring to Greek and Hebrew etymologies, give some other meaning than that in which it appeared to a plain man like himself. With respect to the present bill, he did not think it at all calculated for the purposes which it professed to have in view. It was drawn up in a most clumsy manner; altogether miserable and ridiculous. But the Society alleged that it would civilize the Africans; that was to say, they would send missionaries to preach, in a barn of Sierra Leone, to a set of negroes who did not understand a single word of their language. He considered the bill to be absurd, unjust, and such as ought not to be passed into a law. It was accordingly rejected*.

Thus, after twelve years of persevering effort, Mr. Wilberforce found himself still unable to accomplish the object so dear to his heart; but, through his exertions, the mode of conducting the traffic was greatly improved. In the course of the session, it was enacted that all vessels fitted out for that trade should be entered for the purpose at the port of clearing out, which must be either London, Liverpool, or Bristol. The size and structure of the vessels were strictly regulated, and provision made for the employment of a surgeon, who must keep a register or journal of the slaves brought on board, to be delivered at the custom house before the vessel could be cleared out for another voyage; and that no loss by mortality of slaves, whether natural, or the consequence of ill treatment, or throwing them overboard, nor any loss suffered from the princes or people of Africa, should be recoverable on any policy of insurance.

The trade
regulated.

In all the discussions relative to the making and

Evacuation of
St. Domingo.

* 32 to 25, not reckoning proxies, of which there were thirty-six on each side.

CHAP.
CVIII.

1799.

1798.
April 30.Account of
Toussaint.1799.
June 12.
Speaker's
speech to the
King.
Prorogation.

retaining of slaves, general principles of religion and morality were strongly on one side, while disputable propositions of policy and safety were contended with heat and vehemence between both parties. This portion of the subject had, by recent events, acquired a new aspect. After making every effort which judgment and bravery could direct, General Maitland had found himself obliged to enter into a treaty with Toussaint l'Ouverture, who commanded the people of colour, for the evacuation of Port-au-Prince, Saint Marc, and Arcajaye, the only places remaining in British possession; and his adherents might either depart with him, or return to the enjoyment of their property, in which their security was guaranteed. Toussaint was a mulatto, originally a slave, who, by a judicious application of great natural talents, had acquired, amid numerous disadvantages, a considerable portion of knowledge, and an influence over the people of colour which enabled him to exercise a sovereign authority. Led by him, they would not return to the condition of slaves, but acquiesced in an orderly system of government, in subordination to France. Thus was established, in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, a community of emancipated slaves, working for hire, but not upon compulsion, bound to no prescribed tasks, and free to leave one employer and seek another, as interest or merit might direct.

In presenting the money bills for the royal sanction, Mr. Addington made an eloquent, judicious, and temperate speech; and the King, in proroguing Parliament, spoke with confidence of the hopes he entertained, from the progress of the imperial arms under the Archduke Charles, and the decision and energy which distinguished the councils of the Emperor of Russia. "It was impossible," he said, "to compare the events of the present year with the state and prospects of Europe at the distance of but a few months, without acknowledging, in humble thankfulness, the visible interposition of Divine Providence, in averting those dangers which so long threatened the overthrow of all the establishments of the civi-

“ lized world. It might be permitted to hope, that
“ the same protecting Providence would continue its
“ guidance through the remainder of this eventful
“ contest, and conduct it finally to an issue which would
“ transmit to future ages a memorable example of the
“ instability of all power founded on injustice, usurp-
“ ation, and impiety; and prove the impossibility of
“ ultimately dissolving the connexion between public
“ prosperity and public virtue.”

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND NINE.

1798—1799.

View of Continental affairs.—State of France.—Law of conscription.—Views on Naples.—Arrival of Nelson.—Treaty with Russia—with England.—Hostilities commenced.—General Mack heads the army.—Invasion of the Roman territories.—Championnet commands the French.—Rome evacuated.—Entry of the Neapolitans.—Violences committed.—State of the French force.—Capture of Leghorn.—Rome recaptured.—The King of Naples retreats into Sicily. Efforts of the Lazzaroni.—Parthenopeian Republic.—A new alliance against France expected.—Paul, Emperor of Russia. Decree of the French.—March of the Russian troops.—Position of the armies.—Hostilities commenced.—Battle of Stockach.—The French recross the Rhine.—Congress of Rastadt.—Conduct of Prussia.—Situation and conduct of the Emperor of Germany.—Dissolution of the Congress.—Conduct of the French plenipotentiaries.—Their departure—and murder.—Conjectures on the subject.—Campaign in Italy.—Character and views of the Emperor Paul.—Russian army in Italy.—Suworow commander.—Retreat of Scherer.—Advance of Suworow.—Efforts of the Italian Republics.—Moreau assumes the command.—Battle of Cassano.—Advance of General Macdonald.—Further movements.—Battle of La Trebia.—Retreat of Macdonald.—Other successes of the Allies.—Naples.—Christian army.—Capitulation of fortresses.—French fleet.—The capitulation disavowed.—Recapture of Rome.—Actions of the main armies.—Battle of Novi.—Dissensions among the allies.—The Emperor of Russia declares war against Spain.—Conduct of the Emperor of Germany.—Hopes of Suworow.

He is ordered into Switzerland.—Judicious operations of Massena.—Situation of the Archduke Charles.—He is joined by Korsakoff.—Battle of Schaffhausen.—Arrival of Suworow.—Honours paid him by his Sovereign.—His progress.—Defeat of Korsakoff.—Retreat of the Russians.—Expedition to Holland.—British troops landed.—Capture of the Helder—and of the Dutch fleet.—Advance of the enemy.—Repulsed in several actions.—Arrival of Russian reinforcements, and the Duke of York.—Engagements at Sleeperdike and Schorel.—The allies defeated.—Renewed attack on Bergen.—Disadvantageous state of the allies.—Representation of the general officers.—Retreat of the allies.—The Duke of York capitulates.—Observations.—End of the Dutch East India Company.—Capture of Surinam.

FOR the confident expressions used by the King in proroguing Parliament, the aspect of public affairs afforded abundant reasons. France in herself appeared to be exempt from all dangers; but the unbounded rapacity and tyranny of her rulers had produced combinations which promised the deliverance of Europe, and the re-establishment of ancient systems. The sway and the predatory power of France extended not only to three affiliated republics; she enumerated, as her satellites, the Batavian, the Helvetian, the Roman, the Ligurian, and the Cisalpine*. Still, the best army and the most successful general she had ever possessed were blocked up in a distant land, and her finances in a state of deplorable bankruptcy. New decrees subjected to military service every man, of whatever condition or occupation, between the ages of twenty and twenty-five years, under the title of Conscripts—a denomination new at the time, but afterward much known: two hundred thousand of them were to be immediately called out†. Grinding requisitions, both of men and money, were also enforced on all the dependent republics.

CHAP.
CIX.

1798.

View of Con-
tinental affairs.
State of FranceSeptember 2.
Law of con-
scription.

* Thiers, tome x. p. 55.

† Montgaillard, *Révue Chronologique de l'Histoire de France*, p. 300.—*Moniteur*.

CHAP.
CIX.

1798.

Views on
Naples.
April 10.

Naples had long been viewed with jealousy and cupidity by the rulers of France, and abundant indications given of a resolution to attack her, so soon as time and opportunity should invite. Before his departure for Egypt, Bonaparte had recommended, as highly advantageous to France, that the three republics of Italy should keep on foot a fleet stronger than that of Naples, and a military force sufficient to countervail those of that kingdom and Tuscany*. The Directory, for a time, were rather desirous to temporize than to make an open declaration of war; but their agent and missionary, Bassal, secretary general to the Roman consulate, addressed, in their name, a furious manifesto to the commissioners deputed by France to organize and keep under control the new republic. To much bombastic declamation about the natal soil of Brutus, the insolent cowardice of a king, the tocsin of patriotism, and the electric spark which was to emanate from Rome, was added—"Naples finds soldiers; we will "have heroes: Naples subsidizes royalism, aristocracy, "and the hypocrisy of fanaticism; we will deliver our "country from royalism, aristocracy, and fanatical "hypocrites. Naples insults the governments of Rome, "Milan, and Paris; we will avenge them. At the "close of this deliberation, fatal to tyranny, Rome "shall know her regeneration, Naples her punishment." Strong, but useless, remonstrances were made by the Neapolitan Ambassador at Paris against this ferocious document, which, in fact, was but a concentration of sentiments previously announced, under the sanction of the French government, in their official journal, *Le Redacteur*†.

Arrival of
Nelson.
November 5.

Returning from Malta, after completing the blockade of its port, and the capture of Goza, Lord Nelson inspired new hopes and confidence in the government; and the party desirous of supporting the dignity of the throne and the independence of the state gained the ascendancy. A treaty was concluded with Russia, by which, besides the co-operation of his fleet with that of the Porte in the Mediterranean, the Emperor sti-

* *Oeuvres*, tome ii. p. 168.† *Homme d'Etat*, tome vi. p. 454.29th.
Treaty with
Russia.

pulated to supply a land force of nineteen battalions of infantry, with proper artillery, and two hundred Cossacks. By another treaty, Great Britain engaged to keep in the Mediterranean a fleet superior to that of the enemy, fixed the maritime contingent of Naples, and prohibited all commercial intercourse between that country and France. Negotiations with the Emperor, although not yet concluded, were in a favourable train.

While these negotiations were yet proceeding, the King of Naples, animated by the presence of Nelson, and encouraged by intelligence from emissaries in Rome, and the assurances of Cardinal Ruffo, the Pope's nephew, and noble emigrants from Rome, that the people would immediately fly to arms, to rescue themselves from French oppression, and by positive assertions that the Emperor was ready to invade Lombardy, no longer hesitated to put his troops in motion. His force consisted nominally of eighty thousand men; and, Clerfaye having died in the spring, General Mack was sent from Vienna to assume the command.

This appointment was in every respect unfortunate. Mack had risen from the ranks, and gained reputation as a useful officer, but had been employed chiefly on the staff, giving advice and making arrangements, but not heading armies in the field. His conduct in this campaign raised great doubts of his military skill, and still more of his integrity: his plans and his vaunts were derided, and, from the progress and results of his command, he was strongly suspected of treachery. Five divisions, amounting to forty thousand men, invaded the Roman territory, due precautions having been taken for protection of the Neapolitan frontier. The King of Naples in person declared, by a proclamation, that he took up arms only for self protection and in defence of religion, and disclaimed all intentions of territorial aggrandizement. General Championnet had been appointed by the Directory to supersede General Macdonald in the command, but was still aided by his skill and bravery. Finding the defence of the city impossible, the French evacuated it; but Cham-

CHAP.
CIX.1796.
December 1.
With England.Hostilities
commenced.General Mack
commands the
army.Invasion of the
Roman terri-
tories.November 18.
Championnet
commands the
French.Rome
evacuated.

CHAP.
CIX.

1798.
November 5.
Entry of the
Neapolitans.

Violences
committed.
29th.

State of the
French force.

28th.
Capture of
Leghorn.

Rome recap-
tured.

pionnet promised to return, a conqueror, in thirty days. The King of Naples made a triumphal entry ; the inhabitants who remained received the Neapolitans with transports of joy. Encouraged by the King of Naples, and aided by his troops, the trastevorini, the lowest of the populace, tore down the arms of the republic from the public buildings, substituted expiatory crosses for the trees of liberty, and prostrated the monument erected to Duphot. Jews and the friends of the republican government were marked objects of persecution : the priests, aiding and exciting the popular fury, loudly demanded the re-establishment of the old form ; a provisional government was established ; and, to satisfy the people, for evidently it could have no other effect, a letter was written by the King to the Pope, then a close prisoner at Valence, where he could neither receive nor act upon it, inviting him to return and resume his temporal and spiritual authority, and to celebrate divine service in the Vatican on Christmas day.

The army under Championnet was, at the greatest computation, only sixteen thousand men ; their magazines empty, and the cattle for their artillery exceedingly defective ; and, under four general officers, they were spread in as many divisions over sixteen leagues of territory, and their communications rendered difficult by a chain of mountains. Against the forty thousand whom their enemies had brought into the field, it might have been expected that such a force, so disposed, could make little resistance ; but want of firmness and discipline in the opposed troops, and of skill or honesty in their commander, produced a contrary result.

While possession was being taken of Rome, a British and Portuguese squadron, under Lord Nelson, landed six thousand men, who captured Leghorn. The French, in consequence, deposed the King of Sardinia, and expelled him from his continental dominions.

At Rome, the King of Naples was enjoying the empty homage and bombastic applauses of the people ;

while days, which ought to have been more profitably employed, were wasted in summoning the castle of Saint Angelo, threatening the French commander, and discussing his answers. At length, Mack made an injudicious attack on Championnet, and so divided his force and mismanaged their efforts, that the French Generals, with less than a quarter of his numbers, defeated him on every point, and, after a series of conflicts, in which the Neapolitans were signally and shamefully vanquished, Capua, Arpino, Aquila, and Pescara, were taken, and Championnet was enabled to redeem his promise, by re-entering Rome a victor, while Ferdinand was compelled to seek security by a flight to his own capital. The French killed and made prisoners five thousand men, and took forty pieces of cannon, twenty flags, and abundance of ammunition and provisions.

Still the King and Queen, strong in the affection of the people, were inclined to rely on them for support in resisting the French ; but a corrupt and timid body of the nobility advised a capitulation. Measures were taken for a conference with the French General ; but, before their degradation was finally accomplished, the King and Queen, with their family, attended by many of their ministers and principal adherents, embarked on board Lord Nelson's ship, the Vanguard, having secured the valuable effects in their palaces, and a considerable sum in money, and carrying off the ships which could put to sea, together with seventy gun-boats, and, having spiked all the artillery, took refuge in Sicily, leaving Don Francis De Strongoli and Prince Pignatelli regents during their absence. Their cause in Naples, abandoned by the wealthy, who feared confiscation, and indulged the vain hope of being safe and respected in a revolution to which they contributed, and by the mercantile body, who apprehended plunder, was supported by the lower class, aided by the Lazzaroni* and other inferior classes of

CHAP.
CIX.

1798.

December 5.

15th.

24th.

The King of
Naples retreats
to Sicily.

* These people are described as eighty thousand in number, spirited, temperate, brave, superstitious on the subjects of religion and royalty, capable of conspiring secretly, and awaiting with patience the day appointed for the execution of a plot.

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CIX.

1798.

the people. Their fury was directed against Prince Pignatelli and General Mack, with much apparent reasons suspected of having betrayed them. Mack escaped, and was received with well-deserved kindness by the French. Pignatelli, retreating by night in disguise from his palace, was placed in custody, which secured his personal safety, within the walls of a fortress.

1799.
Jan. 21, 22, 23.
Efforts of the
Lazzaroni.

Championnet advanced to attack the city. Discipline had in some degree regained its influence among his troops; but still, under pretended alarms of approaching combats or intended murders, they exercised to the full extent the powers of conquerors; while the Lazzaroni, in revenge, burned and plundered the houses and palaces of those whom they deemed traitors. Led by Prince Moliterno, a brave young officer, under whose command they had placed themselves, they maintained, at Aversa, a combat which lasted three days, and was sustained with never-failing energy by the Lazzaroni, who, having no artillery, were destroyed in whole bodies by that of the enemy. In Naples itself, a struggle no less fierce and stubborn was maintained, until at length the harassed defenders of their country, tricked by a declaration that Saint Januarius had declared in favour of the French, and by the mock miracle of liquefying his blood, and hearing acclamations of respect and devotion to his name resounded in the ranks of the enemies, rushed into their embrace; together they repaired to the church of Saint James; the royal government had no longer any defenders; the country was revolutionized; and, in allusion to the supposed Greek origin of some of the principal families, received the name of the Parthenopeian Republic. Championnet kept up the rigour of a military government; but his conduct not appearing sufficiently severe, nor his exactions sufficiently grinding, he was dishonoured, disgraced, recalled, and imprisoned, by order of the Directory, and Macdonald was appointed his successor*.

Parthenopeian
Republic.

* Annual Register, and Histories in general, particularly Lacrétele, tome xiv p. 232, et seqq. Homme d'Etat, tome vii. pp. 32 to 186, containing details truly interesting.

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CIX.

During these events, the attention of mankind was fixed on the probability of a new union against the Republic of France, and particularly on the acts and intentions of the Emperor of Russia. This potentate, having been kept, during the life of his mother, an entire stranger to her views and policy, in the beginning of his reign had neglected or counteracted them. His protection of the order of Malta had given great offence at Paris; but it was not the interest of the Directory to provoke hostilities with a powerful sovereign, in whose dominions the venomous weeds of revolution had not been planted, where there existed no clubs, nor factions to corrupt the allegiance of the people and make them hate their rulers. Instigated, however, by their enmity to England, the Directory had unceremoniously given him notice of their decree, that if any ship with English commodities, of whatever nation it might be, were permitted to pass the Sound, it should be considered as a formal declaration of war against France. His Imperial Majesty, in consequence, ordered twenty-two ships of the line and two hundred and fifty galleys to proceed to the Sound, for the protection of trade, denouncing, in his proclamation, that the proceeding of the Directory was evidently contrary to the rights of nations*.

1799.
A new alliance
against France
expected.
Paul, Emperor
of Russia.

Decree of the
French.

1798.
May 15.

March of
Russian troops

Subsequent acts of the same potentate, his union with the Grand Signor, his treaties with the British government, and his armaments by sea and land, left no possibility of doubting the measures he intended to pursue. Notwithstanding the remonstrances and menaces of the French, his troops pursued their march across the imperial dominions to Bavaria. It was known that he had formed an alliance with the Emperor of Germany, and subsidiary engagements with Great Britain. It could not be supposed that the insolence of Bernadotte in Vienna was forgotten, or that the intended subjugation of the Grisons was disregarded.

Armies were drawn up in hostile array; the republican force consisted of 110,000 men, who were sta-

Position of
the armies.

* Annual Register, vol xl. p. 311.

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1799.

tioned in Italy ; but 30,000, under Macdonald, were lost in the Neapolitan dominions, and the remainder so dispersed over the extensive provinces of Lombardy, Tuscany, and the Roman states, that only 50,000 could be collected to bear the weight of the contest on the Adige ; 42,000, under General Jourdan, were destined to carry the war from the Upper Rhine, across the Black Forest, into the valley of the Danube. Massena, at the head of 45,000, was stationed in Switzerland, and intended to dislodge the Imperialists from the Tyrol and the upper valley of the Adige ; 30,000, under Bernadotte, were designed to form a corps of observation on the Lower Rhine, from Dusseldorf to Manheim ; while Brune, at the head of 15,000 French and 20,000 Dutch troops, was entrusted with the defence of the Batavian Republic. The forces of the Austrians were superior in number, better equipped, and stationed more advantageously. Their armies, improved in tactics and discipline, and better provided with artillery than they had formerly found themselves, were collected behind the Lech, in the Tyrol, and on the Adige. The first, under the command of the Archduke Charles, consisted of 54,000 infantry and 24,000 cavalry ; in the Grisons and Tyrol, 44,000 infantry and 2,500 horse were assembled under the banners of Bellegarde and Laudon ; 24,000 foot and 1,400 horse, under the command of Hotze, occupied the Voralberg ; while the army on the Adige, 72,000 strong, including 11,000 cavalry, obeyed the orders of Kray ; and 24,000, on the Maine, or in garrison at Wurtzburg, observed the French forces on the Lower Rhine. Thus, 246,000 men were concentrated between the Maine and the Po, and their centre rested on the mountains of Tyrol—a vast fortress, which had often afforded a sure refuge, in case of disaster, to the imperial troops, and whose inhabitants were warmly attached to the house of Austria. Above 50,000 Russians were expected ; but they could not arrive in time to enter into operations, either on the Danube or the Adige, at the commencement of the campaign*.

* Copied from Alison, vol. iv. p. 9, who cites, as his authorities, Dumont, vol.

Having received no answer to their peremptory requisition for preventing the march of the Russians, the Directory, disregarding the prudent advice which pointed to delay, on account of their imperfect force, both in numbers and appointments, ordered the commencement of hostilities ; and Jourdan crossed the Rhine at Kehl, and Bernadotte, with ten thousand men, having taken possession of Manheim, which was utterly defenceless, summoned Philipsburg, which refused to surrender : the Archduke and General Staray advancing toward the menaced positions with a powerful army, operations in that quarter were suspended. In the Grisons, the war was carried on with more effect. The impetuous bravery of the French secured their success in several perilous attempts, vainly opposed by unflinching adversaries, and obstructed by Alpine mountains and torrents, and all the evils resulting from the season : but they failed in their main effort, to gain possession of Feldkirch ; Massena and Oudinot being repulsed, with a loss of three thousand men. In a strong position between the lake Constance and the Danube, Jourdan was attacked, with a much superior force, by the Archduke Charles, and, after a brave resistance, compelled to retreat to Stockach, a position where all the roads to Suabia, Switzerland, and the valley of the Necker, unite. From this post, the Republicans, under Saint Cyr and Soult, made a vigorous attack on the Austrians, who were in great force on the river Stockach. Their success, at first, seemed certain ; but the Archduke, bringing up a powerful reinforcement, retrieved the day, and finally, after a contest in which equal bravery was displayed and equal loss sustained on both sides, the French were obliged to give up the ground, and seek a retreat through the Black Forest and the valley of Hell, and to recross the Rhine at Old Brisach and Kehl. Jourdan, in disgust, yielded up the command of the army to Ernouf ; Bernadotte, unable to continue the siege of Philipsburg, which he had undertaken at the com-

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CIX.1799.
Hostilities
commenced.

March 1.

March 5 to 14.

Battle of
Stockach.
21.

26th.

April 6th.
The French
recross the
Rhine.

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CIX.

1799.

Congress of
Rastadt.

mand of the Directory, was obliged precipitately to abandon his works, and regain the left bank of the Rhine ; and thus, in a month after they had commenced the campaign, the French troops were reduced, in fact, to the defence of their own territory, which, with their accustomed contempt for truth, they had alleged was the cause of their first movement*.

Although the banners of war were thus widely displayed, the congress at Rastadt still continued its sittings. Hopes of a general pacification, as the result of its deliberations, if ever entertained, had long been diminishing, and, for some time past, may be said to have entirely vanished. The selfish ambition of Austria, ready, for the sake of gaining some points, to make great sacrifices of the rights of others to the grasping cupidity of France, excited alarm and disgust in several of the minor powers. It having been conceded, by the secret articles of the treaty of Leoben, that the French should obtain the long-desired object of their ambition, the Rhine for a boundary ; and Austria, equally rapacious, ambitious, and unjust, having stipulated for aggrandisements which appeared commensurate ; the spoliation and destruction of minor principalities, with the secularization and plunder of ecclesiastical states, became no longer doubtful, remonstrances and dissentient votes marked the feelings of the representatives in the congress of these intended victims, which were fully demonstrated by the sale of their moveable property, and the disposal, so far as it could be effected, of landed estates. Could the great spoilers have agreed between themselves, it was not impossible that some pacific conclusion, however short its duration, might have been accomplished ; but when it was adopted as a principle that the French should occupy the left and the Emperor the right bank of the Rhine, innumerable difficulties presented themselves. In discussing the Thaleseg, or line of navigation in that river which should limit the rights of the Empire and the Republic, the French claimed a portion which would extend over

* Alison, in continuation from the passage last cited.

that branch which is called Waal, and the isle of Buderich, a Prussian territory opposite to Wesel. But although the Prussian cabinet made strenuous opposition to this construction, and some notes of expostulation took place between Baron Haugwitz and Sieyes, the French ambassador, who raised some questions on the surrender of Cleves according to the treaty of Bale; although the imperial deputies in the congress supported the cause of the King; although Prussia, with a powerful army and irresistible influence, could have commanded the destinies of the world; still she maintained a resolute neutrality and a cautious reserve. The efforts made at Berlin to produce a different mode of conduct, were counteracted by Sieyes, who, it is said, had so far prevailed on the cabinet, that much more probability appeared of Prussia uniting with the Republic, than lending any support to the head of the empire.

It was also insisted, by the French, that the impregnable fortification of Ehrenbreitstein should be destroyed. Before the sitting of the congress, it had been blockaded by them, and they resisted every application of the imperial ministers for permission to revictual it, until the garrison were compelled by famine to evacuate it; and thus, under a deceptive truce, the French gained all they could have acquired by persevering hostility*.

Seventeen months had now elapsed, during which the French, awaiting the accomplishment of their great projects, had submitted, without remonstrance, to all the formalities of German diplomacy; but, on the subject of the march of the Russians, they talked, in their favourite mode, of enclosing the Emperor within the circle of Popilius. They averted all hostile opposition while they revolutionized Rome, Sardinia, and Naples, reduced Ehrenbreitstein, and planted, even in Vienna, the principles by which monarchy was to be weakened, and, under pretence of emancipation, the people were to be enslaved. The Emperor had gained no visible or external advantages; but he witnessed the growing shame and indignation in the countries where the Re-

CHAP.
CIX.1799.
Conduct of
Prussia.

January 31.

Situation and
conduct of the
Emperor of
Germany.* Histories. *Homme d'Etat*, tome vi. p. 379.

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publicans had established their ascendancy, and the increasing spirit of loyalty and devotion in his own subjects. He had, besides, improved the force and the character of his army, and felt confidence in the accession and co-operation of his Russian ally. Had these advantages been supported by a frank and honest desire to promote a general cause, and not to advance a selfish and particular interest ; had such declarations been made, and such arrangements effected, as might have brought back Prussia to the genuine feeling of heroic enterprise by which she was animated in 1792 ; and had all the princes and powers of Germany been authorized to believe that the interest, prosperity, and safety, of all and each were held equally in contemplation ; the effort which was to be made would have commenced under auspices in the highest degree favourable : but while divided opinions, inconsistent views, and jarring interests, prevented unreserved union and unlimited co-operation, the hope of ultimate success was rendered extremely doubtful.

On the part of Austria, selfishness, hope, or fear, could always be surmised or imputed ; but France always professed a plan of general benevolence toward those whom she invaded. Dreadful experience had shewn, in every country, that the only fruits of liberal promises and generous professions were tyrannical rule and unlimited spoliation : but although, in the suffering countries, the execration of the French name was commensurate to the grievousness of her oppression, the sympathy of other countries was languidly excited, and no effort could be looked for from any, beyond that which conduced to its own particular interest or safety : the Emperor of Russia alone, among the Continental powers, stood free from every imputation or malicious suggestion.

A formal declaration of the dissolution of the congress was followed by an act, the atrocity of which is as evident as its source and perpetration are inscrutable. For three weeks, the French plenipotentiaries, Jean Debry, Bonnier, and Roberjot, remained, neither acting nor enabled to act, until they received a peremptory order from the Austrian government to depart within

April 8.
Dissolution of
the congress.

Conduct of the
French pleni-
potentiaries.
28.
Their depar-
ture,

four and twenty hours. Affecting indignation, they declared their resolution to set out immediately, and, at nine o'clock in a dark night, departed for Strasbourg, in three carriages, with their wives and families. Hardly had they proceeded fifty paces on the road, when they were intercepted by a body of men, in the dress of Austrian Szeckler hussars, who dragged all the ministers from their vehicles, and, deaf to the cries of their unfortunate relatives, proceeded in the work of assassination. Jean Debry, who was first, escaped with only a few unimportant bruises; but the other two were murdered, and their papers alone carried off. Early in the morning, Debry, returning to Rastadt, presented, as his account of the transaction, that, when dragged from his carriage, he was attacked by two hussars with their sabres, who struck him to the earth, but the thickness of his clothing preserved him from mortal injury, and, having avoided further violence, by simulating death, he crept to a wood, and passed the night under the shelter of a tree.

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1799.

and murder.

Early in the morning, Debry, returning to Rastadt, pre- 29.

No difference of opinion could be felt with respect to this atrocious crime; but with respect to its perpetrators and their motives, much uncertainty prevailed. Those who attribute it to the Austrians have in their favour the dress of the assailants, to which they add, that the Frenchmen required and were refused an escort; but, on the other hand, it is not probable that men intended to be employed in so wicked an exploit would have been ostentatiously displayed in their regimentals; it is not probable that the Emperor would have voluntarily incurred that which immediately ensued, the unqualified censure of every member of the Germanic legation remaining at Rastadt; and the exalted character of the Emperor himself and the Archduke Charles prevented even a surmise that it had been sanctioned by either of them. It is suggested that the criminals were mere drunken marauders; but it is not likely that persons of such a description should accomplish two murders, and attempt a third, for no object but that of obtaining papers, which were to them of no value, and omitting to possess themselves of the

Conjectures on
the subject.

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1799.

cash and valuables which must have been in the hands of the defenceless survivors. Some, on the other hand, ascribe the plot to Debry himself: his safe escape, when he was the most important of his party; the facility with which the assailants adopted a belief of his death, while they mercilessly hacked and hewed his companions; and his supposed impenetrable coat and protecting tree, furnished topics of criticism and ridicule at the time: and it is said that there were disclosures among the papers, and facts within the knowledge of his unfortunate companions, which it was of the greatest importance to him to obliterate: yet it is not easy to conceive that a considerable number of Frenchmen should obtain the disguise of Austrian hussars, and, in the neighbourhood of a large city, with perfect safety and inscrutable secrecy, commit a deed which excited the surprise and indignation of all Europe. Others, who delight in applying to an historical difficulty an almost impossible solution, affirm that the whole transaction originated with, and was directed by, the Queen of Naples. The assertion, destitute of any foundation, is supported only by false assumptions and venomous declamations*. By whomsoever this atrocity may have been contrived, its results were highly beneficial to the rulers of France; the report of it revived the sinking spirit of the people, making them forget all their wrongs and grievances, to unite in avenging the insulted honour of the nation: the languor which had prevailed in filling up the rolls of conscription disappeared, and whatever could be effected by the devotion of men and money was amply produced. The government assisted in the diffusion of this spirit by the usual means. Both the murdered ministers were members of the Councils; their chairs were kept as if their return was expected, exhibited with their dresses as deputies, and covered with black

* This story, told in the *Mémoirs of Gohier*, p. 59, published at Paris in 1804, is ably examined and refuted in the *Mémoires d'un Homme d'État*, tome xiii. p. 159. A French lady, the Duchesse d'Abrantes, with the sedate assurance of one who expects not to be contradicted, affirms the same fact (vol. ii. p. 304), referring to curious details afforded by M. de Koch, which she takes upon herself to avouch as perfectly authentic.

crape; their names were called on certain occasions, like those of living deputies, and the answer given was—"Murdered at the congress at Rastadt." Denunciations of fierce vengeance were uttered against Austria, and, to season the whole feast to the exact palate of the people, it was asserted, without the least shew of probability, that England had instigated and been active in the event; and it was decreed that every speech from the tribune should conclude with the boastful menace, "Delenda est Carthago*."

Military operations had already been resumed in Italy, where a campaign ensued of the greatest activity and importance. Availing themselves of all the opportunities presented by the long cessation of arms, the French had overthrown so many governments, and taken possession of so much territory, that they reigned in absolute sovereignty over the whole peninsula of Italy, from the frontier of the Cisalpine Republic to the confluence of the Rhine and Moselle. On the other hand, independently of her negotiations with Russia, and an advantageous connexion with Saxony, Austria, with the full consent of the people, had a military establishment in the whole country of the Grisons. The Archduke Charles was to command the grand army of Germany; that of Italy was intended for Frederick, Prince of Orange, who quitted England for the purpose; but, he being removed by sudden death, the Baron De Melas received the appointment. He was an excellent soldier; but age had deprived him of the vigour and promptitude which characterized the young Prince, and were so much wanted on the occasion.

Jourdan commanded the armies of the Danube and of Helvetia, amounting to seventy-six thousand men, beside the Helvetic brigade, commanded by Massena, and an army of observation, of forty-eight thousand

Campaign in
Italy.

January 6.

* Histories and journals, more particularly Lacréteille, tome xiv. p. 318, who cites, from the Mémoires dictated by Bonaparte at St. Helena, a strong passage tending to shew that England neither had, nor could have, any reason for promoting such a crime, and some very sensible ones for believing that it originated from the Directory.—Thiers, tome x. p. 265: Homme d'Etat, tome vii. pp. 236 to 246; tome xiii. p. 158: Mémoires de la Duchesse d'Abrantes, tome ii. p. 303; Alison, vol. iv. p. 24: journals and state papers.

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1799.

men, led by Bernadotte, but both subject to the control of Jourdan ; and the army of Italy, with the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Polish, and Piedmontese levies, under the command of General Schérer, were on the banks of the Adige. By various operations, judiciously planned, if they had been as well executed, it was intended to expel the Austrians from their positions, by simultaneous attacks, before the Russians, who were slowly advancing, could arrive, and thus to render the hereditary states of the Emperor again the theatre of war.

Character and
views of the
Emperor Paul.

The Emperor Paul, on whose efforts the hopes of the new alliance must principally depend, was a prince no less adorned by just, honourable, and noble sentiments, than gifted with knowledge and mental accomplishments. Misfortunes and indignities, to which he had been subject in early life, had acted on an impetuous and a hasty temper, so as to produce a vehemence in his determination, and a violence in the demonstration and pursuit of his prevailing feeling, which, at a subsequent period, occasioned reasonable doubts of his perfect sanity : but at the present no such opinions were entertained. With the utmost generosity, disinterestedness, and integrity, he united with other powers for the avowed purpose of overthrowing the government of France, so disastrous to all nations, restoring and re-establishing, in that and every other state of Europe, the form of rule and extent of possession which it had enjoyed before the revolution. Not to mention some extreme projects which are imputed to him, relating to an union of all Christian churches, Greek, Romish, and Protestant, his political intentions were not likely to meet the cordial co-operation of Great Britain, where all intentions to interfere in the government of other countries had been so often and so explicitly disclaimed ; and still less that of Austria, whose desire of aggrandizement had been so injuriously displayed in the first invasion of France, and who would not easily have renounced the possession, so eagerly coveted and so disgracefully acquired, of the Venetian territory. But these subjects were of comparatively remote consideration ; the necessity of op-

posing France and restraining her encroachments was imminent and pressing.

In pursuance of his engagements, the Emperor of Russia sent into Italy an army of fifty thousand men, the command of which, jointly with the troops of the Austrian monarchy, was, by the desire of the cabinet of Vienna, confided entirely to General Suworow. This distinguished officer, who had already led the forces of his country to victory against the Turks and the Poles, had never been defeated; but his campaigns were rather a matter of wonder than of military study: his plans could not be useful to others; for, in fact, he formed none, but, inspired by the occasion, acted with a promptitude and energy which insured success. He was idolized by his soldiers, who, at his command, attempted without hesitation any exploit, or resisted with firmness any attack. Whether from a desire to disguise his real character, and prevent a close inspection of his intentions, or an uneradicable residue of a wild and uncultivated nature, his conduct was often marked by appearances of frivolity, sufficient to destroy all opinion of his judgment or firmness*.

Before the arrival of the Russian force, Schérer had attacked the Austrians, at Castel Novo, and, after two battles, at that place and at Magnano, been forced to retreat to the banks of the Adda, having added a great portion of his troops to the garrisons of Mantua and Pizzighitone. This event was of little importance as to territory, but of great effect in the country where the French had long been considered invincible and irresistible. At Verona, Suworow was received with enthusiastic acclamation, and hope seemed to revive in every bosom. To shew himself worthy of this confidence, he pressed the enemy vigorously in their retreat, took possession of Bergamo and Brescia, invested Mantua, Peschiera, and Pizzighitone, and advanced against the Cisalpine Republic by the two banks of the Lake di Garda; aiding, at the same time, by a detachment, an insurrection at Ferrara against the French. The people of Tuscany flew to arms, shewing a determined

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1799.
Russian army
in Italy.

Suworow
commander.

April 6.
Retreat of
Schérer.

18.
Advance of
Suvorow.

* Homme d'Etat, tome vii. pp. 213 to 219.

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1799.

abhorrence of their new masters : the states of the Church, and, most of all, the Neapolitans, displayed a similar spirit. Cardinal Ruffo, at once a priest, a patriot, and a general, headed a little army, and was vigorously supported by Count Roger de Dumas. The proclamations of Suworow did the highest honour to his principles and judgment ; one, in particular, had the effect of restraining the vindictive barbarity of the Republicans ; it declared that, for every emigrant put to death in cold blood, four French prisoners should be sacrificed. Fear accomplished that which honour and conscience had failed in producing, and the hand of cruelty was stayed*.

Efforts of the
Italian
Republics.

If the people of the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics could not regard with cordiality the French, by whom they were oppressed and degraded, they were sufficiently influenced by a dislike of Austrian domination to make all the exertions in their power. The legions contributed by the Cisalpine Republic were among the most efficient troops in the French army ; and the people of Milan, when informed of the disasters and retreat of Schérer, made a general movement to advance toward the threatened frontier ; but, by the capricious despotism of the Directory, they were disarmed and powerless ; they fell into a state of tumult and disorder, which Schérer advanced to repress ; but, finding his efforts vain, and himself the object of general hatred, even in his own army, he quitted the command, leaving it in the more able hands of Moreau.

Moreau
assumes the
command.Battle of
Cassano.

27.

Embarrassed with difficulties which were not of his own creating, this general, after mature deliberation, found himself obliged to risk a battle. The troops under his command were more numerous than those of his opponents ; but, owing to the improvident usurpations of the Directory, they were so scattered, that he could not produce at the given point half their numbers. Cassano, celebrated as the spot where the Prince de Vendome had gained a considerable victory over Prince Eugene, presented on this occasion a very different result to the French : they were defeated by

* *Homme d'Etat*, tome vii. p. 246.

Suworow, with a loss of from seven to eight thousand men, and upward of one hundred pieces of cannon ; but Moreau effected a judicious retreat upon Genoa, repulsing the Russian advanced guard, which attempted to oppose him.

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1799.

Instead of imitating the activity which Bonaparte always displayed, in pursuing to extermination a vanquished enemy, Suworow persevered in the sieges he had undertaken, and gave time and opportunity for the enterprises of his enemy. Anxious to join and co-operate with Moreau, General Macdonald quitted Naples, leaving in the fort St. Elmo a garrison which he deemed sufficient to keep the Lazzaroni in check. Through a hostile, but disarmed country, and through the city of Rome, he passed unmolested ; but in the Tuscan territory, the people, hitherto restrained by fear into an appearance of quietude, and now flattering themselves with hopes of speedy deliverance, had risen, particularly in the towns of Arezzo and Cortona, and attacked small parties of Frenchmen or Italians, and even individuals distinguished by the odious title of Jacobins. Macdonald's progress was delayed for a short period, while he reduced these two towns, and was permitted to accomplish that point, although his situation offered a most alluring prospect to the allies, had they chosen to attack him.

Advance of
General
Macdonald.

At length Suworow collected his strength, seeking to establish himself in the neighbourhood of Placenza. General Kray, who had drawn off his forces from before Mantua, encountered, without great effect on either side, the advanced guard of the French at Casino Brunetti : but a more important and decisive trial of strength speedily took place, in which the French obtained the advantage.

May 10.
Further
movements.

After many movements and some engagements, leading to no great results, the French were on one side of the Trebia, and Suworow, with his collected force, arrived on the other. With characteristic impetuosity, the French, eager to engage their powerful and successful opponents, crossed the river to attack them. A conflict of extraordinary obstinacy ensued ;

12.
Battle of
La Trebia.

June 17.

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18.

19.

Retreat of
Macdonald.July 31.
Other suc-
cesses of the
allies.

Naples.

Christian
Army.Capitulation of
fortresses.

French fleet.

the bayonet alone was employed. Macdonald and several of his generals were wounded, and neither party could claim a victory, when night obliged them to desist. In the morning, the action was renewed; and, the Russian General having received reinforcements, the enemy were driven across the river. A third time they advanced to the attack; but, after an immense slaughter on both sides, Macdonald, enfeebled by the defection of a Cisalpine general, who, with his whole corps, joined the allies, retreated through the defiles of the Appenines; and finally, of all the theatre of Bonaparte's victories, the state of Genoa alone remained in the hands of the French. Milan and Turin had already capitulated, and Mantua surrendered in a short time. Suworow was already in possession of the passes of Savoy; the Archduke Charles had achieved the conquest of the Grisons, and Massena had been compelled to evacuate Zurich. Such was the state of military operations when the King made his encouraging speech in proroguing Parliament*.

When General Macdonald quitted Naples, the French severely felt the effects of their insulting, cruel, and rapacious domination; the lower classes of the people, whom force alone had restrained, formed a force under Cardinal Ruffo, styling itself the Christian Army. This body, consisting at first of only three hundred men, but afterward swelled to twenty-five thousand, by the accession of outlaws, galley-slaves, and other the refuse of society, and aided by all that could be collected of native and foreign soldiers, took possession of Calabria and of the capital, where the stiletto was unsparingly applied in the work of vengeance. The castles of St. Elmo, Uovo, and Nuovo, were garrisoned by the French; but as, at the time of their being summoned, Lord Nelson's fleet was no longer there, Ruffo granted singularly favourable terms of capitulation.

Lord Nelson's absence was occasioned by the un-

* This very succinct account of a most memorable campaign (but the particulars do not belong properly to the History of England) is taken almost entirely from Lacréteille, tome xiv. p. 324, et seqq. More ample details are to be found in the Annual Register, and all the histories.

expected appearance of a French fleet in the Mediterranean. Admiral Bruix, the minister of the marine, had hoisted his flag, as admiral, on board the Ocean, of one hundred and twenty guns, and slipped out of Brest, with twenty four sail of the line, at a moment when Admiral Bridport had been driven from the coast by heavy gales. Proper measures were immediately adopted for preventing their success, had their attempt been directed to Ireland, and a force far superior to that of Bruix awaited him at the Texel and off Cadiz. He steered at first toward Bantry, then passing the Straits of Gibraltar, and having effected a junction with a Spanish fleet, which increased his force to forty-seven sail, he regained the harbour of Brest, without inflicting or sustaining any injury.

When Lord Nelson, who had gone in pursuit of this squadron, returned to Naples, he disavowed, in the name of the Sovereign, the treaty concluded by Ruffo; the King of Naples, arriving soon afterwards, confirmed this dissent; and the consequence was a profuse destruction of the revolutionary party, by military slaughter, private vengeance, and the judgments of a tribunal constituted on the occasion. The execution of some of its sentences took place on board Lord Nelson's own ship. On this part of the life of the great naval hero, the animadversions of the impartial and the unmitigated censures of his enemies have been profusely bestowed; while his biographers and general admirers have made but feeble apologies. The revolutionists, and their allies and prompters, the French, had omitted nothing, in act or in language, to provoke a just resentment*. Had the rebels been captured by ordinary means, civil or military, their fate might have been justly incurred, and the only question would have been, whether or not the rigour of justice had been carried too far? but where there

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1799.

April 20.

June 20.
The capitula-
tion disavowed

* A specimen of their insulting violence is given in a placard, displayed in French and Italian, on the walls of Naples. "Who is this Capet," it said, "who pretends to reign by virtue of the Pope's investiture? Who is this knave in a diadem, who still dares to exercise dominion over you? Let him dread the fate of his relative, who pressed down with his despotism the now enfranchised Gauls."

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July to April.

July 29—31.
Recapture of
Rome.

had been a surrender under a capitulation, it does not seem that any argument could justify a vengeance exercised on those who were included in it, while the other contracting party gained all the advantages for which he had stipulated. Every lover of Nelson's fame must regret that the disapproval of the compact first proceeded from him; and every friend to the fame of Great Britain must lament that a flag-ship of his nation was converted into a place of execution for the subjects of a foreign sovereign. The reactions of the royalist against the revolutionary party continued nine months, and were terminated only by an act of grace issued by the King, which was rendered incomplete by the exception of five hundred and thirty-one individuals and their adherents*.

Capua and Gaeta were speedily taken by the Neapolitans; and Pescara, after resisting during two months, obtained an honourable capitulation. Under the command of a Swiss officer, named Burckhardt, the allies marched against Rome, declaring, according to the views of the Russian Emperor, a resolution to re-establish the ancient pontifical government, and exhorting the people to join the adorers of the cross, before which the enemies of God, the throne, the altar, and mankind, would be appalled, and fly at its approach. Great efforts were used to prevent the diffusion of this energetic document; for the Romans, terrified at the vengeance exercised in Naples, felt great apprehensions for their own safety. With an army composed of the wreck of regiments and invalids, nominally amounting to four thousand, but never, in effective force, exceeding fifteen hundred, they had to defend Rome, Civita Castellana, and Civita Vecchia. Garnier, formerly a stone-mason at Marseilles, a man without talent or judgment, was their commander, assisted by Thuillier, who had been an advocate at Milan, but possessed much more ability. Hope of deliverance, in the present state of things, could not be entertained; and the republicans were happily relieved from the dread of being delivered up to the rage

* Homme d'Etat, tome vii. pp. 325 to 333.

and rapacity of the Neapolitans, by addressing themselves to Commodore Trowbridge, who, by direction of Lord Nelson, had repaired to Civita Vecchia, in the Culloden, and, having landed a body of British and Portuguese, granted to the retreating enemy honourable and liberal terms ; by which, however, they were prevented from carrying off the valuable spoil they had accumulated ; and, without further resistance, General Burckhardt took possession of Rome*.

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1799.

October 5.

Actions of the
main armies.

In the main armies, active operations had been, for a short time, intermittent ; the French sent, to fill up their diminished ranks, recruits supplied by the law of conscription : Moreau was ordered to be removed to the army of the Rhine, and Joubert appointed in his stead ; but the displaced General patriotically remained to aid and advise his successor. Macdonald too was obliged to retire for the cure of his wounds. The first movement made was for the relief of Tortona. Several affairs of posts ensued, until the adverse armies found themselves in each other's presence at Novi. The position of the French was admirably chosen, and their numbers were quite adequate to those of their adversaries. The allies advanced fearlessly to the attack, and were as bravely received. Early in the 16. action, Joubert was shot dead : the presence of Moreau became of high importance ; the fight was one of the most obstinate and bloody recorded in history ; generals, officers, and soldiers, on both sides, seemed animated with an equal spirit of heroism ; there was little manœuvring ; the loss of both parties is stated at twenty-five thousand men : the fortresses of Piedmont all surrendered to the allies.

Aug. 11 to 14.

Battle of Novi.

With this exploit the glory of the campaign ended. Not to the efforts of the enemy, but to discord among the allies, are the subsequent misfortunes to be attributed. The Russian monarch had engaged on virtuous and public-spirited principles in the contest ; his declarations were frank and undisguised ; his assistance to what he considered the common cause limited only by his means. He could well confide in his brave

Dissensions
among the
allies.The Emperor
of Russia.

* *Gazettes and histories, particularly Homme d'Etat, tome vii. p. 334.*

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July 26.
Declares war
against Spain.

general, Suworow ; and the troops shewed themselves worthy of such a sovereign and such a leader, not only by their conduct in the field, but by their immovable loyalty, and their entire devotion to their general. Paul displayed the sincerity of his principles by declaring war against Spain, a kingdom too remote and unconnected to give ground of fear, or hope of advantage : a manifesto, in which he declared his resolution to overthrow the lawless government of France, the outcast of God, struggling in the last agonies of dissolution, and aided only by a few powers of Europe, fearful of its vengeance, of whom the King of Spain was chief*. His chargé d'affaires was therefore dismissed, and that of Russia ordered home. The Spanish government had anticipated this latter order, by sending away the Russian minister ; and they declared, by a vindictory paper, addressed, not to the Emperor of Russia, but to the Spanish nation, and implicitly to all Europe, that it was beneath the government of Madrid to answer the manifesto, apprized as they were of the influence of England in the Russian councils.

September 11.

Conduct of the
Emperor of
Germany.

Equal sincerity and zeal did not mark the conduct of the Emperor of Germany. He was not desirous, as Paul professed, to see the monarchy of France restored, and her dominions left undiminished. The states of Italy, of the Church, and of Venice, replaced on their ancient footing, was an object not to be contemplated with pleasure at Vienna. All struggles and exertions in Italy, and even in Switzerland, tending to establish a national and independent character, were discouraged. The successes of the Russian General were viewed with envy, and the surrender of Saint Angelo to Admiral Trowbridge with undissembled dissatisfaction.

Hopes of
Suvorow.

Suvorow had formed the sieges of Tortona and Seravalle at the same time that he blockaded Mantua and Alexandria, in the hope that, after the capture of the two first-mentioned fortresses, he should invade Genoa, and so penetrate into Provence and Dauphiné. After the battle of Novi, he concluded a letter to Count

* This reflection was not less offensive to Prussia than to Spain.

Rostopchin with an expression of his expectation that his next would be dated from France*. In this view, he had been urgent in his solicitations to the Archduke Charles to drive Massena from Switzerland, to enter Franche Comté between the Soane and the Rhone, while he would traverse Savoy, and, proceeding to Lyons, unite with him, that they might co-operate in the overthrow of the existing government, and the re-establishment of the King. These splendid hopes and glorious aspirations were terminated by an order to march with his army into Switzerland.

Up to this period, Massena had been maintaining a disadvantageous, but always brave and judicious, conflict with the Archduke Charles. Illness and the restrictions imposed by his cabinet rendered the operations of the Austrian Commander slow, and prevented him from realizing all the advantages which the disposition of the people presented. The insurrections which they burned to make were discouraged, because they were national, and portended obstructions to the ambitious and interested views of Austria. Massena, with an inferior army, and labouring under many disadvantages, maintained an honourable conflict, conducted a skilful retreat, and, aware of the intended junction of the Russians, possessed himself of a situation at Albis which commanded all the outlets of the Grisons, and separated the Austrian army of Italy from that of Switzerland.

The army of the Archduke having been weakened by the departure of twenty-five thousand men, under General Bellegarde, to assist in Italy, he found his situation critical, and anxiously expected the aid of a Russian force; which at length arrived, after a very leisurely progress, under the command of General Korsakoff. This officer, an admirable tactician on paper, but utterly unacquainted with operations in the field, was imbued with all the self-confidence which accompanies mere pedantry: his instructions were calculated to inflame his pride, and to generate insolence and obstinacy. He was directed to act without

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1799.

September 12.
He is ordered
into Switzer-
land.Judicious
operations
of Massena.

May to Aug.

Situation of
the Archduke
Charles.August 16.
He is joined
by Korsakoff.

* Homme d'Etat, tome vii. p. 272.

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1799.

16.

September 24.
Battle of
Scheffhausen.

25.

Arrival of
Suworow.Honours paid
him by his
sovereign.

the concurrence of the Austrians, and to receive orders from Suworow alone ; and, in his first interview with the Archduke at Scheffhausen, he shewed a contemptuous haughtiness, utterly unbefitting their respective situations, and destructive of every hope of useful co-operation. He not only refused to assist in the measures which were proposed, but treated the Austrian Prince with contempt and ridicule*. He received orders to attack Massena ; but the French General, happy in the opportunity of combating the Russians before the arrival of Suworow, became the assailant. A sanguinary conflict ensued ; the Russians, displaying unfailing courage, and ardent devotion to their sovereign, were in the end defeated by the no less steady courage of the French, guided by intrepid, skilful, and experienced officers. Distracted with his misfortune, Korsakoff attempted, but knew not how to conduct, a retreat. He evacuated Zurich, which the French entered, and gave themselves up to their usual excesses†. Undismayed, although defeated, the Russians renewed the fight on the following day : their bravery never failed ; but, from want of skill in their leader, their destruction would have been inevitable, but for the advance of Suworow.

In his zealous approbation of the services of this distinguished officer, his sovereign had raised him to the rank of a prince, conferring on him the title of Italinskoi, or, in language more classical, Italicus ; paying him honours equal to those which are shewn to crowned heads, and declaring him the greatest of generals, past, present, and to come. If this cup of courtly flattery was too sweet for the palate, and too intoxicating for the moderation of man, the individual to whom it was tendered was doomed soon after to drain one from the same hand, the bitterness of which greatly

* The instance preserved is remarkable. The Prince, describing the points necessary to be defended, said—"Here a battalion will be necessary." "I understand," said Korsakoff, "a company." The Archduke replied, "I spoke of a battalion." "Very well," said Korsakoff, "a battalion of Austrians—a company of Russians."—*Homme d'Etat*, tome vii. p. 287.

† One act, particularly remarkable, is the assassination, in cold blood, of the humane and virtuous Lavater, by a French officer, whom, at a former period, he had received and cherished in his house.—*Homme d'Etat*, tome vii. p. 292.

overbalanced, in agony and mortification, the delight or the pride which the first had occasioned.

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In order to combine an attack on the right flank of the French army with that which he had directed Korsakoff to make on the centre, he had penetrated into the valley of Tesino, and to the foot of Saint Gothard, which was occupied in force by the enemy. His followers, reduced to thirteen thousand, exhausted by fatigue, famine, and every species of privation, surveyed with terror the snow-crowned steep, which they would have to carry against a powerful resistance. They hesitated; but Suworow, by means peculiarly adapted to the persons and the occasion, reanimated their determination: he caused a fosse to be dug, and, laying himself down in it, exclaimed, "Cover me with "earth; leave your general in this spot; you are no "longer my children; I am no more your father; I "have nothing left but to die." In pathetic terms and tones of contrition, the grenadiers raised him up, obtained his order to advance, scaled the heights, and dislodged the French. Without detailing the marches and counter-marches which Suworow was obliged to perform, in surmounting or eluding the obstacles opposed to him, it may suffice to say, that he forced all the posts which defended Switzerland, and, victor over nature, art, and men, he was bearing rapidly on the right flank of the French army, when intelligence of the ill success of the Austrians, and the retreat of Korsakoff, deranged all his plans. Unaware of the extent of this General's disaster, he commanded him again to fight: he was obeyed; but a defeat sustained at Dissenhofen obliged Korsakoff again to retreat. A junction of the two Russian armies was thus rendered impossible. Massena, in person, hung upon Suworow, using, in vain, all the means his great skill suggested to draw him from defiles in which he could not venture to attack him; and the Russian, doomed, for the first time in his life, to execute a retreat, achieved it in a manner which raised his reputation as highly in the estimation of military judges, as his former victories had elevated it in the opinion of those who contemplate

1799.
His progress.Defeat of
Korsakoff.Retreat of the
Russians.

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success in the field as the only title to military glory. In forty years of military service, he had never been defeated; and the position in which he now found himself, exasperated his temper, and led him to a display of haughtiness and ill manners toward the Archduke Charles. He effected an union with the broken troops of Korsakoff, and, with thirty thousand men, the wreck of eighty thousand, reached Saint Petersburg*.

Expedition to
Holland.

A joint expedition, for the deliverance of the Dutch provinces from the dominion of France, had been projected from an early period of the year, to be effected by thirty thousand British and seventeen thousand Russian troops. It was agreed that the province of North Holland, which contained half the population and paid two fifths of the imposts of the whole republic, should be the point of attack, Amsterdam, its capital, being feebly defended; and the preference was strengthened by the hope of gaining the remainder of the Dutch fleet, which had taken refuge behind the island of the Texel. From the time expended in arranging this expedition and collecting the forces, no hopes could be entertained of a surprise. The first British division, under Sir Ralph Abercromby, was assembled at Barham Downs, and embarked at Deal, Ramsgate, and Margate. The original intention was to effect a landing in the island of Gorce, whence troops might cross over and penetrate into the heart of the United Provinces; but many delays arising from adverse winds and calms, they prepared to land between Kickduyn and Callants Oog. A summons to surrender, accompanied with a mild and temperate declaration from the Prince of Orange, and a proclamation in the same spirit from the British Commander, were transmitted to Admiral Story and Colonel Gilquin, who commanded at the Helder. From the unprepared state of the enemy, it was probable that, could an immediate descent have been effected, the fleet and the whole peninsula of North Holland would have fallen

April 8 to 21.
British troops
landed.

* In this narrative, I have consulted all the histories, but have chiefly followed Homme d'Etat, tome vii pp. 281 to 297.

without a contest; but when the troops were on the point of landing, a violent storm drove the fleet again to sea. An attempt on this part of the Dutch territory had been quite unexpected, and no preparations made for resistance; but, before the British fleet reappeared, General Daendels had collected ten thousand three hundred men, which were advantageously posted on a line of thirty-six miles, from the Helder to Haarlem. The English troops, under Sir James Pulteney, General Moore, and General Coote, forced a landing, defeated the Dutch in two severe encounters, compelled Daendels to evacuate the Helder, took possession of that town and of Huysduinen, with one hundred pieces of cannon, and, being joined by a reinforcement of five thousand men under General Don, entertained sanguine hopes of ultimate success. These hopes were increased by the success of Admiral Mitchell, to whom the Dutch squadron of thirteen ships of war, together with three Indiamen and some transports, after an ineffectual attempt to escape to sea, surrendered by capitulation.

Without delay, Sir Ralph Abercromby advanced, and fortified himself in the Zype; while General Daendels, retreating before him, left open the whole country between the sea and Alkmaer. Here the British commander was disposed to await the arrival of reinforcements from Great Britain and Russia; but Brune, who, by drawing troops from the adjacent country, and the arrival of the Dutch general, Dumonceau, had acquired a considerable superiority of force, made a spirited, and for some time successful, assault, although he was ultimately driven back to Alkmaer. The Batavian division of the centre, advancing with equal courage, was opposed by five companies of the twentieth regiment, headed by Sir Ralph Abercromby in person, and repulsed, after two desperate assaults on the intrenchments. A like fate attended General Daendels.

Soon afterward, the second division of Russians and the Duke of York arrived, with three brigades of British troops, which raised the number of the army

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21 to 26.

27.

Capture of the
Helder.

28.

30.
and of the
Dutch fleet.Sept. 1 to 8.
Advance of
the enemy.10th.
Repulsed in
several actions12, 18.
Arrival of
Russian rein-
forcement and
the Duke of
York.

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to thirty-three thousand effective men, of whom twelve hundred were light dragoons. His Royal Highness took the command of the whole force ; but, although he had a numerical superiority in the field, the enemy had the advantage in every other respect : they had taken judicious measures for defence, and were certain of daily accessions of troops ; the inhabitants who were inclined to the cause of their Prince, being restrained by fear from declaring their sentiments.

19th.
*Engagements
at Keeperdike
and Schorel.*

Sensible that a determined and early movement could alone give success to the expedition, the Duke divided his force into four columns ; one of which, composed principally of Russians, under General Herman, pushed forward with great impetuosity, forced the intrenchment of Sleeperdike, and carried the villages of Groet and Schorel ; but, neglectful of the instructions they had received, they continued to advance, until, having exhausted their ammunition, they were repulsed with great loss, and in irretrievable disorder, toward Schorel. A second division, under General Dundas, with three Russian battalions under General Sedmrotsky, advanced, according to orders, as far as Schorel ; but their success was interrupted by the hasty and irregular retreat of the first body, which threw them also into confusion. The Duke of York made spirited and judicious efforts to retrieve the day, but without success, for the fugitive Russians could by no means be brought to co-operate in any regular plan, even of self-preservation.

The allies de-
feated.

The failure on these two points was rendered additionally mortifying by the complete success of the third column, under Sir James Pulteney, who, having expelled General Daendels from an almost impregnable position, formed by four villages at the head of the Langedike, achieved a difficult junction with General Coote, and was proceeding to Saint Pancras, to assist, according to the original plan, in the attack of the Koe-dike, when his progress was arrested by intelligence of the disaster which had occurred, and he was directed to secure a retreat, which he effected in good order, bringing off nine hundred prisoners. Sir Ralph Aber-

cromby, with the fourth column, had taken the town of Hoorn, but was likewise ordered to make a retreat, which he did without resistance; and both parties resumed their former stations.

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General Brune diligently occupied himself in strengthening his position, on which the British commander, having been reinforced by British and Russian troops, was anxious to make a renewed assault, but was long delayed by tempests, which laid the plains and the sea shores under water. At length the time arrived, and a new attack was made, in four divisions. After a great effusion of blood on both sides, the allies remained masters of the field; and their success might have been more complete, but that the Russians, reversing the fault they had committed on a former day, when they had captured Groet and Schorel, refused to advance, and were even with difficulty prevented from retreating from Schoreldam. Such a victory made no adequate compensation for the loss of two thousand one hundred and twenty-five men, including officers, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; nor was it a sufficient consolation to reflect that the enemy had lost upward of three thousand.

October 2.

Disadvanta-
geous state of
the allies.

All the country between Egmont-op-zee and Alkmaer was in possession of the allies; and it might even be said that their power extended to the Zuyder-zee; but, considering the diminished state of his force, and the probable calamities of an approaching winter, the Duke was sensible that he must make further advances, or renounce his enterprise. As a preparatory measure, ^{6th.} he dispatched General Don to the Batavian Directory; but General Brune not only refused him a passport, but, under false and futile pretences, detained him a prisoner. To facilitate a general attack, which he had in contemplation, the Duke directed the advanced posts of the front and centre to push forward. The Russians, having taken the village of Boccum, proceeded, contrary to orders, to Castricum. This brought on, unexpectedly, a general engagement, which did not promote the definitive view of either party; but it shewed that the French were constantly receiving

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1799.

Representa-
tion of the
general officers7th.
Retreat of the
allies.The Duke of
York capitu-
lates.

reinforcements, while any hopes of a favourable spirit in the country were found to be utterly fallacious.

In these circumstances, Sir Ralph Abercromby and the other general officers delivered to the Commander in chief a representation, shewing the reduced state of the troops, which had suffered a diminution, in killed, wounded, taken, and sick, of nearly ten thousand men; the difficulties opposed to their progress by the season, the bad roads, and the daily augmenting force of the Republicans; the increasing impediments to the receipt of supplies; and the impossibility, from the unwillingness of the Dutch to rise in insurrection, and the inactivity of the imperial armies in Italy and Germany, of effecting the great objects of the enterprise: and submitting to His Royal Highness the propriety of conducting back the army to its position at the Zype, where it would be nearer its magazines, and where instructions could speedily be obtained from England. Measures were consequently taken to elude the observation and delay the pursuit of the French; and, only fifty wounded English and Russians being left behind, a retreat was effected, with no impediment, except a few unimportant skirmishes and affairs of posts. Admiral Mitchell at the same time evacuated Medemblick and Enkuisen, of which places he had previously gained possession.

With all the care he could employ in fortifying his position, and diminishing the consumption of stores by sending his sick and supernumeraries to England, his Royal Highness found it was become impossible again to march forward. He could have maintained his position; but the health of his troops must have been sacrificed: nor could the ultimate ends of the expedition be attained. Were he to retreat on ship board before a foe superior in numbers, he found that, even under the most favourable circumstances, he must sacrifice three thousand five hundred of his men, or inundate the country in their front; a resource from which his humanity and justice equally revolted. The intent of the expedition was to serve the Stadholder, and liberate his people; but such a destruction of their

property as must have resulted from an inundation, would have been sufficient to make both Prince and people execrate for ever the British name. General Knox was therefore commissioned to negotiate; and it was finally agreed that the Helder should be relinquished in as good a state as it had been taken, an unconditional restitution made of eight thousand Dutch and French prisoners, to be elected by agents of those nations, and the allies were to embark unmolested before the end of November*.

For the failure in accomplishing the great objects of emancipating Holland and restoring its legitimate ruler; for the clamorous joy with which her enemies, foreign and domestic, hailed the event; the government of Great Britain had many consolations. Their army, although foiled, had not been disgraced; the forbearance constantly shewn toward the inhabitants of a country in which their reasonable hopes of assistance were disappointed, and the exemplary liberality with which they alleviated the misfortunes and compensated the losses of the people, commanded admiration, and should have inspired affection. The Dutch fleet, which, in the hands of an enterprising enemy, might have been so injuriously employed, was a capture of immense importance: if Holland was ever to become a friend and ally, we had abundant means of promoting her prosperity and re-establishing her greatness; if an enemy, her means of injury and hopes of rivalship were effectually suppressed. Her East-India Company, established at the beginning of the seventeenth century, long the rival of our own in power and prosperity, whose dividends in some years had risen to the amount of forty per cent., now finally closed its career, making a paltry final payment in part of the arrears of dividends for the present and three preceding years†. An additional advantage was gained in the surrender of the colony of Surinam, rather by an

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15 to 28.

Observations.

End of the
Dutch East-
India
Company.August 16.
Capture of
Surinam.

* Histories; Annual Register; and state papers. Also the History of the Campaign in Holland, by the Baron De Pons, published anonymously; Walsh's Narrative; *Précis des Evenemens militaires*; the Life of Sir John Moore, vol. i. p. 200; and *Homme d'État*, tome vii. pp. 301 to 310.

† Macpherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. iv. p. 487.

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amicable arrangement than a conquest. The settlement was to remain in the possession of Great Britain, unless its restitution was stipulated at a general peace ; and all the rights of the inhabitants, in liberty, property, and free intercourse with all neutral nations, were amply secured.

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND TEN.

1798, 1799.

Relative state of France and the allies.—Interior of France.—Royalists.—Chouans.—The Directors.—Trente Prairial.—Dissatisfaction of the people.—Conscription.—Finance.—Forced loan.—Law of hostages.—Events in Egypt.—Discontent of the army.—Efforts of Bonaparte.—Progress of Desaix.—Insurrection at Cairo.—Exertions against the French.—Massacre at Jaffa.—Siege of Acre.—Sir Sidney Smith.—Bonaparte's proclamation.—His dispatch to Djezzer Pacha.—Answer.—Conduct of the Porte.—Capture of the French flotilla.—Battle of Mount Thabor.—Progress of the siege.—Treacherous attempt.—Siege raised.—Retreat of Bonaparte.—Entrance into Cairo.—Upper Egypt.—Defeat of the Turks at Aboukir.—Bonaparte's statement of his situation.—He prepares to return.—He leaves Egypt.—His voyage.—His reception in France.—Plans of Bonaparte.—Feelings of the Generals.—New Revolution.—The Directors displaced.—Sitting of the Council of Five Hundred.—Conduct of Bonaparte.—The Council dissolved.

FORTUNE, favouring the arms of France during the latter operations of this memorable year, in Switzerland and Holland, seemed to have restored a sort of equilibrium between the contending powers. The Republicans were driven almost from all parts of Italy, and from their few remaining positions their speedy expulsion might be expected. Their sacrifice of men had exceeded one hundred and fifty thousand in the field, not including those who were maimed, or who

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Interior of
France.

had died through illness or fatigue*. On the part of their opponents, particularly the Russians, the loss was great in proportion; but the French, beside seeing their political fabrics destroyed, and their authority in Italy superseded, had also to contemplate an enemy threatening them with the privation of the little that remained, and advancing to their frontiers.

In her interior, France displayed all the signs of an impotent and hopeless state. The established constitution was hated and despised by all parties, and its sanctions daily violated by those whom it had invested with power. Each of the Directors was devoted, without concealment, to some darling passion or pursuit. The palace of the Luxembourg was the seat of ostentatious prodigality and undisguised profligacy. The Directors had lost all claims to respect. The councils were scenes in which the follies and vices of the National Convention were daily reproduced; Jacobins on one hand, and royalists on the other, struggled with deadly animosity, and, acting under the influence of clubs formed by each party, menaced a return of the reign of terror. That which was composed of the residue of the Jacobins, termed the Directors the tyrants of the Luxembourg, called for the constitution of 1793, vindicated the cause of Babœuf, proposed an apotheosis of Robespierre, and swore to avenge those two martyrs.

Royalists.

The royalists of Britanny, unmoveable in their loyalty, and disdaining to bend before the cruelties of their oppressors, or to sink into despondency when ill success beset them, had now rendered their undisciplined bands formidable, by means of a mysterious and powerful organization. From three brothers, their principal leaders, they were denominated Chouans†. They were joined by many nobles and emigrants, and, by their spirit, skill in the use of fire-arms, and frequent severity in exercising the law of retaliation,

* Homme d'Etat, tome vii. pp. 315 and 471.

† It has been said that this name was merely an abbreviation of Chat-huant, the owl; but Lacréteille, who had once fallen into the mistake, corrects himself (tome xiv. p. 365), on the authority of M. De Scépeaux, Lettres sur la Chouannerie.

Chouans.

made themselves truly formidable. They had their signals and their correspondences; all the parishes in which they prevailed were under a military organization; the peasant, at his daily labour, kept a musket within his reach; they endeavoured particularly to intercept the pecuniary supplies, and to pillage the treasuries of the state; and their vengeance was strenuously directed against the members of the old revolutionary committees, the purchasers of national domains, and the republican magistrates. As they were never drawn out as a regular army, their numbers could not be exactly computed; but, in bodies of two or three thousand, they encountered, without disadvantage, the regular forces of the Republic. Their influence extended over twenty departments, and their zeal was particularly stimulated by a persecution of the priests, ordered through the anti-religious fanaticism of Lareveillière Lepaux.

To oppose increasing difficulties, and avert impend- The Directors. ing calamities, the government possessed no efficient resources. Among themselves, conflicting principles, unjust proceedings, and unlawful expulsions and substitutions, planted animosities which forbade all hopes of useful co-operation. The absence of the army prevented that support which had effected the revolution of the eighteenth of Fructidor. The remembrance of that event, while it exasperated the general body of the nation, as a complete abolition of the constitution by which the Republic was supposed to be governed, stimulated and encouraged those who possessed power to fresh usurpations, and favoured those efforts which, in the absence of military coercion, could only have been restrained by evidence of strict union and cordial co-operation in the Directors. The elections to the chambers, which had taken place the preceding year, had been guided or controlled by the military. In the present year they were more free, and the feelings of the people being appealed to, through the medium of a press no longer under arbitrary control, but strongly imbued with the spirit of democratic anarchy, were highly unfavourable and distasteful to the ma-

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Trente
Prairial.Dissatisfaction
of the people.

Conscription.

Finance.

jority of the Directors. In their body, changes had been effected destructive of the constitution. On the expiration of his legal period of supremacy, Rewbell was removed. Sieyes, his successor, attached himself to Barras, who headed one party in the ruling body. Treilhard, after retaining a seat for more than a year, was persuaded or terrified into a resignation, on the ground that he had been elected four days before the period appointed by law. Lareveillière Lepaux and Merlin were similarly impeached. All three made a shew of resistance, and swore to live or die by the constitution. Barras and Sieyes made the same adjuration. The people, indifferent as to the result, looked on with the same curiosity and the same absence of emotion as they would at a dramatic entertainment, where rival lawyers were engaged in a contest of chicane; and with equal unconcern they beheld the result, when these three men were ejected, and their places supplied by Gohier, Roger Ducos, and General Moulins. Rewbell found a seat in the Council of Ancients; Cambacères was made minister of justice; François De Neufchateau gave up the ministry of the interior to Quinette; Bernadotte was appointed minister of war; Fouché was placed at the head of the police; and, for a time, Talleyrand retired from office. This change is termed the revolution of the thirtieth of Prairial.

Indifference on the part of the French people is not to be attributed to the extinction or abatement of patriotic feeling, but to their sense of the persevering misrule and personal worthlessness by which their governors were distinguished. The law of conscription, although it afforded those recruits which gave to their armies a temporary success, and formed the foundation of an unparalleled series of stupendous military achievements, was in itself the scourge of the nation, and diffused desolation and woe in all parts, and throughout every class. The public finances, reduced to ruin by official inattention and corruption, and avowed and insolent prodigality, presented to view nothing but disgrace and ruin. The deficit, admitted three months before to be fifty-five, was now, by the

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Forced loan.

July 12.
Law of
hostages.

same acknowledgment, stated at one hundred and twenty millions (£5,000,000); the taxes, enormously enhanced, were tardily and only partially collected; and the government was driven to a resource termed, by a strange anomaly in language, a forced loan. Terror took possession of every proprietor; the effects of the Protestant, like those of the Roman clergy, were confiscated; every man trembled for his possessions; money vanished from circulation; and the funded securities fell to the low price of seven or eight per cent. But an enactment of unparalleled atrocity and unprincipled cruelty was that termed the law of hostages. It declared all relatives of emigrants and nobles, except those who had filled public offices on the nomination of the people, to be in a state of intestine war with the government, and rendered them, under the description of hostages, personally amenable for all counter-revolutionary crimes. In every place where a civil commotion should break out, they were to be arrested; and should a murder be committed on any republican, whether military or civil, to be transported. This ferocious law excited general reprobation: its immediate effect was said to be that of driving all those royalists whom fear or prudence yet restrained within bounds, into the ranks of the Chouans. It contained within it the whole principle of the law against suspected persons, while the other enactments set in motion all the machinery of the system of terror; and it appeared that power alone was wanting to revive all its violences and horrors. The press fulminated its vehement denunciations of the government; the doors of the renovated Jacobin club were closed by the hand of power; but its principles were unsparingly disseminated: in the halls of the legislature they had their avowed, although not numerous or able, supporters. The moderate men were no less adverse to the existing order of things, but avowed the necessity of correcting the misrule of pride, selfishness, and profligacy, by the establishment of a dictator. Their eyes were turned to several of their most favoured generals; but no one of them had the resolution to accept the dangerous

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pre-eminence ; while the royalists, active in their clandestine, as well as bold in their martial, exertions, were only divided in opinion whether the rightful successor, or the head of the Orléans branch, should be seated on the throne*.

It was obvious, then, that the present government must be overthrown, and an entirely different system established. The difficulty was, on whom this great and important task should devolve ; and for its solution, it is necessary to turn our eyes to another quarter of the globe, and briefly to follow the fortunes of Bonaparte.

Events in
Egypt.

After the annihilation of their naval force by Lord Nelson, the situation of the French in Egypt became truly critical. The army opposed to them might justly be held in contempt ; but its losses could always be repaired, and its ranks replenished ; while Bonaparte, cut off from all intercourse with Europe, and having obtained his last recruits from the survivors of Brueys's fleet, experienced, in every man that fell, a loss irreparable. The French troops sensibly felt the woes to which they were exposed. Apprehensive of the plague, irritated by the contrast between the objects before them, and those by which their imagination had been allured, they expressed astonishment that their government should “ expose an army of forty thousand men to “ destruction, for the sake of subduing a set of fierce “ and brutified barbarians†.”

From the moment of their landing, even general

* The facts are derived from the Histories by Lacréteille, tome xiv ; Thiers, tome x ; Homme d'Etat, tome vii ; Alison, vol. iii ; the Annual Register ; and various other authorities.

† The words used in a letter from Pistre, a person whose rank in the army is not known.—Intercepted Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 148. Many other letters in the same volume contain similar sentiments. The publication of these letters, which were taken on board a French vessel conveying Bonaparte's courier, has occasioned considerable animadversion. The right of the English government is not subject to any objection ; but the prudence and propriety in point of feeling may be doubted. A disclosure of sentiments in the unreserve of epistolary communication to friends or relatives, might expose the writers to resentments, and draw upon them consequences which, as we were not at war with individuals, we never could desire. And with whatever interest the letters might be perused, they were less calculated to impart useful information, than to create false impressions : censures and complaints, uttered by ardent, hasty, intemperate individuals, passed for sentiments deeply engraven and sure to produce corresponding effects—a delusion which speedily vanished.

officers, such as Murat, Lannes, Berthier, and Bessières, expressed, without reserve or moderation, disgust, uneasiness, and discontent. After the victory of the Nile, these feelings acquired additional force* : despair produced instances of suicide ; and a temper often displayed itself which might have led to apprehensions of mutiny ; and the disadvantages under which they laboured, and the fierce animosity of the Turks, would have made their utter destruction probable ; but the vigour in action and firmness in government displayed by the Commander in chief, and the habit of military subordination, the sense of ruin which must follow from disorganization, and the certainty that, as no possibility of escape existed, they were, for the present at least, chained down to the soil on which they stood, stifled discontent, restored order, and rendered them ready to co-operate in any design their leader might suggest, although unapprized of its ulterior object.

Untoward appearances, the loss of his fleet, or the discontents of his army, had no power to depress the mind or diminish the activity of Bonaparte. Having dispatched General Desaix to pursue the Mamelouks into Upper Egypt, where they had united themselves with Djezzar Pacha, and sent other generals in various directions, he occupied himself in Cairo with the formation of a system both of society and government. Pretending always that he acted as the ally and under the sanction of the Grand Signor, he sought, before the declaration of war by the Porte was known, to strengthen the deceit by being present at some religious ceremonies, and uniting the Turkish crescent in his banners with the Republican stripes. Not only the means of living, but elegancies and luxuries of life began to be enjoyed. Bread, as good as that made in Paris, and cookery in all the modes of French refinement, were enjoyed ; dress, furniture, and plate, were produced in all the forms of elegance ; cards, billiard and gaming tables were constructed, and a press was established, from which issued a newspaper in the

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Bonaparte.

* Mémoires de Bourrienne, tome ii. p. 130.

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Progress of
Desaix.

French and Arabic languages ; the cavalry was well mounted, and every operation was pressed with activity and proceeded prosperously*.

In pursuing his progress, Desaix was engaged in numerous conflicts, and always with success. Such were the battles of Sadiman, Faioum, Sonagni, Samanhout, and Sohama ; the effect was to drive the Mamelouks beyond the Cataracts, while the French strengthened themselves by the occupation of Cosseir, on the Red Sea, and the construction of a fort at Kéné. Still, as the enemy attacked them from time to time, with undiminished animosity and courage, and with increased experience, the advantages were dearly purchased by the loss of men, whom there were no means to replace.

Insurrection
at Cairo.

October 28.

If the people at Cairo had ever been deluded by Bonaparte's false pretence that he came among them as a friend to the Grand Signor, they were undeceived by the appearance of the firman in which he was justly denounced as an enemy. An insurrection, without any apparent plan or system, broke out ; the dwellings of the French were plundered ; General Dupuy, attempting to disperse the insurgents with a small body of followers, was killed, as were a few French in the streets. The military soon flew to arms ; the streets were cleared ; the doors of the mosques, in which the people took refuge, were forced, and revenge was gratified by an indiscriminate slaughter, and an extensive conflagration. Quarter was tardily and reluctantly granted ; a gloomy tranquillity was restored ; but most rigorous measures against future insurrections were established†.

Exertions
against the
French.

In consequence of measures arranged between Great Britain and the Porte, officers of the Royal Engineers and artillery had been sent to Constantinople, to instruct the Turkish army. Djezzar Pacha, although

* Such is the account given by the Duc de Rovigo.—*Mémoires*, tome i. p. 67. The pleasures and luxuries on which this author dilates, if not altogether fictitious, could have been enjoyed only by the superior officers ; the subordinates and private soldiers had still to complain of great privations.

† A detailed, if not altogether faithful, account of this insurrection is given by Bourrienne, vol. ii. p. 178.

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Jaffa.

an enemy to the Sultan, and a rebel against him, forgot private animosities, and joined those troops whom otherwise he would strenuously have opposed. For the attack of this chieftain, and in pursuance of his usual judicious policy of assailing his opponents separately, Bonaparte selected twelve thousand men, in five columns, under Kléber, Regnier, Lannes, Bon, and Murat, embarked artillery on board three frigates for Jaffa, and, having provided for the tranquillity of Cairo, headed the expedition in person. El Arish, Gaza, and Jaffa, were captured with little resistance. In each, the French found great advantages of position, and acquired valuable stores and provisions. Great military severities were exercised, and, among others, for ever to be remembered, the massacre of three or four thousand prisoners taken at Jaffa, commanded, and superintended, three days after their capture, by Bonaparte himself. This act has been the subject of much controversy ; it is positively asserted by many, and strongly confirmed by the general voice of the natives, and the display of the collected bones of the slain. Bonaparte himself palliates the act, by reducing the number of victims to a thousand or twelve hundred, and asserting that, in violation of their parole, given when captured at El Arish, they had repaired to Jaffa, instead of proceeding to Bagdat, and would probably, if spared, have increased the garrison at Saint Jean d'Acre*. Another author, not diminishing the number, for that would have impaired his argument, says that, as a Turkish army was expected, the restoration of these men to liberty would, in effect, only have been supplying them with recruits ; and to send them into Egypt under an escort, would too much have enfeebled the French†. How these men were identified as part of the garrison of El Arish, or how they alone should have been captives, does not appear : but the whole defence is a shameless fiction ; the men who were thus barbarously massacred were not of the garrison ; Bonaparte had always disapproved of the capitulation, and their extermination was no less mercilessly executed

* O'Meara, vol. i. p. 329.

† Savary, tome i. p. 100.

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Siege of Acre.Sir Sidney
Smith.Bonaparte's
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to Djezzer
Pacha.

Answer.

Conduct of the
Porte.

than savagely decreed: it remains a conspicuous and indelible blot on his character*.

Bonaparte next proceeded to the attack of Saint Jean d'Acre. The possession of this post would have assured his dominion in Syria, and rendered certain the further intents of his expedition, whether directed against India or Constantinople; but here he was to meet with unexpected resistance. After his capture in 1796†, Sir Sidney Smith had been detained a close prisoner in the Temple. By a course of patient attention, and a series of ingenious contrivances, and with the aid of Colonel Phépineaux, a countryman and fellow student of Bonaparte, he had effected his escape, and obtained the command of the naval force destined to act in protection of Egypt. Bonaparte, as usual, attempted to smooth his way to conquest by boastful and delusive proclamations. To the official authorities and inhabitants of the country, he declared that the sole intent of his arrival in Palestine was to destroy the Mamelouks and Djezzer Pacha; opposition to him must be unavailing, for whatever he undertook was destined to succeed; his friends always prospered; his enemies perished. To the Pacha, on the contrary, he sent a dispatch, disclaiming all hostile intentions against him personally; to the French, a few miles of territory were of little importance; nor could they wish to deprive an old man, with whom they were unacquainted, of the brief remainder of his life; it was evidently his best policy to oppose the English and the Beys. To this mass of perfidious absurdity, the old warrior returned a verbal answer, declining all communication with the invaders, declaring himself prepared for the assaults, and determined, rather than surrender his fortress, to bury himself under its ruins.

Placing just confidence in his bravery and determination, the Porte invested him with the pachalics

* This transaction is eloquently related, and the apology judiciously treated, by Alison, vol. iii. p. 449. He cites Bourrienne, Jomini, Miot, Thiers, and several other French authors, besides Mr. Barry O'Meara. I follow this able writer's example in omitting to notice the report of the poisoning of his sick in the hospital.

† See vol. vi. p. 477.

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of Damascus and Egypt; and a plan was formed for him to attack the latter country on the frontier of the Desert, supported by a powerful force already in motion from Damascus, and assisted by diversions on different points by the Mamelouks of Mourad Bey, and by Sir Sidney Smith, in the Tigre, of eighty-four guns. This officer, having secured the good-will of the Emperor of Morocco, was received with unusual honours at Constantinople, and furnished with all the naval aids which that government could supply; and to him was confided the direction of all operations. In their march to attack Djezzer, the French were constantly harassed by the natives, and often misled by their guides. Unable to transport their siege artillery by land, they embarked thirty-four guns and two hundred and thirty men on board a flotilla of seven gun-boats, which, after a chase of three hours, was captured by the British Admiral.

Capture of the
French flotilla.

March 16.

Although deprived of their battering artillery, the French persevered, carrying on their operations with field pieces and one thirty-two pounder carronade, which they had taken on board a boat of the Tigre*, and they effected a breach in the walls. A series of brave attacks on the one part, and daring sallies on the other, conducted to little more than the destruction of lives, which were often prodigally and uselessly lavished. The Turks suffered severely on many occasions, particularly when forty thousand men, a levy en masse from the adjacent cities and territories, were attacked near Mount Thabor, routed with a loss of five thousand men, and obliged to fly for refuge to the neighbouring fastnesses, while the French gained a

Battle of
Mount Thabor

April 17.

* So says Gourgaud, vol. ii. p. 309; and he adds—"it was not possible to make use of it with the carriage belonging to the boat; and we were destitute of balls. These difficulties speedily vanished. In twenty-four hours the park of artillery constructed a carriage. As for the balls, Sir Sidney Smith took upon himself to provide them. A few horsemen or waggons made their appearance from time to time, upon which the Commodore approached and poured in an alternate fire from all his tiers; and the soldiers, to whom the director of the park paid five sous per ball, immediately ran to pick them up. They were so much accustomed to this manœuvre, that they would go and fetch them in the midst of the cannonade, and the shouts of laughter it occasioned. Sometimes, also, a sloop was brought forward, the construction of a battery was pretended to be begun."

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great booty, and gratified their revengeful propensities by the burning of villages and the massacre of their inhabitants. Still the prospect of ultimate success advanced so little, that, on the forty-sixth day of the siege, Sir Sidney Smith declared that, notwithstanding the increase of the breach, the town was in a better state of defence than on the first; and it was obvious that the garrison was daily improved by discipline and experience, while the neighbouring people gave daily proofs of their sympathy and friendship.

Progress of the
siege.

ay 7.

8th.

In this protracted operation, the first of the kind in which he had ever been engaged, Bonaparte lost his temper, and often his discretion. Skill in himself and his officers, and bravery in his troops, failed in their effects so often, that, at length, he seems to have relied on the use of force and persevering resolution alone. A mine, which had long been carrying on, for the purpose of blowing up the counterscarp and making a second breach in the eastern curtain, was assailed and destroyed. The next day, a squadron of thirty sail of transports and corvettes, under Hassan Bey, standing in for Acre, Bonaparte, hoping to carry the town before the aids could be introduced, renewed the attack, and made a lodgment on the second story of the north-east tower, on the outer angle of which the Republican standard was hoisted. The fire of the besieged had slackened, and the reinforcements were only half way toward the shore; the breach was feebly defended; and this was the critical moment of the siege. At this juncture, Sir Sidney Smith landed the crews of two boats at the Mole, and led them to the breach. The Turks, animated by the unexpected supply, flocked to the point of danger, where the opposed forces were contesting on nearly equal terms; the muzzles of their muskets were in contact, and the spear-heads of the colours locked in each other. Djezzer exhibited the unprecedented sight of a Turkish chieftain exhorting Christian soldiers to retire from the post of danger, as in them he should lose his best defenders; but the French were kept in check till the reinforcements were landed. Oriental jealousy gave

way to the sense of peril : a well-disciplined regiment, admitted into the gardens of the Seraglio, made a sortie, and, although they were repulsed, the besiegers being obliged to expose themselves above the parapets, were mowed down in great numbers by the flanking fire of the garrison, their force at the breach was diminished, and the small number remaining on the lodgment were killed or dispersed. During this tremendous conflict, Bonaparte, surrounded by his generals and aid-de-camps, was seen standing on an eminence which derived its name from the British hero, Richard Cœur de Lion. His gesticulations, and the mission of an aid-de-camp to the main body, indicated a resolution to renew the attack ; but, the garrison being fully prepared, and animated by their late success, it was agreed, in compliance with the wish of the Pacha, to receive the assault according to the Turkish mode of warfare. A strong French column, which advanced to the attack, was suffered to mount the breach, now fifty feet wide, without molestation. On their descent into the Pacha's garden, the foremost were encountered by the Turks, who lay in ambuscade, and, where combined tactics could not avail, the Republican bayonet was exerted in vain against the Turkish scymetar and dagger, wielded in the right and left hand with equal force and dexterity. The column was repulsed ; General Lannes being dangerously wounded, and General Rabaud slain. Bonaparte took a mean and malicious revenge on the gallant English officer, by propagating scurrilous assertions against him ; with how much justice and propriety, let his own secretary, friend, and admirer speak. “The offence which Sir Sidney Smith had given, by preventing the capture of Acre and the conquest of Syria, by having recompensed very bad by very good conduct, had infused into the mind of Bonaparte prejudices which nothing could efface, but the injustice of which is known.” In a letter to Marmont (2 June, 1799), he said, “Smith is a young madman, striving hard to advance his fortune and to make a great display. The best manner of punishing him will be, never to answer him, but consider

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" him merely as the captain of a fire-ship : in a word, " he is a man capable of all sorts of insane actions, " but to whom a profound or reasonable scheme ought " never to be attributed." " The English Rear-Admiral," the author adds, " was far above the portrait " drawn of him by his enemy : bravery, a lively imagination, and a generous heart, do not constitute a madman*."

9th.

In another attack, the French converted the putrid bodies of their fellow soldiers into a scaling ladder ; but, on mounting the breach, retired, when they found the place secured by three lines of defence ; and a Turkish regiment, sallying from the gardens of the Seraglio, seized the third parallel, spiked four pieces of artillery, and killed three French generals and several other officers. To add to the discomfiture of the besiegers, the natives, finding that their boasted invincibility was a mere fable, took measures for preventing the transport to them of any supplies.

14th.
Treacherous
attempt.

Convinced that no resource was now left but a disgraceful retreat, or a still more disgraceful success by treachery, Bonaparte sent in an Arabian Dervish, under a flag of truce, with a letter proposing an arrangement for the burial of the dead and exchange of prisoners. While the message was under consideration, and the flag of truce attending for an answer, he commenced an assault ; but fortunately the garrison, not being lulled into tranquillity, or unprepared, repulsed his troops with loss and shame : the Dervish, rescued with difficulty by Sir Sidney Smith from the people, who considered him a voluntary agent in this act, was sent back to his employer with a letter of just reproof†.

Siege raised.

Foiled in all his attempts, and disappointed in his most sanguine expectations, Bonaparte, for the first time, saw himself, after a siege of sixty-one days, compelled to retreat. His last efforts were dedicated

* Bourrienne, *Mémoires*, tome ii. p. 295. With this explanation, no doubt can be entertained of the falsehood of a silly story that Sir Sidney Smith, imitating the petulant folly of La Fayette in the American war (see vol. ii. p. 534, n.), had sent a challenge to Bonaparte, and received, most properly, a contemptuous reproof.

† Dispatch from Sir Sidney Smith to Lord Nelson, 30th May, 1799. Annual Register, vol. xli. p. *136.

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to revenge: without hope of benefit to his army or to his cause, he left a lasting memorial of his malignity to those whom, without any offence on their part, he had constituted his enemies. He destroyed the aqueduct, bombarded the public buildings, and endeavoured to reduce the palace of Djezzer to a heap of ruins*. He embarked a portion of his artillery and his wounded in country vessels for Jaffa; but the crews, destitute of necessaries, joyfully threw themselves on the honour and generosity of Sir Sidney Smith. In a pompous proclamation, Bonaparte endeavoured to console, re-animate, and, which he also found necessary, to reconcile his troops, by an extravagant recital of their exploits, and by a false and ridiculous assertion that in a few days they might have taken the Pacha in his own palace, but, at that season, the capture of the castle was not worth the loss even of a few days†. How much importance Bonaparte really attached to this conquest is apparent, not merely from the intemperate obstinacy with which he pursued it, but from the unmeasured falsehoods with which he endeavoured to cover his disgrace. In a dispatch intended for the Directory, but most imprudently published by the provisional government at Porto Danso, where the vessel by which it was being conveyed was driven to take refuge, he asserted that he had captured Saint Jean d'Acre; but that, while fighting in the streets, his soldiers had discovered that the plague was raging in the town; he had therefore commanded them to quit it, and return into Egypt. This, which is justly termed the most absurd romance which the whole collection of bulletins has thrown out to foolish credulity, was not republished in France‡; but the Directors communicated one, not in terms quite so boastful, in which he states that, after repulsing a sortie of the garrison, a favourable opportunity presented itself for carrying the town; but, being informed by his spies, by deserters, and prisoners, that the plague was making horrible ravages, carrying off

Retreat of
Bonaparte.
May 16.

* Oeuvres de Napoleon, tome iii. pp. 30 to 35.

† Idem, tome iii. p. 32.

‡ Homme d'Etat, tome vii. p. 336.

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three-score persons in a day, and as the soldiers, who could not have been prevented from pillaging, would have brought, in their plunder, the seeds of this dreadful scourge, he had drawn off his troops, and was on his march toward Cairo*. His retreat was marked with all the ferocious characteristics of disappointment and revenge ; villages and harvests were burned, and Napoleonic prisoners cruelly shot. In the course of his dispatches to the Directory, Bonaparte had boasted that he was master of all Palestine ; and he also declared, when he had taken Jerusalem, he would bury the first grenadier who fell, in the tomb of our blessed Saviour, and plant the tree of liberty on the spot where he was crucified†.

Entrance into
Cairo.

June 16.

Upper Egypt.

July 14.

Defeat of the
Turks at
Aboukir.

26th

False reports, sent to the Institute at Cairo, made an impression so favourable, that the troops, who were dejected and almost mutinous at their degraded position, saw themselves received as conquerors, and marching under triumphal arches, and, in the transport of joy and elated vanity, forgot their grievances, and returned to a state of perfect submission. In Upper Egypt, Desaix had been perfectly successful in resisting the Mamelouks, using his power with a temperance and moderation which procured him, from the grateful natives, the title of the Just Sultan ; and a corps detached by Bonaparte, under Generals Legrange, Murat, and D'Estaing, repelled an invasion commenced by Mourad Bey and Ibrahim Bey. In the mean time, a Turkish fleet of one hundred sail had anchored at Aboukir, taken the fort, and were preparing to besiege Alexandria, awaiting only the support of Mourad Bey and the Mamelouks. With his usual promptness, Bonaparte assailed the Turks in their intrechments ; their superior numbers did not avail against the military skill, and their arms, the scymetar and dagger, were, in this situation, opposed in vain to the bayonets of the French. All the tents and baggage, and twenty pieces of cannon, two of which were presents from the King of England to the Grand Signor, were the re-

* Homme d'Etat, tome vii. p. 39.

† Wittman's Travels in Turkey, &c. p. 157.

wards and trophies of the victory. The fort was invested, and, after a resistance of eight days, surrendered unconditionally.

Before this event, Bonaparte had written to the Directory, in a strain of mixed confidence and anxiety, a dispatch which could not be published without considerable mutilation, calculating the loss of the army, since its arrival in Egypt, at five thousand three hundred and forty-four men: his state, he said, was very secure; but he required, within six months, a reinforcement of six thousand men; and if an additional fifteen thousand could be supplied, they could go where they pleased, even to Constantinople. He added, in detail, a much larger number of men, and most ample stores: twenty thousand muskets, forty thousand bayonets, three thousand sabres, six thousand pair of pistols, and ten thousand sets of pioneers' tools. "If," he said, "it is impossible for you to send us all these supplies, you must make peace; for it is to be calculated that in the approaching season we shall be reduced to fifteen thousand effective men; from which deducting two thousand sick, five hundred veterans, and five hundred workmen who do not fight, we shall have remaining only twelve thousand men, including cavalry, artillery, officers, and engineers, and shall not be able to resist the united force of a body arriving by sea, and another from the Desert*."

He averted, by his judgment and military audacity, the peril last alluded to; but it was evident that, when he required such supplies, he knew not of the beggared finances, the exhausted military resources, and the disgraced government of his country. In fact, he says, in the same dispatch, that, since the preceding Christmas, no intelligence from France had reached him. It is probable that his departure was already resolved on; since he had previously given orders to Admiral Gauthaeume to disarm all the ships, except La Muiron and La Carrière, which were to be kept in the best state possible, and in readiness to start for France†. His

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1799.
August 3.
Bonaparte's
statement of
his situation.
June 28.

He prepares
to return.

June 21.

* Ouvres, tome iii. p. 86.

† Idem, pp. 63, 138.

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CX.1799.
August 12.He leaves
Egypt.
22.

want of information was in a great degree dispelled by the receipt of English newspapers to the month of June, and his resolution to withdraw himself was no longer to be delayed. In pursuance of orders, Gautheaume stationed himself in a convenient position, and, when the Turkish fleet was at a safe distance, Bonaparte clandestinely repaired on board at midnight, accompanied by Generals Berthier, Andréossy, Lannes, Murat, and Marmont, two of the savans, and a few others, leaving his followers equally dismayed, astonished, and enraged at his desertion. He left addresses to the army, to the divan at Cairo, and letters to General Menou and to General Kléber, to whom he delegated his command.

Such, as to the General, was the end of the expedition, in which he embellished his previous character with very few acts from which honour could be claimed, but tarnished it with almost every vice and crime by which man can be degraded. His bravery, judgment, and promptitude in action, and his unwearied diligence in superintending and guiding affairs, at once new, embarrassing and complicated, display greatness and powers in perfect conformity with his former achievements; but his unbounded rapacity, his insatiable and murderous cruelty, his daring impiety, his mean hypocrisy, and his shameless mendacity, present a figure absolutely hideous and disgusting. Numberless disgraceful and barbarous acts are recorded, but not one which displays goodness of heart, or integrity of mind*.

His voyage.

If this expedition, the repulse before Acre, and the flight out of Egypt, cast a cloud over the horizon of Bonaparte's life, his star speedily shone forth with a brilliancy and sustained splendour to which history affords no parallel. After contending against adverse

* Besides the various histories, the account of this expedition is derived from Berthier's Narrative; the Eighteen Campaigns; Thibaudeau, tomes iv. and v.; Du Duc de Rovigo, tome i. pp. 35 to 117; Mémoires de Bourrienne, tome ii. c. 13 to 16; Homme d'Etat, tome vii.; Voyage de Dénon; Travels of the Rev. Cooper Willyams and Dr. Wittman; History of the Expedition to Egypt, by Sir Robert Wilson; the Apologetic Statements obtained from Bonaparte himself by Gourgaud, Las Cases, and Barry O'Meara; the Dispatches of Sir Sidney Smith; the Gazettes and state papers; and particularly the documents furnished by Bonaparte, published in Œuvres de Napoleon, tome ii. pp. 252 to 503,—tome iii. pp. 1 to 161.

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October 9.

winds, and protracting the voyage to the term of forty-five days, by steering close to the coast of Africa, he reached Ajaccio, in Corsica, and arrived at Frejus, escaping a British squadron, which, for a time, held him in chase*.

His reception
in France.

Regardless of the laws of quarantine, he landed, and proceeded to Paris without delay. He was hailed by the people with the titles of "Father of the Country," "Saviour of France," and "Immortal Hero," while they addressed to him their strongest complaints against the incompetent, grasping, and oppressive government, the downfall of which was the earnest wish of all. Travelling with the utmost rapidity toward Paris, he was received, at Lyons particularly, with these acclamations; but, in the capital, he abstained from all displays of himself at reviews or in the theatres, and declined, as much as he could, all public dinners and ostentatious celebrations. Had the Directors possessed only a slight portion of courage, wisdom, or popular favour, they would have laid the hand of authority on the General who, in defiance of all laws and duties, civil and military, had deserted his army, and, uninvited and unlicensed, placed himself before them. He fearlessly braved their resentment and their censures. On the very day of his arrival, he appeared at the Luxembourg, dressed in a grey great coat, and wearing a Mussulman's sabre, suspended, according to the fashion of that people, by a silken cord: he was attended by no military escort; but the people of Paris crowded the avenues of the palace, and, by their thundering acclamations, prevented, if such a sentiment existed, any display of resentment on the part of the Directors. They received him with honour, and even with a show of satisfaction; he took his place at the table where they were sitting, and entered into their deliberations, as an equal. It was obvious, and they undoubtedly felt, that he must in some way become their master. His popularity hourly increased: when he appeared in public, he was not only received with

* His own account of this voyage is given in detail by Las Cases, part v. p. 11; and see Mémoires de Savary, Duc de Rovigo, tome i. p. 144.

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1799.

Plans of
Bonaparte.

acclamations, but, on many occasions, the populace took the horses from his carriage, and dragged him in triumph through the streets.

Divided among themselves, each having been, at some time, the member and patron of a faction, and consequently a hater of other parties, the members of government could hold no united course, nor concur in any general plan of mutual support. All parties in the state, and every individual in the Directory or in the ministry, who had any project to disclose, or any personal interest to gratify in a change which was deemed inevitable, sought the opinion and support of Bonaparte ; but he, who had views of his own, with which theirs were incompatible, steered cautiously aloof from all invitations to become a member of a faction ; and if he appeared to aid any members of the Directory, he was merely advancing his own plans, and they were unwittingly employed in executing them. From the military commanders who were in Paris he had nothing to apprehend ; the greater portion were friendly : Moreau and Macdonald placed themselves at Bonaparte's disposal ; Bernadotte alone, strongly attached to the Jacobins, might have been brought to resist him, but he was not referred to, and probably could not have influenced any number of soldiers.

These dispositions were ascertained by carefully sounding the minds of all parties, preparatory to the execution of a plan formed by Sieyes. By virtue of a special summons, the Council of Ancients was convened at eight o'clock in the morning ; and, according to certain articles in the constitution, decreed that the legislative body should be transferred to Saint Cloud, to meet at noon on the following day : all discussions elsewhere, and before that time, were prohibited. Bonaparte was charged with the execution of the decree ; all the troops of the line in the commune of Paris were placed under his command ; and he took an oath that he would act in concert with the committees of inspectors of the two Councils.

November 8.

At half-past eight o'clock, this not unexpected decree was announced to Bonaparte at his house. The

New Revo-
lution.Feelings of the
Generals.

avenues were already filled with officers of the garrison, adjutants of the national guard, generals, and three regiments of cavalry. He declared to them the trust which was reposed in him: important measures were in agitation to rescue the country from its alarming situation, and he would proceed to the Tuilleries. Assured of their adherence and fidelity, he issued a proclamation, that no orders, except those proceeding from him, were to be obeyed.

With the powerful escort of fifteen hundred cavalry, whom he had placed in readiness on the Boulevards, and amidst general acclamations, he appeared at the bar of the Council of Ancients, promising them his support, and admonishing them not to look to the past for examples of the actual proceedings. "No-
"thing in history," he said, "resembles the close of
"the eighteenth century; nothing in the eighteenth
"century resembles the present moment." Having appointed to important commands Generals Lannes and Murat, on whom he could perfectly rely, he issued proclamations to the people and to the military, promising that, notwithstanding the last two years of misgovernment, if they would second him with the energy, firmness, and fidelity he had always found in them, liberty, victory, and peace, should reinstate the French Republic in the rank which she had held in Europe, and from which nothing but imbecility and treachery could have removed her.

In this crisis, the conduct of the Directors was characteristic of their subtlety, timidity, and meanness. Their guards, submissive to the orders of the Council of Ancients, received the commands of Bonaparte, and refused obedience to any others. Sieyes and Roger Ducos, who had combined in plotting the passing events, sent in their resignations. Moulins did the same; Barras, yielding to the advice of Talleyrand, retired to his seat at Gros-Bois; Gohier, left alone, was without power or authority; and thus was the Directory in effect dissolved. Cambacères, minister of justice, Fouché, minister of police, and the other

The Directors
displaced.

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1799.

9th.
Sitting of the
Council of
Five Hundred.

ministers, acknowledged the new authority ; and, in subsequent times, Bonaparte declared that he considered this as the first day of his reign.

On the following morning, the Council of Five Hundred, where the opponents of Bonaparte were strongest, first commenced its sitting, under the presidency of his brother Lucien, for whom the chair had been secured by a previous contrivance. Emile Gaudin moved a vote of thanks to the Ancients for the measures of public safety which they had taken ; a message inviting them fully to explain their further intentions, and a committee of seven to inquire into the state of the republic. This proposition occasioned a most violent tumult : Gaudin was hurled from the tribune, and it was ordered that every member should swear adherence to the constitution of the year three. This proceeding lasted two hours, as each member was obliged to take the oath separately ; and in that time, the intelligence of proceedings having reached the capital, the hall became crowded with male and female Jacobins (called Tricoteuses), and Lucien himself, amid shouts of derisive triumph, was obliged to take the oath.

Conduct of
Bonaparte.

From the unanimity, spontaneous or enforced, which appeared in the Council of Five Hundred, many of Bonaparte's friends considered him lost. He was admonished of his peril ; but, too firm to yield to dismay, he presented himself at the bar of the Ancients, and, in the presence of a body of grenadiers, to whom, equally with the Council, his speech was addressed, he admonished them that the Directory was dissolved ; the hour of decision come ; they had called in his arm and that of his comrades to the support of their wisdom, and he found it necessary to take an ostensible part. Cæsar and Cromwell might be talked of ; but these days were not comparable to theirs. The military, to whom he addressed a question, whether he had not always kept his promise in leading them to victory, answered with fervid acclamations ; and Linglet, one of the members, applauding the sentiments of

the General, required him to join them in swearing obedience to the constitution, which alone could preserve the republic.

To this most critical requisition, Bonaparte answered in a manner which gave him the ascendancy which belongs to a great mind, over those who seek to prosper only by art or chicane. No means of evasion were left, nor did he seek for any ; but, after a moment's delay, emphatically exclaimed—"The constitution of the year three ! you have it no longer ; you violated it on the eighteenth of Fructidor, when the government infringed on the independence of the legislative body ; you violated it on the thirtieth of Prairial, when the legislative body invaded the sovereignty of the people, by annulling the elections made by them. The constitution being violated, there must be a new compact, new guarantees."

During a tumultuous discussion which this speech occasioned, Bonaparte was informed of a danger which menaced him in the Council of Five Hundred. The oath having been taken, the majority were endeavouring to compel Lucien to put the question for declaring his brother "out of the law." He resisted manfully, and, throwing off his dress of president, rushed to the tribune, for the purpose of delivering his sentiments as a mere member. Not considering the personal danger to which he exposed himself, Bonaparte entered the hall, and, while passing through a large part of it, to reach the bar, heard vociferations of "Death to the tyrant!—Down with the Dictator!" proceeding from two or three hundred members. Daggers were brandished, and there was the strongest reason to apprehend a violent catastrophe, when two grenadiers, who had reluctantly remained at the door, rushed in, sabre in hand, and protected their General, until the rest of their body also advanced, and forced him out of the chamber. While, in the court yard, he was haranguing them, Lucien was addressing the tumultuous assembly as his defender, when a body of grenadiers entered, shouting "Vive la Republique !" seized the President, and forced him out of the hall. The members, who

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1799.

The Council
dissolved.

had not heard a communication whispered by one of the military, “ It is by your brother’s order,” flattered themselves that the troops had declared on their side; but their hope was converted into consternation, when their supposed friends raised the cry of “ Down with “ the assassins !”

In the court yard, Lucien mounted a charger, and, as president, proclaimed that factious men, with drawn daggers, had interrupted the deliberations, and that the Council of Five Hundred was dissolved. The military, enforcing this decree, entered the hall with drums beating and charging bayonets : the deputies, always so ready to swear that they would die at their posts, now concealed their daggers, deposited their senatorial robes and caps, and escaped out of the windows ; the hall was emptied, and the members who had shewn the greatest energy fled with the greatest precipitation to the capital. About one hundred, or, as another author, with more probability, says, about thirty*, who remained, assembled at the call of Lucien, and, at the bar of the Ancients, sanctioned his explanation of the grounds upon which their body had been dissolved ; two committees were formed, on whose report thanks were voted to the General and the army ; the Councils were adjourned to the twenty-first of December ; two committees of twenty-five were appointed provisionally to represent the two Councils, and to prepare a civil code ; and a provisional consular commission, consisting of Bonaparte, Sieyes, and Roger Ducos, was charged with the executive power, swearing inviolable fidelity to the sovereignty of the people, to the French Republic, one and indivisible, to liberty, equality, and to the representative system. Such was the end of the constitution of 1795, destroyed, as it had been formed, by a mixture of fraud and force, by a violation of all existing laws, and a disregard of all promises, obligations, and oaths†.

* Homme d’Etat, tome vii. p. 360.

† Generally from the account dictated by Bonaparte to General Gourgaud, Memoirs, vol. i p. 53, et seqq.; and the narrative of the same events published by authority in the Moniteur, and reprinted in the same volume of Gourgaud, p. 334. No additional information of any importance, and no material variance as to facts, is to be found in the histories.

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND ELEVEN.

1798, 1799.

Views of the French on India.—Feelings of Tippoo Sultan—Conduct of the British Government.—Sir John Shore retires.—Succeeded by Lord Mornington.—State of affairs.—Connexion of Tippoo with the French.—Proclamation of Malartic—Disclosed to the British Government.—Conduct of Tippoo.—State of the British interests.—Proceedings of Lord Mornington.—Influence of the French—Expulsion of them from Hyderabad.—Judicious conduct of Lord Mornington — toward Tippoo — his hostile disposition.—Lord Mornington goes to Madras.—Correspondence with Tippoo.—State of the armies.—Colonel Arthur Wellesley.—Forces placed under his command.—Other forces.—Powers of General Harris.—Hostile operations commenced.—Victory at Mullavally.—Tippoo's proposals rejected.—Progress of the siege of Seringapatam.—Assault of the town.—Death of Tippoo.—Observations on his character.—Generous conduct of the victors.—Government of the Mysore.—Partition of the territory.—Government established.—Effect of these transactions.—Exertions of Doondiah Waugh.—Meeting of Parliament.—Votes of thanks.—Volunteering of the militia.—Bill passes the Commons.—Lords.—Protest.—Treaties with Russia.—Motion of Lord Holland—Rejected—Adjournment.

WHATEVER may have been the other objects contemplated by the French government or their General, in the invasion of Egypt, the subversion of the British

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Views of the
French on
India.Feelings of
Tippoo Sul-
taun.

power in India was always avowed as one great and important aim. Had the fleet of Brueys escaped from that of Nelson, a portion of the French force might have been conveyed by sea, or had the French not been impeded by the Mamelouks, or by the Grand Signor, an overland passage for a large army was in contemplation. Such projects could not be formed with any hope of success, without the co-operation of a spirited and powerful ally; and such an one presented himself in Tippoo Sultaun. The hatred of England, which had always impelled his proceedings, was inflamed to the highest pitch of rancour by the necessity of giving up a large portion of his dominions; and although his children, who had been delivered as hostages*, were restored, after most noble and generous treatment, not only uninjured, but greatly improved; although, in all their conduct toward him, the British government in India displayed a sincere disposition to amity and conciliation, he persisted in adverse intrigues and hostile movements; he infused into the native powers sentiments similar to his own, stimulating those who were hostile, and endeavouring to alienate those who were friendly, to Great Britain; but the full extent of his machinations was long enveloped in mystery. He gave a cordial reception to the French in his capital, encouraged their proceedings, however adverse to the general cause of monarchy, permitted the French soldiers to form a Jacobin club at Seringapatam†, and the republican colours to be solemnly and pompously inaugurated, while a French agent at Hyderabad wrote him a letter, beginning "Citizen Sultaun‡."

Conduct of the
British
Government.

When a French squadron appeared in the Indian seas, and a Dutch fleet was also expected, the English government formed alliances offensive and defensive with the Nizam and the Mahrattas; the surrender of

* Vol. iv. p. 662.

† For a specimen of the proceedings of this Club, see Asiatic Annual Register, vol. i. p. 246 of the Chronicle.

‡ View of the Origin and Conduct of the War, by Colonel Beatson; Appendix, p. 124. Copies and Extracts of Advices, &c., published by the Directors and by Parliament, p. 169.

the Dutch squadron at the Cape, to Admiral Elphinstone*, dispelled all apprehensions of aid to the enemy from that quarter; but still, the military arrangements of Tippoo required not only a demand of explanations from him, but an increase of preparations on our part. In this state, and amid discussions and entanglements relative to their naval power, the British government was engaged until the resignation of Sir John Shore, who retired, crowned with the applauses of the Company and of his sovereign, and was raised to the peerage of Ireland, with the title of Lord Teignmouth.

Earl Cornwallis was at first designated as his successor; but, his services being demanded in Ireland, Lord Mornington was appointed Governor-General—a most judicious and fortunate nomination, as the noble Earl combined all the advantages of high birth, distinguished literary accomplishments, senatorial celebrity, and official experience. After some delays on his voyage, during which he obtained important information concerning the seat of his rule and its dependencies, he arrived at Madras, where he adjusted some local differences among the native powers, and then proceeded to Calcutta. On his arrival, he found great difficulties to encounter, and many reforms necessary in finance, expenditure, and the administration of local authorities. There also existed a spirit of opposition in the government of Madras, and disputes among friendly native princes; and he was most of all embarrassed by the growing influence of the French and the active hostility of Tippoo, disguised with care, but not effectually concealed.

It was the obvious interest of the French to place Tippoo in such a situation that secret machinations should no longer be possible; and accordingly, when he had been induced to make amicable declarations, General Malartic, the Governor of Mauritius, published them in a proclamation. This state paper declared that the Sultaun of the Mysore had written to the Colonial Assembly, the French generals, and the

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1798.

March.
Sir John Shore
retires.

Succeeded by
Lord Mor-
nington.

April.

May.
State of
affairs.

Connexion of
Tippoo with
the French.

Proclamation
of Malartic.

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Executive Directory, declaring his desire to form an alliance offensive and defensive; proposing to maintain and provide for the troops that might be sent to him, amply furnishing them with all necessaries for making a war to which Europeans were little accustomed. He only waited for French assistance to declare hostilities against the English, whom he ardently desired to expel from India. Malartic, therefore, exhorted all Frenchmen, Dutchmen, and free people of colour, to enrol themselves in his army, where they would be allowed an advantageous pay, with unconditional permission to retire.

Jan.
Disclosed to
the British
Government.

Several months after its date, the existence of this proclamation was made known to the British government by its publication in a newspaper; doubts were at first entertained whether the alliance to which it alludes had been proposed, or whether it was a mere device of the French to create hostilities between the Company and the Sultaun*; but every proper direction was given for meeting any possible exigency.

Conduct of
Tippoo.

All doubts were dispelled by the conduct of Tippoo, who, while flattering the British government with professions of devoted friendship, sanctioned all the acts of his ambassadors, received as allies the French troops landed at Mangalore; his declared desire to expel the English from India received encouragement from letters written to him by Bonaparte; and he entered into a treaty for the aid of fifteen thousand French soldiers of all descriptions.

State of the
British inter-
ests.

Although all these facts could not be known at the time, there were sufficient indications of hostility to call for active exertion on the part of Lord Mornington. The state of the friendly powers, the Mahrattas and the Nizam, afforded no consolatory prospects; and the troops under his command, dispersed over a large surface of territory, could not be united in any beneficial operation. At Madras, the country most immediately contiguous to the Mysore, the military force was declared by Colonel Close, and his opinion was confirmed by

* Letter from the Secret Committee of the Directors to the Governor-General in Council, June 18th, 1798. Copies, &c. p. 1.

General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief, not to be capable of defending the territory, much less of attempting offensive operations; and the situation of the government was rendered more embarrassing by a prevailing spirit of opposition in some functionaries, which it required all the firmness and spirit of the Governor-General to surmount. On the side of Bengal, it appeared that the upper and western provinces were threatened with invasion by Zemaun Shah, a peril injudiciously undervalued by some, but, by those best qualified to form correct opinions, very highly considered*.

While assembling the army on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, Lord Mornington's attention was directed to strengthening the alliances with the Nizam and the Peishwa, whose power it was the object of the treaty of Seringapatam to maintain in such a state of efficiency as might render them useful allies, in the event of a war with the Mysore; but, with painful anxiety, he found them both in a state of great depression and weakness; the Peishwa, through the intrusion of Dowlat Row Scindia; and the Nizam, by the threatened hostilities of the same chieftain, and by the establishment of a numerous and active French faction in the centre of the Decan; and while internal convulsions had diminished the resources of both states, their co-operation against Tippoo Sultaun had become impracticable, by the progress of their mutual animosities and dissensions. In this scene of general confusion, the power of Tippoo alone had remained undisturbed and unimpaired, if not augmented and improved†.

In the dominions of the Nizam, his Excellency found that, through the active intrigues of the French, a despicable force, which during the last war with Mysore amounted to only fifteen hundred men, utterly defective in discipline, had been increased, by the exertions of General Raymond, to fourteen thousand, their military skill superior to that of any native troops

Proceedings of
Lord Mor-
nington.

Influence of
the French.

* Mr. Dundas and General Sir James Craig. See Auber's *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, vol. ii. p. 169.

† Dispatch from Lord Mornington to the Court of Directors, dated 13th January, 1799. Copies, &c. p. 26.

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1798.

July 8.
Expulsion of
the French
from Hydera-
bad.

Oct. 22.

in India, except our own sepoys ; that the French officers had acquired a great influence in his dominions, as was proved by the insulting familiarity shewn in writing to the Sultaun of Mysore ; and their arrogant, overbearing, and adventurous disposition excited alarm in the minds of the Nizam and his ministers. The Governor-General, therefore, entered into a subsidiary treaty, with articles for the establishment of an increased military body at Hyderabad, and the dismissal of the corps commanded by French officers. A sufficient detachment sent from Madras, under Colonel Roberts, with the assistance of the cavalry, surrounded the camp of the French army, disarmed the sepoys, and secured the persons of the officers. This service was performed without any contest, for a mutiny had broken out on the preceding day, and all the French officers were imprisoned by their own troops. To preserve their lives from danger was the greatest difficulty Colonel Roberts had to encounter ; but their property was secured, their arrears of pay obtained, and, after being treated with all possible attention and kindness, both at Hyderabad and Calcutta, they were embarked for England, not to be treated as prisoners of war, but to be conveyed instantly to France, without waiting for an exchange.

Judicious con-
duct of Lord
Mornington

toward Tippoo.

August.
His hostile dis-
position.

Beset on every side with difficulties, arising not from the evasive insincerity of Tippoo, the state of the country powers, the deficiency of finance, and the dispersion of the military force, alone, but from contests and discontents occasioned by questions of rank and promotion in the service, the commanding mind of the Governor-General was shewn in the vigorous exercise of his authority, in his judicious use of the powers he possessed, and the measures—at once firm, just, and liberal—which he adopted toward the intriguing and implacable Sultaun. This spirit was particularly evinced in the discussion of a claim advanced by Tippoo to Wynnaad, a small district in the Ghauts, on the borders of Malabar, which, on investigation, being found to be correct, the territory was immediately ceded. Propositions were made for a general negotiation,

through the medium of Colonel Doveton; but, after many evasions, the Sultaun gave permission for the British officer to come to his court unattended, while, in addition to this evidently treacherous form of compliance, other circumstances shewed that active hostilities were determined on, although the period of their commencement might, for convenience and advantage, be delayed.

To meet every contingency, and impel every operation without the inconveniences attending on delay, Lord Mornington removed from Calcutta to Madras, where, for a time, he meant to exercise the principal offices of government; but, anxious not to impair the present or future dignity or influence of the local governor, he professedly abstained from all unnecessary interference in the affairs of the presidency, nor would he disturb the system established under his lordship's immediate direction.

To remonstrances from the Governor-General, on his connexion with the French and the proclamation of Malartic, and on the reception in his ports of a vessel from the Mauritius, conveying French troops, the Sultaun answered evasively and falsely, saying they were traders, who had brought about forty persons, a few of whom had taken service and the rest had departed; but the French, ever full of vice and deceit, might have taken advantage of this circumstance to circulate false reports, in hopes of irritating the two governments. In reply, his Excellency stated his full knowledge of the means which had been taken, in conformity with the proclamation, to enlist French subjects in the Sultaun's service, the embassy which he had sent, his alliance, offensive and defensive, with France, his military preparations, and his intention to make an unprovoked attack on the possessions and allies of the Company, in violation of the subsisting treaty of peace and friendship between them. He regretted the refusal to receive Major Doveton, but still professed an earnest desire to preserve peace. Finding himself trifled with by the subsequent letters of Tippoo, and apprised of his extensive military preparations for the avowed purpose of

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Jan. 2.
Lord Morning-
ton goes to
Madras.

Correspond-
ence with
Tippoo.

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Feb. 3.

18 to 22.

State of the
armies.Colonel Arthur
Wellesley.

invasion—a purpose only delayed through the expectation of further aid from our enemy—Lord Mornington found himself compelled to resort to hostile measures; a course in which the British government stood entirely free from blame. Their language and conduct toward the Sultaun had ever been conciliatory and pacific; their moderation and love of justice were shewn in the cession of a disputed territory, even after the adverse proclamation of Malartic; and Tippoo could never justify his hostile intentions by the allegation of a single act of injustice. His proceeding was obviously grounded on a desire to recover the territory of which he had been deprived, working on a cherished hatred of England, which he fully shared with his French allies, and his expectations that their military aid—always promised, but never arriving—would enable him to gratify his hopes, both of ambition and revenge. Apprised as he was of the Sultaun's feelings and intentions, the Governor-General would have been open to just censure, had he permitted an insidious proposal of negotiation to prevent hostile measures until the season should render them impracticable, and time be gained until the following year for the arrival of foreign succour. In firm but temperate language, he repelled the attempt to create delay, and issued a declaration in the name of himself and his allies, the Nizam and the Peishwa, recapitulating all the aggressions and subtleties of the enemy, and stating that they were equally ready to repel violence and counteract delay*.

Unlimited confidence was felt in the armies on both the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar; their equipments were in the highest state of perfection, and the knowledge and experience they had acquired in two former campaigns, promised a speedy and prosperous issue to the war.

General Harris was the Commander-in-Chief. Next to him was an officer, now for the first time to be distinguished in a high military command, but destined soon to become the admiration of the civilized world,

* Beatson, chapters i. ii. iii. iv. and Appendixes; Auber, vol. ii. chapters, iv.
v. Copies and extracts *passim*.

the protector and liberator of Europe, the pride, the glory, and the support of his country. Colonel, the Honorable Arthur Wellesley was in his thirtieth year ; he had served with honour, under the Duke of York, in the Netherlands and in Holland ; he had embarked in Admiral Christian's squadron, for the West Indies, and, on its disastrous failure*, went with his regiment (the thirty-third) to India, where he arrived about a year before the appointment of his brother.

It was the early recorded opinion of the Governor-General, that, in case of hostilities, the grand object of attack should be the fortress of Seringapatam, the seat of Tippoo's rule, and the metropolis, to which his subjects looked with the greatest respect and hope. This plan was received with great satisfaction at all the presidencies ; and they were cheered and animated by the successful operation against the French faction at Hyderabad, which augmented the British force by the accession of several thousand tall, strong, and well-disciplined Sepoys. By the care of Colonel Wellesley, these men had been greatly improved, and practised in combined field movements, while their attachment was secured by judicious regulations for their supply and comfort. They were joined by the thirty-third regiment, with such other forces as the Nizam could supply ; and the whole, much to his satisfaction, and that of his minister, Meer Allum, was to be led by the gallant Colonel, of whose services and merits they were justly sensible.

Under the immediate command of General Harris, a body of about thirty-one thousand men was collected. On the coasts, General Stuart commanded six thousand four hundred fighting men, fully equal to the others, and of whom one thousand were Europeans ; while a detachment of about four thousand, under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, and another of five thousand, under Lieutenant-Colonel Read, marched to co-operate with the Commander-in-Chief from the southern districts of the Carnatic and the Bareahl. That no possibility

CHAP.
CXI.

1799.

Forces placed
under his com-
mand.

Other forces.

* Vol. vi. p. 392.

CHAP.
CXI.1789.
Powers of
General
Harris.March 4.
Hostile
operations
commenced.

9 to 21.

Victory at
Mallavally.

27.

of peace might be excluded, General Harris, besides his unrestricted military command, was invested with all the authority which the Governor-General could have exercised in his situation, and had, besides, the aid of a political and diplomatic commission, composed of Colonel Wellesley and three other distinguished officers, and a secretary.

From Carimungulum, where they were assembled in full force, the Carnatic, or grand army, proceeding to Ryacotah, encamped near the frontier of the Sultaun's territories. As if anxious to secure the honour and advantage of a first exploit, Tippoo passed his own frontier, and attacked a small body, only two thousand men, part of six thousand, who could not be brought into action ; but he was repulsed, thrown into disorder, and forced to retire precipitately to his camp at Periapatam, whence he removed to Seringapatam, and afterward marched to encounter General Harris.

The motions of the British Commander were retarded and embarrassed by circumstances peculiarly incident to Indian warfare. His army was overloaded with equipments and materials for siege, beside the cumbrous baggage of the Nizam's army, a host of brinjarries*, and the innumerable followers of the camp : there was also a great mortality among the draught and carriage bullocks, which delayed the progress of the General twelve days, at the end of which he arrived at Cankornelly.

Avoiding the details of minor operations, skirmishes, the unresisted capture of hill forts, and the different positions taken up by the allies, it is proper to mention, that, of three routes leading to Seringapatam, the British Commander selected the one which most surprised and embarrassed the enemy. At Mallavally, an attack by Tippoo on the advanced out-posts of the British army brought on an engagement, in which, by superior generalship, Colonel Wellesley gained a decisive and important victory.

When the progress of the siege of Seringapatam

* Dealers, who supply armies with rice and grain, loaded in bags on bullocks.

shewed every probability of success, the Sultaun, either repenting his former conduct, or hoping still to gain some advantage from delay, made new overtures for negotiation; but the Governor-General thought it conducive to the true interests of his country, and prudent and justifiable, if the course of the war should favour the attempt, entirely to overthrow the power and resources of Tippoo, and signified to General Harris his sentiments on the subject.* The British General, therefore, in positive terms, required that a treaty should be signed within forty-eight hours, by which large payments in money were to be made, extensive territories ceded, and all persons from countries hostile to Great Britain expelled from his court; and, to secure the faithful performance of the compact, four sons of Tippoo, and four of his principal officers, were to be given up as hostages†. Instead of a direct compliance, or decided rejection, the Sultaun proposed to send ambassadors; but the General replied that he had disclosed his only conditions, and the siege proceeded.

As it was known that the defence of the fort was under the guidance of experienced Frenchmen, the advances were necessarily made with caution and skill, nor were they effected without considerable loss. The progress of these operations was attended with the usual events of skirmishes, surprises, and accidents; but at length the invading army found themselves under the walls, and had effected a practicable breach. The troops destined for the attack were placed in the trenches before daylight, to elude observation; and the heat of the day, when the people of the east, having taken their mid-day repast, seek repose, was chosen for the hour of assault. At one o'clock the troops, consisting of two thousand five hundred Europeans, and nearly nineteen hundred natives, commanded by General Baird, moved from the trenches, entered the bed of the Cauvery river, and, after much ineffectual resistance, were so far masters of the place as to feel authorized in sending a flag of truce, offering protection to the Sul-

CHAP.
CXL.

1799.

April 4.
Tippoo's pro-
posals rejected.
20.

22 to 28.

Progress of the
siege.May 4.
Assault of the
town.

* Gurwood's Dispatches of the Duke of Wellington, vol. i. p. 29.

† Beatson, p. 109. Appendix, p. lxxii.

CHAP.
CXI.1799.
Death of
Tippoo.Observations
on his
character.

taun and all others, if they would surrender unconditionally; but apprizing them that if any resistance were made, the palace would be assaulted, and every man put to the sword. The proffered mercy was gladly accepted by two members of the Sultaun's family; but he was not there, nor was it until some time afterward that information was obtained, not without menaces, from the governor of the fort, that Tippoo was wounded, fighting in the gateway. Proceeding to the spot, General Baird discovered his breathless body, pierced with four wounds, and appearing to be but recently dead.

Thus terminated this short, important, and glorious contest. The fallen prince, in all particulars that constitute greatness, was far inferior to his father; his bravery was unquestioned, but his mind was not sufficient to embrace large and liberal views; he was guided by mean jealousies and particular hatreds, among which that of the British nation was conspicuous and pervading. He kept in strict captivity English officers who fell within his power*, and, from mean suspicion, detained the families of his own ministers and officers as hostages, conduct which rendered the entire submission of the country on his fall inevitable; for, when his power was removed, they who wished to recover the partners of their love, and objects of their care, were ready to purchase that advantage at the price of an unconditional submission. Vast stores of ammunition and warlike necessaries were acquired by the captors, with treasure in gold and diamonds of the value of £1,143,216 sterling†. On his person and in his cabinet were found amulets, notes, and interpretations of dreams and omens, shewing his superstitious weakness, and his correspondence with the French, in which, long before hostilities were commenced, he disclosed his wish to extirpate the British power, and the answers he received from that perfidious government, leading him, by the promise of succours, to measures which hastened his ruin.

* There is reason to believe he caused some to be clandestinely murdered.—
Beatson, p. 166.

† See the particulars in Beatson, p. 138.

It is satisfactory to observe, that, in the heat of hostility, and even in the moment of taking a city by storm, the humanity and courtesy of the English officers were always steadily maintained. The zenana, or habitation of the females in the palace, was put under a guard, to protect their persons; even when it was deemed necessary to search for concealed treasure, separate apartments were allotted to the women, and they were not subjected to insult or inconvenience. Far from disgracing conquest by rapacity, Colonel Wellesley issued rigid orders to restrain plunder, denouncing death against those who should violate them; confidence was immediately so perfectly established, that the bazaars were crowded with dealers in provisions and supplies; and in no part of the public proclamations or official correspondence is there a trait of that boastful pomposity, or contemptuous vituperation, so abundant in those of the French.

CHAP.
CXI.

1799.

Generous conduct of the victors.

The fall of the capital placed the whole kingdom of Mysore, with all its resources, at the disposal of the British Governor. Colonel Wellesley having relieved General Baird, was placed in the permanent command of Seringapatam; and, without loss of time, a commission was issued, appointing him, with General Harris, the Honourable Henry Wellesley, Colonel Kirkpatrick, and Colonel Close, commissioners for the affairs of Mysore, with full powers for regulating the civil and military government and revenues; thus rendering it unnecessary for the Governor-General personally to superintend the formation of treaties at Seringapatam. It was resolved to divide the territories of the late Sultan among the company, the Nizam, and the Peishwa, the latter potentate being admitted to a proper share, although his conduct in some particulars would have justified a less liberal determination. Finally, the conquered lands were so allotted as to afford to the Nizam no encouragement for entering into war with the Peishwa or Scindia, it being Lord Mornington's earnest desire to avoid hostilities with the Mahrattas.

Government of
the Mysore.

June 4.

Partition of the
territory.

With every possible attention to humanity, without neglecting the dictates of prudence, Colonel Wellesley

Government
established.

CHAP.
CXI.

1799.

removed the family of Tippoo to the fortress of Vellore, where Colonel Doveton was commander. There being no reasons to apprehend danger from such a measure, the Rajah of the ancient house of Mysore was established in authority ; but Seringapatam was retained in full sovereignty to the Company, as a tower of strength, from which they might, at any time, shake Hindostan to its centre. The permanent command of this territory requiring high military talents and integrity, and peculiar vigilance and care in its superintendence, was most judiciously given to Colonel Wellesley, who was also confirmed in the command of that portion of the Mysore territory which fell under the British protection.

Effect of these transactions.

Thus, by sagacity in council, vigour and promptitude in action, aided by the valour of the troops and skill of their leaders, the evils prepared by the enemy for this country were not only averted, but turned on themselves. The French, who had boastfully professed their determination to eradicate the British power in India, were left without a station on the Peninsula, and their extensive influence among the natives was reduced to a limited and uncertain agency with the Mahrattas.

Exertions of
Doondiah
Waugh.

The tranquillity of the Mysore received some interruption from Doondiah Waugh, one of those adventurers who have so often subverted empires and founded dynasties in the East. This freebooter had formerly committed various depredations on the territories of Tippoo Sultaun, who, having secured his person, compelled him to conform to the Mahomedan faith, and afterwards employed him in military service ; but, either detecting him in some treacherous project, or suspecting his fidelity, the Sultaun confined him in irons in Seringapatam. After the assault, he was released, with many other prisoners, and immediately fled, accompanied by several of Tippoo's disbanded army, to Bednore. He laid that rich country under severe contributions, which he exacted with unrelenting cruelty, perpetrating throughout the province atrocious acts of rapine and murder. His band being considerably increased, a light corps of cavalry and native

infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Dalrymple, moved against him from Chittledroog; and another light corps, under Colonel Stevenson, advanced into Bednore in another direction. Doondiah crossed the Toombudra, followed by these troops, and suffered considerable loss; but he effected his escape into the Mahratta territory, and the pursuit ceased, as the Governor-General had strictly prohibited any violation of that frontier*.

When the cheering intelligence of these events reached England, those which, in the latter part of the year, cast a gloom over the affairs of the Continent had not occurred, and the King opened a session of Parliament, convened at an unusually early period merely to transact temporary business, with a speech expressive of glowing hope and firm confidence. In the short interval which had elapsed since the close of the last session, he observed, our situation and prospects had improved beyond the most sanguine expectation. Italy might be considered as secured by the result of a campaign equal in splendour and success to the most brilliant recorded in history; Naples was rescued from the yoke of the French; their expedition to Egypt continued to be productive of calamity and disgrace; the British interests in India had been placed in a state of solid and permanent security; and there was every reason to expect that the endeavour to deliver the United Provinces would be successful. In neither House was any opposition offered to the address.

Thanks were voted in both Houses to Sir Ralph Abercromby, Sir James Pulteney, Generals D'Oyley, Eyre Coote, Burrard, and Moore, and to Admiral Mitchell, and the officers under their respective commands, for their services in Holland; and to Sir Sidney Smith and his officers for their exertions at Saint Jean d'Acre; all which were mentioned in terms of appropriate eulogy. A similar tribute was rendered by both Houses to Lord Mornington, Lord Clive, Mr. Jonathan

CHAP.
CXI.

1799.

Meeting of
Parliament,
Sept. 24.

26.

Oct. 4.
Votes of
thanks.

4.

* These facts have been derived principally from Beatson, from the luminous dispatches of Lord Mornington, and from the ample collection of Colonel Wellesley's dispatches, published by Colonel Gurwood; with reference also to the histories by Auber and Mill, and the Annual Register, and collections of State papers.

CHAP.
CXI.

1799.

Volunteering
of the militia.

Duncan, governor of Bombay, Generals Harris, Stuart, Floyd, Bridges, Popham, Hartley, and Baird, and their officers, for their services in India; and to the non-commissioned officers and privates, with acknowledgments of their gallant behaviour.

In his speech from the throne, his Majesty apprized Parliament that he convoked them at that unusual season, that he might recommend to their consideration the propriety of enabling him, without delay, to avail himself to a further extent of the voluntary services of the militia. Where they had hitherto been employed, they had displayed the courage, discipline, and steadiness, characteristic of British soldiers.

Sept. 26.
Bill passes the
Commons.

Mr. Dundas immediately brought in a bill to give effect to this recommendation, observing that the measure was not calculated to decrease, but, as far as related to the internal defence of the country, to augment a force which might be effectually employed in any part where their services might be necessary. The bill passed the House of Commons without any recorded opposition.

Oct. 4.
Lords.
Protest.

In the Upper House some resistance was made to the motion for a second reading, the substance of which may be gathered from a protest in five articles, signed by three peers*. The grounds were:—1st. That it totally and finally subverted the constitutional purposes of the militia establishment. 2nd. That all its purposes of procuring men for the army might have been obtained by disbanding the supplementary war militia, without reducing the permanent establishment to a service in which no gentleman could hope that his patriotic and disinterested industry would enable him to form his county regiment to a continued state of discipline, at the head of which he might, with credit and honour to himself, answer the purpose of its institution. 3rd. That the militia, if, mangled as it was, it could survive the war, would be reduced to a standing army of the worst description. 4th. That the oppressed owners and occupiers of land in England and Wales would

* The Earls of Carnarvon, Fitzwilliam, and, with an exception as to the second article, by the Earl of Buckinghamshire.

be deprived of the security resulting from a permanent domestic protection. And, lastly, Because it operated with unjustifiable partiality, in not being extended to Scotland.

Treaties which had been concluded with the Emperor of Russia*, having been presented to Parliament, Lord Holland founded on them a motion for an address, expressing sincere satisfaction that his Majesty had entered into no engagement which could lead to an interference with the internal affairs of France, or preclude the conclusion of peace upon just or equitable terms. That Russia, having been hitherto exempt from the calamities of war, might have made a more gratuitous exertion in the common cause; but although the House would be anxious to maintain his Majesty's honour inviolate, in fulfilling the article which engaged for the maintenance of a body of Russian troops within these realms, they saw the stipulation with serious concern and anxiety; as, from the unprecedented manner in which it had been concluded and communicated, there was too much reason to fear that those who had advised the measure entertained an opinion that a power was vested in the crown of introducing and maintaining within the kingdom a foreign force, without the consent or sanction of Parliament. Referring also to the King's declarations of a desire to conclude peace, he was exhorted to make the attempt, while yet the confederacy against France remained unbroken.

Lord Grenville defended the treaties, and the sense of the House was shewn in the almost unanimous rejection of the motion†.

Having completed the only business for which it was really assembled, Parliament adjourned over the Christmas holidays, a period exceeding three months.

* Dated 29th December, 1798, and 22nd June, 1799.
† The numbers were 15 to 2.

CHAP.
CXL.

1799.

Treaties with
Russia.

Oct. 11.
Motion of Lord
Holland.

Rejected.

Adjournment.
12.

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND TWELVE.

1798, 1799, 1800.

Slight naval exploits.—Bad harvest.—Trials for seditious publications.—Cuthell.—Pamphlet by the Bishop of Landaff.—Answered by Gilbert Wakefield.—Cuthell found guilty.—Wakefield's trial.—Judgment on Cuthell—on Wakefield.—Trial of Ross, Vint, and Parry.—Law promotions.—State of the Continent.—Emperor of Russia.—France.—Dispute with America.—Prudence of Mr. Adams.—Hostilities declared against France.—General Washington called upon.—His death.—End of the dispute.—Hamburgh.—Napper Tandy takes refuge—is given up.—Resentment of the French.—Provisional government of France.—Ascendancy of Bonaparte.—A new constitution accepted.—New ministers.—Decrees of banishment.—Restraint of the press.—Benevolent decrees.—La Vendée tranquillized.—Efforts of the Royalists.—Bonaparte's conduct toward foreign nations. Hamburgh.—Holland.—Prussia.—Russia.—Republic of the Seven Islands.—Bonaparte's Overture to England.—Lord Grenville's answer.—Further correspondence.—Observations.—Papers submitted to Parliament.—House of Lords. Address moved by Lord Grenville.—Opposed.—Division. Debate in the House of Commons.—Mr. Erskine.—Mr. Pitt.—Mr. Fox.—Russian troops.—Mr. Sheridan on the Dutch expedition.—Motion rejected.—Message on subsidy to the Emperor.—Address opposed.—House of Commons. Petition of the Common Hall.—Counter petition.—Motion of Earl Stanhope.—Mr. Tierney's motion on the income tax.—Mr. Tierney's finance resolutions.—Mr. Pitt's.—Public accountants.—Scarcity —Assize of bread.—Further mea-

sures enacted.—Others attempted.—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus.—Motion on the prison in Cold Bath Fields.—Motion on divorce bills.—Lord Auckland's bill.—Rejected in the House of Commons.—Bill against monastic institutions.—Opposed in the House of Lords—and rejected.—Bull-baiting.—Mr. Windham.—Attempt to murder the King.—Trial of the Offender.—Bills passed on trials for high treason—and for the custody of insane offenders.

Few, and, as to their general influence on the war, unimportant, were the naval exploits of the present period. Captain Mortlock, in the Wolverine, of twelve guns, and seventy men, maintained a gallant conflict, off the French coast, with two luggers of much superior force; they were compelled to seek safety by flight to their own ports, but he unhappily received a mortal wound from the last shot fired by the retreating enemy. Three French frigates took, on the coast of Africa, six ships from Liverpool, a vessel belonging to Barbadoes, and several from Portugal and the United States of America; but, as a compensation, two Spanish frigates, with nearly three millions of dollars and valuable cargoes, were taken by a squadron of British ships of war; and a portion of the treasure was escorted through London to the Bank amidst joyful acclamations.

An unusual course of rain and cold, during the summer, caused, in most parts of the kingdom, not only a failure of the harvests of grain, but also a deficiency in those other vegetables which contribute to the food of man, and a mortality among cattle. The efforts of prudence were generally exerted, and the hand of benevolence was liberally extended; but still the pressure of calamity was extensively felt, even in classes above the most humble. As a relief, and in substitution for other food, large quantities of herring were imported from the Firth of Forth, where an extensive and prosperous establishment for curing them had of late years been formed*.

Even with this calamity to aid the cause, sedition

* Macpherson's Annals, vol. iv. p. 486.

CHAP.
CXII.

1798.
Slight naval
exploits.

1799.
January 5.

October.

September.

December 4.

Bad harvest.

Trials for se-
ditions pub-
lications.

CHAP.
CXII.

1799.

Cuthell.

February 21.

Pamphlet by
the Bishop of
Landaff.Answered by
Gilbert
Wakefield.Cuthell found
guilty.

had not flourished during the passing year: the prudent precautions of Parliament, and the prosperity of the opponents of revolution, contributed greatly to produce this appearance of quiet. Beside the trial of Lord Thanet and Mr. Ferguson, for their conduct at Maidstone, only three prosecutions for sedition or seditious libels took place; and they arose out of publications in the preceding year. The first two, founded on the same production, were of John Cuthell, a bookseller, for publishing a libel written by the Reverend Gilbert Wakefield, who was also tried on the same day. In contemplation of the rumoured French invasion, the Bishop of Landaff sent forth a pamphlet, under the title of an Address to the People of Great Britain, depicting the cruelty, tyranny, rapacity, and infidelity of the enemy, and exhorting them to a vigorous defence of their native country. It was received with distinguished approbation; fourteen editions were sold in London with unusual rapidity, besides pirated copies in various parts of the kingdom, and a large impression which Lord Camden, with the author's assent, caused to be printed and distributed in Ireland*. In answer to this Address, Mr. Wakefield, with his accustomed bitterness, attacked every part of the constitution, in church and state, the ministers, and all who assisted in carrying on the government; he directed much personal abuse against the Bishop, and, far from deprecating, rather invoked an invasion. "Fortunately for the cause of liberty and human happiness," he said, "the competition was no longer partial and unimportant between two parties in and out of place, but between corruption and reformation." To prove that the coming and success of the French could be of no disadvantage to the people of this country, he cited the well-known fable of the sensible ass, to whom a change of masters must be indifferent, since, whoever might govern, he must always carry a pair of panniers. In defence of Cuthell, Mr. Erskine observed, that, as a mere tradesman, selling, in the ordinary way of his

* *Anecdotes of the Life of Richard Watson, Bishop of Landaff*, vol. ii pp. 49, 51.

CHAP.
CXII.

1799.

Wakefield
defends him-
self.

business, and without evil intention, a work brought to his shop by its author, he was not justly amenable to punishment; but, after a clear exposition of the law by Lord Kenyon, the jury found the defendant guilty.

Mr. Wakefield, conducting his own cause, read a defence, distinguished by the same vituperative malignity which was displayed in the pamphlet. "No pretence," he said, "could be set up by the Attorney General for prosecuting his opinions, but the savage law of force; no pretence which would not justify the Jewish and heathen magistrates in the crucifixion of Jesus, their murder of his Apostles, and all the primitive professors of Christianity—ferocities to which the persecutors of this day would certainly have lent their aid; no pretence which would not justify the burnings of Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and the noble army of Protestant martyrs at the Reformation, with all those imprisonments, and tortures, and mutilations, and executions of our species, for mere differences of opinion, which time has registered on the black roll of history in characters of human blood. The prosecution was an act of illiterate sottishness, despotic barbarity, and sacrilegious usurpation; and the observations of the Attorney General were those of a man miserably void of all philosophical principles and liberal information, and deserved nothing but contempt, as the wretched babblings of one blinded by education, or corrupted by his office."

To the extended matter of this defence, the Attorney General did not deign to reply; his own present conduct he left entirely to the judgment of the jury. From the passages of his work set forth in the information, and what the reverend gentleman had said, he seemed to conceive that there should be one law for him, and another for all the rest of his countrymen. Without retiring, the jury found a verdict of guilty.

When these defendants came before the court for judgment, Mr. Cuthell presented a modest and proper affidavit, representing that he had been induced by the author to undertake the publication of his work, with-

Reply.

Found guilty.

April 18.
Judgment on
Cuthell.

CHAP.
CXII.

1799.

On Wakefield.

May 30.

March 4.
Trial of Ross,
Vint, and
Parry.

out any acquaintance with him, or suspicion of its contents, and had discontinued it as soon as he was apprized of its objectionable character. The court sentenced him only to the payment of a fine of thirty marks.

Mr. Wakefield, on the contrary, took the opportunity of renewing all the malignant calumnies contained in his book and in his speech on the trial, reinforced by a profuse collection of Scriptural and historical analogies, and of English and Latin quotations; preferring the latter language to Greek, as more intelligible to the majority of his audience. In passing sentence on him, the court observed that his address had aggravated his offence, both as an Englishman, a Christian, and a minister of religion: he was condemned to be imprisoned two years in the gaol of Dorchester, and to give securities for his good behaviour for five years, himself in five hundred pounds, and two sureties in two hundred and fifty pounds each. If this judgment should seem severe, it must be recollected that it was passed upon a man who had misemployed the gifts of nature and education by promulgating, in the most offensive terms, the most dangerous and destructive doctrines, and that, after two grand juries had pronounced on his work, and his bookseller had refused to be any more engaged in it, he printed a third edition and sold it at his own house*.

Ross, Vint, and Parry, the proprietor, printer, and publisher, of a paper called the Courier, were tried for a libel on the Emperor of Russia, stating that he rendered himself obnoxious to his own subjects by acts of

* It is somewhat remarkable that the Bishop of Llandaff and the reverend Defendant, who had so lately co-operated in exposing the fallacies in Paine's *Age of Reason* (vol. vi. p. 345), should now be such direct antagonists. Mr. Wakefield sent to the Bishop a copy of his pamphlet, which was civilly, but coldly acknowledged; and an attempt to obtain his evidence to character on the trial was peremptorily repelled. Other eminent members of the church observed the same conduct: but Mr. Wakefield published passages in their correspondence with him, to shew that in former times their opinions had been more favourable. The court, apprized of his poverty, imposed on him no fine; but, when he was in prison, his friends raised a subscription for his relief and future maintenance, which, they say, amounted to £5000. Whatever it was, he did not long enjoy it; for, in fourteen weeks after the expiration of his captivity, he died, at the early age of forty-five.—*Trials of Cuthell and Wakefield*, Howell, vol. xxvii. pp. 641 to 760, with the notes extracted from the Life of Gilbert Wakefield.

tyranny, and ridiculous in the eyes of Europe by his inconsistency; and charging that, through his edict, preventing the exportation of timber and deals, one hundred sail of vessels must return to this country without freight. They were found guilty, and sentence was pronounced on Parry, the proprietor, to be imprisoned six months, and pay a fine of one hundred pounds; the others to be confined one month.

Soon after these sentences, Sir John Scott ceased to be Attorney General. On the death of Sir James Eyre, he succeeded him as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Eldon. Sir John Mitford became Attorney and Sir William Grant Solicitor General.

On the Continent, no further martial achievement took place at the close of the year; but all awaited with anxiety the next probable proceedings. By the loss of all Italy, except Genoa, the power of the enemy seemed to be materially diminished; but the brilliant campaign of General Massena in the Grisons shewed that the French were still formidable; and some particulars in the conduct of the Emperor of Russia gave cause for apprehension of the durability of his alliance. The Emperor Paul, never predisposed to evil, was nevertheless so much under the influence of immediate impressions, and carried to such extremes of conduct by the violence of his passions, that every event endangered the stability of his conduct. He had entered into the union against France on principles eminently princely and laudable. If his schemes for the general restoration of ancient governments were so extensive as to be deemed wild, and required sacrifices which his allies could not be expected to make, still the motives on which they were founded were most honourable and disinterested. The glory which attended his arms in Italy elated his mind; but it was ill calculated to bear the reverses sustained in the Alps and in Holland. The brave and faithful Suworow was treated, after his recall in the capital, with such opprobrium, that his lofty spirit sunk beneath his sovereign's unjustifiable displeasure, and, at the age of sixty-nine, he

CHAP.
CXII.

1799.

May 30.

July 6.
Law promo-
tions.State of the
Continent.Emperor of
Russia.

CHAP.
CXII.

1799.

France.

Dispute with
America

died, the victim of a visitation for faults he had not committed. Not insensible of his merits and services, although he had been swayed to anger by an unjust impulse of temper, the Sovereign was by his side in his last moments, and the General expired in his arms*.

During the last portion of the directorial government, the conduct of France toward foreign powers had been distinguished alike by oppressive tyranny and sordid rapacity. From the circumstances of the war, and the great share taken by the Americans in the neutral commerce of the world, disputes had for some time subsisted between them and France. On the one side, complaints were made that England obtained, through the means of American neutrality, the supplies necessary for continuing the war; on the other, that, under pretext of such causes of complaint, plunder and oppression to a great extent were perpetrated in the West Indies and in other parts.

To terminate all differences, Congress employed, as envoys, Generals Pinckney and Marshall, and Mr. Elbridge Gerry, with instructions both firm and conciliatory. The reception and treatment of these envoys was a mixture of lofty insolence, insidious chicane, and audacious rapacity. The Directors would not acknowledge them in any public character, alleging that two of them had been purposely selected from a party hostile to France; nor would Talleyrand, as minister, enter into conference with them; but three persons, under obligations to secrecy, and whose names are particularized only by the last three letters in the alphabet†, made them frequent visits, and, in the name of Talleyrand, required, as a preliminary to any acknowledgment of their public character, or discussion of the merits of their mission, or even of the delivery of a written note from them, a pecuniary donation equivalent to fifty thousand pounds sterling, for the private emolument of the Directors; and a loan, exceeding a million sterling, for the public service. It was strongly urged, in the course of these interviews,

* Capefigue, tome ii. p. 337.

† It was afterward disclosed that Y was M. Bellamy; and Z, M. Hauteval. X remained a secret.—*Actes et Mémoires*, tome iii. p. 272.

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that a large party in America was adverse to the proceedings of their government, and, in case of hostilities, would declare in favour of the French ; that England would speedily be invaded and subdued, or Pitt compelled to sue for peace on terms prescribed by France ; that the Hero of Italy, with his invincible army greatly augmented, would land on the American shores, and that republic might undergo the fate of Venice. The demand of money was peremptorily refused ; and when Mr. X urged the matter, the Americans answered, “ No ; no ; not a sixpence.” They would not privily bribe the members of the Directory to allow them the privilege of proposing a treaty ; and if they granted a public loan, it would be an explicit avowal of adherence to France, and a declaration of hostilities against the rest of Europe. In pursuance of a message from the Executive Directory, a decree was passed*, declaring that the description of every vessel, as hostile or neutral, should be determined by its cargo, and that every ship, of which the cargo, in the whole or in part, should consist of English merchandize, should be deemed lawful prize, whoever might be the proprietor ; and goods coming from England, or any of her settlements, were to be denominated contraband ; the harbours of France were to be shut against all vessels that had so much as touched at an English port, and the sailors of neutral nations found on board English ships put to death. After the promulgation of this tyrannical edict, the American plenipotentiaries remained some months in Paris, and had conferences with Talleyrand ; but, amidst general professions of peace, new subjects of complaint, and discussions on the verbal meaning of articles in former treaties, were introduced, mixed up with renewals of the demand for money, until at length Generals Pinckney and Marshall returned to their own country : Mr. Gerry still remained for a short period, his passports having been refused. Talleyrand was still desirous of obtaining a loan ; but the American government remained inexorable ; and at length, properly, though

* 14th January, 1798.

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Prudence of
Mr. Adams.

tardily, resenting the contempt shewn to them,—a contempt aggravated by the distinction of Mr. Gerry from Generals Pinckney and Marshall, the real object of which was to enable the French to designate an envoy with whom they would condescend to negotiate,—the American government dispatched to Mr. Gerry a peremptory letter of recall*.

General Washington had retired from the office of president, and been succeeded by Mr. Adams, some time before the state of affairs had become thus critical. His whole conduct had been marked by a desire to sustain the dignity and independence of his country; and his last address, when he declined being elected to the office of president, breathed the same sentiments. His successor, treading in his steps, had seen with regret the disposition manifested by France, and, however anxious to avoid hostilities, cautioned his countrymen against a submissiveness by which they would forego all claims to independence. These opinions were mildly and temperately expressed in the first two speeches he addressed to the legislative body, and they, together with the final message of his predecessor, were loudly complained of by the French. The American people, fully impressed with these just and manly sentiments, received Generals Pinckney and Marshall, on their return, in a manner which might almost be called triumphant; and, with few exceptions, the people agreed with Mr. Pickering, that France had never desired to negotiate, but to impose a treaty on them, as she had on the minor powers of Europe, which could not resist her behests. Letters of marque were issued; the American ports closed against the French; all commercial intercourse with them suspended; a regiment of artillery and engineers was added to the permanent establishment; and the president was authorized to levy twelve fresh regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, for a service limited by the duration of the existing disputes. A scheme for a provisional army, and a volunteer militia, was also organized. Addresses poured in from every quarter of the States,

Hostilities
declared
against France.

* Letter of Mr. Pickering, secretary of state, 25th June, 1798.

shewing that the ranks of the latter force were not likely to need recruits; and the general cry of the nation was, " millions for defence, but not a cent for "tribute."

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1799.

General
Washington
called upon.

Since he had declined the presidency, General Washington had lived at Mount Vernon, enjoying the domestic felicity which he loved, and cultivating an estate, which daily improved in value and in beauty under his care; but when the voice of his country called upon him to sustain, by his military exertions, that independence which his military exertions had established and secured, no feebleness or weariness of age, no love of ease, or attachment to those scenes of happiness which he had merited by so much toil and danger, weighed for a moment on his mind: he obeyed the voice of the whole public. The act of legislature, promptly framed, was honourable in its terms, and accompanied with expressions most gratifying. If the General should decline the appointment, all the world, said the President, will be silent and respectfully acquiesce. If he should accept it, all the world, except the enemies of his country, will rejoice.

But the appointment was non-effective. The government of France, no longer composed of a rapacious, insolent, and ignorant junto, would not prosecute a contest in which no gain could be proposed as a counterbalance to certain and unlimited loss and expense. The General appointed his staff, and laboured to organize his troops, and prepare for future arrangements, should an invasion take place, in which, however, he never believed. He was not permitted to see the event of his anticipations: a cold, which had attacked him in consequence of exposure to wet weather, produced a fever, which, after a few days, terminated his existence. The character which this great man had established, during the struggle for independence*, had been in all respects greatly exalted during the period which ensued; his country duly felt and lamented his loss, and honoured his memory with all the marks of respect which public gratitude can dis-

1798.

December 4.

18.
His death.

* Vol. iv. p. 12.

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End of the
dispute.Hamburg.
October 15.Napper Tandy
takes refuge.

Is given up.

Resentment of
the French.

play. In France, his merits were acknowledged, and a funereal eulogy on him was pronounced, in the Temple of Mars, by Louis Fontane*.

The whole contest ended without any practical results. It was justly said, by a writer at the period, —if the disgrace of such a job could be surpassed by one still greater, it was by the contempt of the Americans for that marketable goodwill; by the publicity which they gave to it; by the energy of their deliberations; and by the coolness with which the Directory swallowed the affront, without daring to arm a single ship, or to hazard one offensive word†.

Less able to resist, and more exposed to immediate attack, the Hanse Towns afforded the prey which the United States refused. One of the last acts of the Directory was a declaration of war against Hamburg. During several years, the Hanseatic Towns had been exposed to intrigues and insults, directed by ambition and cupidity. The feelings of the people were divided; the adherents of France formed a minority; but their views were promoted by the formation of what they called a philanthropic society, which was the centre of an active correspondence with the disaffected in England and Ireland. Disputes already subsisted, arising out of the demand of a loan from Hamburg, Bremen, and Lubeck, and of the possession of the port of Cuxhaven, to close against the English the mouth of the Elbe, when a new event brought on a direct rupture. On his flight from the shores of his own country, Napper Tandy sought refuge in the north of Europe, and repaired to Hamburg. The British government demanded him as a fugitive criminal; for he had fled from Ireland in 1795, to avoid a trial for high treason at Dundalk; and, after some little struggle, he was delivered up. The French, describing him as one of their citizens, bearing a commission in their armies,

* Moniteur, du 30 Pluviose, An 8.

† The facts above stated are derived from *Actes et Mémoires*, tome iii. pp. 1 to 350; Marshall's *Life of Washington*, vol. v. pp. 636 to the end; *Homme d'Etat*, tome vi. pp. 3 to 34. The principles, hopes, and plans, of the party in America devoted to France, will be seen in Jefferson's *Memoirs* and *Correspondence*, pp. 386 to 433.

and sacred on account of his misfortunes, laid an embargo on all shipping belonging to Hamburg, dismissed their commercial and diplomatic agents, and recalled their own*.

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In France, the late revolution was producing its effects gradually, but with certainty. To furnish a semblance of legality to further proceedings, a body had been selected from the two Councils to form a provisional government. Probability, conforming to the wish of many, led to the expectation that a dictatorship, under whatever name, should be vested in one individual; some speculists hoped to see a divided power, or at least an agency in administration so separated in its parts that each, in his several department, should exercise a sort of sovereignty. All circumstances, both of internal regulation and external operation, urged the formation of a new constitution; and, for this purpose, the legislative committee held meetings, sitting from nine every night till three the next morning.

France.

Provisional
government.

From the experience and professions of Sieyes, he was contemplated with great expectation: he had intimated that he had a perfect constitutional arrangement ready in his portfolio. He probably expected that all would accede to his projects; that Bonaparte, a mere soldier, would have occupied himself only in military affairs; but he was soon undeceived. On the first sitting of the Consuls, when he thought himself secure that his old friend and adherent, Roger Ducos, would have nominated him to the president's chair, with surprise he heard him declare that the seat belonged of right to Bonaparte. Still greater was his astonishment, when, instead of yielding to his superiority in questions of policy, finance, justice, jurisprudence, and other branches of administration, Bonaparte displayed settled opinions of his own, supporting them by arguments that could not be confuted. He saw, and communicated to his friends, that they had given them-

Formation of
a new consti-
tution.

Ascendancy
of Bonaparte.

* Homme d'Etat, tome vi. p. 34; Gourgaud, vol. i. p. 126; and numerous other authorities might be cited. The last-mentioned author adds that Tandy was delivered up to the axe of the executioner. The conjecture was not improbable; but the fact was otherwise: on being put to the bar, he pleaded guilty to the indictment, and received a pardon. Musgrave, vol. ii. p. 467.

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selves a master, and that their situation required submission, instead of a resistance which would excite dissensions and cause certain ruin.

In the meetings of the committee to form a constitution, Sieyes produced many plans, which were readily received: they were all destructive of the first principles of equality and liberty. Finally, as the means of organizing the government, he proposed a grand elector, to be chosen by a conservative senate; to have a yearly revenue of six millions (£250,000); a guard of three thousand men; to reside in the palace of Versailles; to receive foreigners and accredit ambassadors; all acts of government, laws, and judicial proceedings, to be in his name. He was to nominate two consuls; one for war, the other for peace; whom he might remove and replace at pleasure: the senate was to have power to merge the grand elector; but he was to be a senator for life. Bonaparte received this crude plan, destructive of the republican government, yet the pregnant parent of endless revolutions, with a peal of derisive laughter, and with a dash of his pen struck out all these, as he justly termed them, metaphysical fopperies. "What, Citizen Sieyes," he exclaimed, "can you suppose that a man at all endowed "with honour, or gifted with talent or capacity for "public affairs, will place himself in the situation of a "hog, put up to fatten in the chateau of Versailles, "upon so many millions a year?" With equal force of reason and ridicule, he proceeded to shew, that if the grand elector confined himself strictly to the functions assigned to him, he would be the shadow, but the mere fleshless shadow, of a *Roi fainéant*; while, if he abused his prerogative, he would have absolute power.

Dec. 13, 24.
A new consti-
tution accepted

A new constitution was formed, and sanctioned by a great majority of voters in the departments. It vested the government in three consuls, appointed for ten years; but they might be re-elected. There were also a conservative senate, the members of which, sixty in number, but progressively to be increased to eighty, were appointed for life; a tribunate of one

hundred members, of whom one fifth were to retire every year; and a legislative body of three hundred, who were not to debate; one fifth of these bodies were to retire every year; they might be re-elected; but all the elections could only be made from lists approved by the senate. There was also a council of state; and their respective duties are thus concisely described. The duty of the council of state was to communicate any proposed law to the legislative body, and there to justify the proposal in the name of the government. The office of the tribunate was to support the popular interests. The business of the legislative body was to hear and decide. Finally, the senate was required to interpose when the tribunate declared that the constitution was violated*. Bonaparte was appointed first consul; Sieyes† and Roger Ducos were displaced in favour of Cambacères and Le Brun. Thus Bonaparte, nominally first consul, was in fact, by the absolute inefficiency of his two associates, rendered the only ruler of France‡.

In all departments of the state, the provisional government had discovered proofs of the extent to which selfishness, ignorance, and indolence had been carried. Dubois de Crancé, minister at war, could not afford information on the most ordinary matters; he was superseded in favour of Berthier; Lindet, minister of finance, by Gaudin; Cambacères was continued minister of justice; after a short interval, the office of foreign affairs was taken from Reinhard, and conferred on Talleyrand. Other appointments were made, the principal of which was that of Fouché to be minister of police. To this nomination, Sieyes alone made a strenuous, but unavailing resistance.

New ministers

* Pelet, Napoleon in Council, translated by Captain Basil Hall, p. 4.

† Sieyes did not leave the region of power empty-handed: he had secured, in the first place, the plunder of the directorial coffer, and at this period obtained the valuable estate of Crone, which enabled him to end his days in affluent insignificance.

‡ The wits of Paris, after their manner, jested on the circumstance, saying, "We are now under the dominion of a hundred rulers, a unit and two cyphers." In relating the facts, I have consulted the histories, and Bonaparte's own statement, recorded by Gourgaud, vol. i. pp. 105 to 126. The constitution is to be found in the Annual Register, vol. xli. *328, and in all the collections of state papers.

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1799.
Decrees of
banishment.

Restraint of
the press.

Benevolent
decrees.

During the existence of the provisional government, as well as under that which succeeded, acts of alarming severity, and others of judicious and conciliatory lenity, took place. A decree was issued for the transportation by a mere edict, without form of accusation or trial, thirty-seven persons, many of them members of the two abolished councils, to Guiana, and twenty-two to Oléron, as disturbers of the public peace. This act, creating general dissatisfaction, was speedily abandoned; the parties being at first placed only under observation, and finally left quite at large. By a decisive and irresistible decree, the little that remained of the supposed liberty of the press was utterly destroyed. The minister of police was directed, during the war, to permit the publication of only a small number of newspapers, expressly named.

Other measures, more just and considerate, raised the character of the new government, and the hopes of the people. That engine of oppression and extortion, the law for a forced loan, was repealed, as well as that of hostages, which must have revived the reign of terror. Priests who had been imprisoned were set at liberty, and those who had been banished, as well as the others, were restored to their condition in society, on taking an oath of fidelity to the existing government. The law of decades was repealed; the churches again devoted to public worship; pensions were granted to those under religious vows, on taking the required oath; the practice of devotion in families was permitted; all forms of worship were protected, and the sect of Theophilanthropists rapidly decreased. The members of the Constituent Assembly who had acknowledged the sovereignty of the people, were erased from the list of emigrants: thus, among many others, Lafayette, La-tour Maubourg, and Bureau De Puzy, were permitted to return and reside on their estates. In like manner, some noble emigrants, who, in their voyage to join the insurgents in La Vendée, had been shipwrecked on the coast of Calais, and lived for several years in daily expectation of a sentence of death, were liberated and permitted to quit the country. The oath of hatred to

royalty, and the disgraceful celebration of the murder of Louis the Sixteenth, were abolished. These proceedings, however satisfactory to the reasoning portion of the community, had numerous opponents in French society : some dreaded the re-establishment of Popish ascendancy ; some the restoration of the emigrants to their forfeited estates ; and others affected to apprehend a royalist insurrection, and massacre of the republicans. They who reasoned more sagaciously saw in them only the preparation of a way for the supreme dominion, under whatever title, of some one man, and it could not be disguised that that individual must be Bonaparte.

The lenient and assuasive measures which were adopted, produced an immediate effect in tranquillizing La Vendée. Some of the chiefs obtained access to Bonaparte, flattering themselves, at first, that he might be wrought upon to restore the lawful sovereign. To this he answered, that such an event could only be accomplished by trampling on five hundred thousand dead bodies. But the moderation of his proposals, and the influence of his name, which was expected to alienate many of the lower class in the insurgent provinces, facilitated arrangements in which the great leaders acquiesced ; and further disturbances were kept alive only by the persevering and untameable Chouans. It is not, however, to be understood that the royalists gave up the cause of their King : this party had great supporters in the provinces, and even in Paris. In public, the discussion was whether the First Consul would elect for his model, Washington Cromwell, or Monk. To determine him to the latter, Louis the Eighteenth wrote him a letter, justly complimentary to his bravery and talents, and offering, as a reward for his support, the privilege of chusing his own situation, and appointing the places he would demand for his friends. This offer, if made to a man whose mind was differently formed from that of Bonaparte, would have been open to much doubt and suspicion ; but he, incapable of emulating Washington, was not desirous of being the mere accessory to an

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La Vendée
tranquillized.1800.
January 17.Efforts of the
royalists.

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Bonaparte's
conduct to-
ward foreign
nations.
Hamburgh.

Holland.

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Prussia.

Russia.

other's greatness, like Monk ; and, although his sphere of action, his powers, and his influence, were much larger, made Cromwell, so far as he could serve for it, his exemplar*.

His conduct toward foreign nations was marked with vigour and sternness, or with address and management, as best suited his views. The Senate of Hamburg having addressed to him a letter, expressive of their repentance for their late conduct, received for answer, that courage and virtue were the preservers of states, cowardice and crime their ruin ; and when a deputation attended him, making a public apology, and alleging their weakness as the cause of their error, he indignantly answered that they had the resource of weak states ; they might have let the prisoners escape† ; and, finally, they were punished by a heavy amercement. By a treaty with the Dutch, he gave them all the rights which could be claimed to the estates and effects of emigrants, within the Batavian republic, whether from France or any countries ceded to her ; certain lands within their own territories, and some other uncertain or disputable rights and properties, receiving in return six millions of francs (£250,000)‡.

While the First Consul was thus consolidating the internal peace, and preparing the foreign alliances of his country, the other powers were not inattentive to the exigencies of the crisis. The King of Prussia had gained, by his prudent reserve, a great ascendancy in the Germanic body, and still maintained amicable relations with France. Hopes of future advantages, assiduously inculcated by the French ambassador, General Duroc, confirmed him in his mode of conduct§. The Emperor of Russia, although no longer inclined to such active exertions as had been made in the preceding year, left his troops in Jersey, ready to co-operate in any practicable plan for assisting the cause

* Gourgaud, vol. i. p. 131 ; Homme d'Etat, vol. vii. p. 391.

† Gourgaud, vol. i. p. 128.

‡ See the Treaty in all the State Papers, and Annual Register, vol. xlvi. p. *366.

§ Homme d'Etat, tome vii. p. 387.

of the French sovereign. By a treaty with the Porte, Russia subsequently established a new government, called the Republic of the Seven Islands, formed of those which had lately been the property of Venice, and laid down a plan for their internal regulation.

Sensible of the reputation to be derived from an appearance of desiring peace, Bonaparte, on his first accession to power, transmitted to the French diplomatic agents, in all countries, a circular letter, expressive of such inclinations. In apparent conformity with these views, he addressed a letter personally to the King, headed with the words, "French Republic—Sovereignty of the People—liberty, equality." Called, he said, by the will of his nation, to exercise the first magistracy of the republic, he thought it proper to make a direct communication of it to his Majesty. He then proceeded to propound a series of interrogations; whether the war must be eternal? were there no means of coming to an understanding? and affirmed his own desire to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step, speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, necessary perhaps to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove only, in those which are strong, the mutual desire of deceiving. This letter was accompanied with one from Talleyrand to Lord Grenville, requesting a safe conduct for the bearer.

Without delay, Lord Grenville returned the answer which was undoubtedly expected, that his Majesty saw no reason for departing from the forms long established in Europe for transacting business with foreign states; but by his sovereign's command, and in his own name, he asserted the constant desire shewn by the king for the re-establishment of permanent tranquillity. He had never been engaged in any contest for a vain and false glory; nor had he any other view than that of maintaining, against all aggression, the rights and happiness of his subjects. He could not hope that the necessity of contending for these objects would be removed by entering, at the present moment, into negotiation with those whom a fresh revolution had so

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Republic of
the Seven
Islands.

March 21.

Nov. 12.
Bonaparte's
overture to
England.1800.
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Lord Gren-
ville's answer

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recently placed in power, until it should distinctly appear that those causes had ceased to operate which originally produced, and still protracted, the war. To the system which prevailed in France for the extermination of all established governments, the Netherlands, the united Provinces, the Swiss Cantons, had successively been sacrificed : Germany had been ravaged ; Italy, though now rescued from its invaders, had been made the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. Greatly, indeed, would his Majesty rejoice, whenever it should appear that the danger had really ceased ; and the restless schemes of destruction, which had endangered the very existence of civil society, had at length been finally relinquished : but the conviction of such a change could result only from experience, and the evidence of facts.

The best and most natural pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes which, for so many centuries, maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad. But, desirable as such an event must be, both to France and to the world, it was not to this mode exclusively that his Majesty limited the possibility of secure and solid pacification. He made no claim to prescribe to France what should be the form of her government, or in whose hands she should vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation. He looked only to the security of his own dominions, and those of his allies, and to the general safety of Europe. Whenever security for these objects could be attained, he would eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert, with his allies, the means of immediate and general pacification ; but, at present, it could only remain for him to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of just and defensive war, which his regard to the happiness of his subjects would never permit him either to continue beyond the necessity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other grounds than such as might best contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence.

In reply, Talleyrand repeated all the worn-out and often-refuted pretences of the pacific dispositions of the French, their decrees renouncing conquest, and the unprovoked hostility of European powers, in which, as he untruly asserted, England had set the example, by dismissing the accredited minister of France. Lord Grenville declined entering into the refutation of allegations now universally exploded, and (in so far as they respected his Majesty's conduct) not only in themselves utterly groundless, but contradicted both by the internal evidence of the transactions to which they related, and by the express testimony, given at that time, of the government of France itself. Whenever the attainment of peace could be sufficiently provided for, his Majesty would eagerly concert with his allies the means of immediate and joint negotiation.

It is obvious that the real intent of this pretended attempt at negotiation was to delude the French people, by assertions that the fault of continuing the war rested entirely on the cabinet of London. Acquainted as he was in general with the political systems of all Europe, it is difficult to believe that Bonaparte did not know that in England the King has, by the constitution, no power of entering upon any political transaction by himself; he is bound to act upon the advice of some responsible minister; and, at all events, Talleyrand, from recent residence and experience, must have known the fact. A letter, therefore, addressed personally to the King, was a mockery; and its unnecessary heading, of the cant words of revolution, with its harsh and objugatory style of interrogation, an insult*.

On the re-assembling of Parliament, after the recess, these papers were presented to both houses, with a message from the King, declaring his confidence that the answers would appear conformable to the line of conduct required by the occasion, and his firm reliance on Parliament, and on the zeal and perseverance of his subjects in measures which might tend to confirm the signal advantages which had been obtained, and con-

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Further.
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ence

Observations.

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Papers sub-
mitted to Par-
liament.

* Histories; Gourgaud, vol. i. p. 364.

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House of
Lords.
28th.
Address
moved by
Lord Grenville.

duct the great contest in which he was engaged to a safe and honourable conclusion.

An address was moved in the upper house by Lord Grenville, who maintained that the proposal was merely an insincere and specious attempt to acquire for the new government of France the credit of moderation, to diminish the confidence of our allies, and to gain advantage by temporizing expedients. Sensible as he was of the blessings and importance of peace, and desirous to secure them, yet, until he could tell Europe that he saw in the temper and conduct of the enemy a return to moderation and good principles, he must prefer war. France still retained the sentiments and views which characterized the dawn of her revolution. She had always been, and still was, innovating, Jacobin, and bent on the destruction of all kings. No safe, honourable, and permanent peace could be made with her in her present situation, and with her present rulers. M. Talleyrand, in his note, had asserted that, from the commencement of the revolution, the Republic solemnly proclaimed her love of peace, her disinclination to conquests, and her respect for the independence of all governments. The love of peace had been manifested in being at war, in the course of eight years, with every nation in Europe, except Denmark and Sweden, and almost at war with the United States of America: her disinclination to conquest, by the march of her armies to the Rhine, the annexation of the Netherlands to her dominions, and all her subsequent acts in Italy, Switzerland, and other countries, up to the invasion of Egypt. She proclaimed, it was said, her respect for the independence of all governments; but the memorable decree of November 1792 had not slept a dead letter on the statute book; it was still the active, energetic principle of their whole conduct; and the whole world was interested in the extinction of it for ever. In every state with which they had had amicable connexion, their conduct was distinguished by treachery, selfishness, and unvarying injustice.

From proofs and recorded evidences, a correct opinion would be formed of the personal character of the First Consul, on which it must be proposed to rely in case of a negotiation ; and he reviewed his proceedings, from the period when, in the third year of the Republic, he imposed on the French people, by the mouth of the cannon, that constitution which he had now destroyed by the point of the bayonet. He shewed his contempt of all treaties, even in the moment they were ratified ; dwelt with great force on his conduct in Egypt ; and cited the treacherous directions left with General Kléber to propose delusive preliminaries of peace to the Porte. Such was his system of politics, a system as fraudulent, perfidious, and destructive, as ever was practised, to the disgrace and misery of human nature.

His lordship adverted to the assertion that ministers were determined to restore monarchy in France, and to engage in eternal war rather than relinquish that object. It had often been made, he said, though as often publicly and solemnly disclaimed. It was disclaimed after the capture of Toulon, and in a variety of instances down to the present moment. He did not pretend to deny that ministers considered the re-establishment of monarchy as the best, the surest, and the speediest, but it had never been contemplated as the only, means of restoring peace. His Majesty would not hesitate to treat with a Republic, a monarchy, or any non-descript form of government, if assured that it was capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity.

The Duke of Bedford proposed, not an amendment of the original address, but the substitution of another, referring to former declarations of his Majesty, expressing regret at the rejection of the overtures, imploring him to direct the immediate renewal (if possible) of a negotiation, and most fervently beseeching him to recur to those principles of moderation and equity so solemnly and repeatedly avowed, and which, if strictly adhered to, must either ensure the speedy

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restoration of peace, or render our enemies alone accountable for all the calamities too certainly attendant on a continuance of hostilities.

In support of this motion, the Duke observed that the noble Secretary had alluded to a particular paper, in which it was said the French still defended their conduct in commencing and carrying on the war. For himself, he was far from wishing to defend their conduct ; he would as soon undertake the defence of some of those powers who were now our allies, or of this country when it first established itself in India. The paper of our ministers told France, that if she would again revolutionize herself, again change her form of government, and restore her ancient line of princes, this country would treat with her. In fact, the resolution to continue the war until the French monarchy should be restored was in full force. It was clear that the wild scheme of reinstating the monarchy was the sine quâ non of negotiation. He could not, in terms sufficiently strong, censure that littleness of mind which prompted ministers to attack the character of Bonaparte, with a view to ruin him in the estimation of the French nation ; as if, by so doing, they would be able to negotiate with more effect. There was something contemptible in the manner of publishing the intercepted correspondence ; the ministers that were reduced to such paltry shifts reflected more disgrace upon themselves than upon the writers of the letters.

His Grace alluded also to the uncertainty of our alliances. Had not every one of our allies shown that he would make a separate peace, if he could obtain one favourable to his views ? Had not Austria shown that she had been actuated by views of aggrandizement ? Had ministers no reason to think that Russia would fly off from her engagement, if she could do so with advantage ? The internal situation of the country demonstrated the necessity of peace. The old system of finance had been abandoned, and a new one tried ; and, after two years, found defective : another, more violent in its nature, must therefore be essayed. It

had been supposed that we could starve the French ; but now, at home, the fields and the woods exhibited everywhere the traces of miserable wretches, whose poverty left them no resource but depredation ; in the villages, were heard the plaintive and unavailing cries of children calling for food, which their parents could not give them : if any of their lordships exercised magisterial functions, they must see many instances of strong and healthy countrymen appealing from parish officers, who had denied them assistance on the ground of their ability to work ; they had ability to work, but where could they procure it ? Happily, within these few weeks this state of things had been considerably changed by the beneficence of individuals ; but the necessity of affording such assistance was a proof of the weakness of the country.

Having shortly noticed the failure of the expedition to Holland, he maintained that the present was a favourable opportunity for peace ; let the voice of the people call for it, and they would have it. Ministers had made a discovery that the views and interests of Bonaparte were hostile to negotiations of a pacific tendency. He believed him sincere, because France wished for peace, and peace alone could consolidate his power ; and ministers would readily retract, if necessary, all the abuse they had so profusely lavished on him. Let the people tell them to make peace, and they would make it. But he feared that the people supported the disposition already shewn by the House. Were it not so, much as their liberties were restrained, they yet might have spoken out ; they might have addressed their King ; they had not availed themselves of that privilege, consequently he could not but suppose them satisfied.

His Grace added, that if he failed in stemming the torrent, he should in future refrain from troubling the House. Trembling for England, he must then, in retirement, endeavour to dispense that happiness to a few, which he would gladly have procured for the country at large.

Lord Holland censured, in the correspondence, a Lord Holland.

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studied anxiety to avoid giving Bonaparte the title which belonged to him as chief consul of the French Republic. He was styled General Bonaparte ; and the French Republic was never named, but only the country of France. A negotiation was merely a recognition of power, and not a sanction of a government. Denying or defending many of the breaches of treaty imputed to France, his lordship took up the easy task of recrimination. The French minister, he said, did not defend every act of every preceding government ; he alleged that the perseverance of this country had driven France into excesses ; and, unfortunately, it was too true. Had we not violated the neutrality of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and of Genoa, in spite of solemn treaties ? Did not Russia violate the neutrality of other states ? When we saw such unjustifiable proceedings on the side of those who made the crimes of France the cause of the war, it proved that this was nothing but a pretext.

Division.

On a division, on the Duke of Bedford's motion, six peers, the noble mover, the Earl of Albemarle, and Lords Ponsonby, Holland, King, and Camelford, were numbered against ninety-two. Lord Holland put upon the journals a short and unimportant protest.

Feb. 3.
Debate in the
House of
Commons.

A debate of much greater length and diversity took place in the House of Commons, where the address was moved by Mr. Dundas. Every topic relating to the war, which from its beginning to the present time had engaged the attention of the House, was re-argued, all refuted statements and opinions were revived, and all the reasons which could be adduced for and against negotiation were set forth in all their strength. A discussion of such length as that which took place* cannot, by any method of arrangement or compression, be reduced within a moderate limit; nor would any detail be desirable, considering how many of the points have been already noticed, and how many observations occurred which were merely of a temporary or personal character. Mr. Whitbread was the first to oppose the

* The two debates occupy in the Parliamentary History upward of two hundred and twenty columns, each containing more than a page of this work.

minister; he was answered in a speech of great wit and eloquence by Mr. Canning. In reference to the publication of the intercepted correspondence, he cited one in the London Gazette, in 1759, of the same description, and read passages of despondency from one of those letters, almost identical in terms and sense with those of Bonaparte's followers. Mr. Canning said, that in reviling the ambition of Louis the Fourteenth and the ancient government of France, the honourable gentleman had as much sinned against the majesty of the French nation, as if he had presumed to traduce Brissot or Robespierre, or any of the latter tyrants, who swept these to the scaffold, and, in their turn, were similarly destroyed by their successors. He had indeed committed his country most rashly by such intemperate language against Louis the Fourteenth. Did he not know, or had he forgotten at the moment, that Rome was sacked and pillaged the other day, to avenge the manes of Vercingetorix (or some such name), a king of the Gauls, who flourished sometime before Louis the Fourteenth, and whom Julius Cæsar was discovered to have aggrieved in a scandalous manner; and that to reclaim the trophies won from the Burgundians, was one of the pretexts alleged for the invasion of Switzerland? Let him not, therefore, imagine that the lapse of nearly a century, since the time of Louis the Fourteenth, would bar France, in her own good time, from avenging the wrongs done to his memory. Vengeance might sleep indeed, but opportunity would awaken it; and could we be caught as fairly off our guard, as weak and inviting as Rome or as Switzerland (which might readily be the case, if we would accept the counsel to make peace or armistice, without examination or delay), the abuse of Louis the Fourteenth would be as good a plea as any other for renewing war, and pursuing it to our ruin.

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Mr. Canning.

In an able and eloquent speech, Mr. Erskine said Mr. Erskine. the question was not, whether the King should have yielded to an immediate armistice; nor whether he should at once have opened a negotiation without consulting his allies; much less on what terms, or subject

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to what qualifications, a pacific proposition should have been taken into consideration, or finally adopted ; but, whether the House could possibly fulfil the expectation, expressed in his Majesty's message, by signifying its approbation of the specific answer which had been sent ? Whether the House of Commons could say, in the face of a suffering nation and a desolated world, that a lofty, imperious, declamatory, insulting answer, to a proposition professing peace and conciliation, was that which ought to have been sent to France, or to any human government. He expatiated on the erroneous conduct of ministers from the time of the murder of the French King to the present, recapitulating the correspondence with M. Chauvelin and the former negotiations for peace, establishing, as he said, from the past conduct of ministers, that they were bound, upon their own principles, to negotiate at this moment, and shewing the manifest interest we had in listening to offers of peace.

Mr. Pitt.

As Mr. Erskine had published, two years before, "A View of the Causes and Consequences of the War," Mr. Pitt observed that he had revived and retailed all those arguments from his own pamphlet, which had before passed through thirty-seven or thirty-eight editions in print, and now gave them to the House, embellished by the graces of his personal delivery. In the course of a most eloquent and luminous argument, he explained and justified the conduct of government in all the instances complained of, refuted misrepresentations, and repelled the reasonings of his antagonists. He explained the conduct of the European potentates, and exposed the revolutionary proceedings of France in all other countries, observing that the attack upon Egypt was accompanied by a revolutionary attack on the British possessions in India. In Europe, the propagation of the principles of France had uniformly prepared the way for the progress of its arms. To India the lovers of peace had sent the messengers of jacobinism, for the purpose of inculcating war in those distant regions, on jacobin principles, and forming jacobin clubs, which,

in most respects, resembled the European model, but were distinguished by this peculiarity, that the members were required to swear, in one breath, hatred to tyranny, the love of liberty, and the destruction of all kings and sovereigns, except the good and faithful ally of the French Republic, Citizen Tippoo. He referred with great force to the message sent by Bonaparte, through Berthier and Monge, to the Directory, after the treaty of Campo Formio, when were used the memorable words, “the kingdom of Great Britain and the French Republic cannot exist together.” “As “a sincere lover of peace,” he added, “I will not “sacrifice it by grasping at the shadow, when the “reality is not substantially within my reach—Cur “igitur pacem nolo? Quia infida est, quia periculosa, “quia esse non potest.”

Mr. Fox, appearing for this night in his place, examined the arguments which had been advanced by ministers in all their extent; and while he forbore from justifying the French government in many of its proceedings, concluded by saying, “I think you ought to “have given a civil, clear, and explicit answer to the “overture which was fairly and handsomely made. “If you were desirous that the negotiation should “have included all your allies, as the means of bringing about a general peace, you should have told “Bonaparte so; but I believe you were afraid of his “agreeing to the proposal. You took that method “before. ‘Aye, but,’ you say, ‘the people were “anxious for peace in 1797.’ I say they are friends “to peace now; and I am confident that you will one “day own it. Believe me, they are friends to peace; “although, by the laws which you have made, restraining the expression of the sense of the people, public “opinion cannot now be heard as loudly and unequally as heretofore. But I will not go into the “internal state of this country. It is too afflicting to “the heart to see the strides which have been made “by means of, and under the miserable pretext of, “this war, against liberty of every kind, both of “speech and of writing; and to observe in another

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Mr. Fox.

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" kingdom the rapid approaches to that military despotism which we affect to make an argument against peace. I know that public opinion, if it could be collected, would be for peace, as much now as in 1797 ; and I know that it is only by public opinion, not by a sense of their duty, not by the inclination of their minds, that ministers will be brought, if ever, to give us peace."

No amendment appears to have been moved ; but the address was carried by a great majority*.

Jan. 29.
Russian
troops.

At the same time with the other papers, a message from the King announced to Parliament that the auxiliary Russian troops, lately employed in the expedition to Holland, not being able at this season to reach their own shores, had been admitted to winter in his Majesty's dominions, and were stationed in Guernsey and Jersey.

February 10.
Mr. Sheridan
on the Dutch
expedition.

On this message no debate arose ; but Mr. Sheridan took an early opportunity of discussing the expedition to Holland, by moving that a committee of the whole House should be formed, to inquire into the causes of its failure. He professed not to consider this as a party question, but one in the highest degree interesting to every feeling for the glory of the country, every sentiment of humanity for the loss our troops had sustained, for the honour which they had to support. He did not consider the acquisition of the Dutch fleet as of the importance assigned to it by others. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had told his Parliament that the expedition would prevent the invasion of that country ; as if the main object of our policy was not the deliverance of the Dutch from the yoke of France ; not the restoration of the house of Orange to their rights ; not the protection of their religion, or the defence of social order ; but the capture of a few ships of war ! as if, for such an acquisition, we had subsidized the mercenary magnanimity of Russia ; for this, called into action our military strength, and strained our financial resources. " When

" I reflect," he said, " on the mode in which this acquisition was gained, I consider it as of the most perilous example. I tremble to see a deliberating navy in the face of the naval force of England ; a navy deciding on the cause of their country, instead of fighting its battles. I do not like to see mutiny recommended to our sailors by example or approbation. I wish to see the spirit of Blake prevail, who told his sailors that it was their duty to fight for their country, in whatever hands the government might be."

In the course of his speech, he descanted largely on the plan and progress of the expedition, but expressly and carefully disclaimed the application of censure to the Duke of York. In one of his usual effusions of pleasantry, he treated the expedition as one of discovery ; and in that way we had gained something. We had, in the first place, discovered that there was no reliance to be placed on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's knowledge of human nature ; secondly, that Holland was a country intersected by dykes, ditches, and canals ; and, thirdly, that the weather there was not so good in October as in June !

In opposing this motion, Mr. Dundas explained the three-fold object of the expedition : first, to rescue the United Provinces from the tyranny of the French ; secondly, to add to the efficient force of this country, and diminish that of the enemy, by getting possession of the Dutch fleet ; thirdly, to divert the enemy from his projected pursuits in general. The policy of the first view was acknowledged by all statesmen ; by Cecil, in the reign of Elizabeth ; by King William, and during all the dominion of the House of Brunswick. In the second object, we had been completely successful : it had been generally acknowledged that if any hostile fleet appeared off the northern coast of Ireland, it could come only from the Texel. We had taken between six and seven thousand seamen, all liable to be employed in the service of the French ; and forty thousand tons of shipping, which might have annoyed our commerce. The other effect had been,

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to withdraw from the general operations of the campaign forty thousand French soldiers, and, with the capture of the fleet, frustrating all hopes of invading Great Britain or Ireland. He concurred in Mr. Sheridan's encomiums on the Duke of York, which, with no less sincerity, and certainly with more means of judging, he pronounced to be richly deserved. The motion, incapable of producing any actual benefit, was calculated to create jealousies, and to clog and harass the measures of government; and it was rejected on a division*.

Lord Holland offered a similar proposition to the House of Peers; he was supported by Lord King, and opposed by the Earl of Moira and Earl Spencer. All parties concurred in eulogies on the Duke of York, and the motion failed†.

By another message, the King informed the two Houses that he was concerting engagements with the Emperor, the Elector of Bavaria, and other powers of the empire, to strengthen the common cause; and appealed to Parliament for the means of making some necessary advances.

In the upper house, Lord Holland was the only opponent to an address moved by Lord Grenville. He exposed, with great ability, the uncertainty which must attend the alliance with the princes of Germany, almost all of whom we had already subsidized, only to deceive and betray us; and descanted on the selfishness and insincerity of the Emperor, who had already once concluded peace with Bonaparte; and who, desirous only of extending his territory by acquisitions in Switzerland and Italy, or perhaps, should success attend his arms in Lorraine or Alsace, would persist in war, or implore peace, as circumstances might direct, uninfluenced by the views of our cabinet, and heedless of the restoration of the Bourbons. That these arguments produced little effect, was shewn by the division‡.

On Mr. Pitt's motion for an address in the House

of Commons a spirited, though diffuse, debate took place. He briefly explained that, for the present, half a million would be required, and two millions in addition, when the treaties were completed.

Mr. Nicholls objected to sending such a sum out of the kingdom, until the quantity of corn necessary for our supply had been ascertained. The deficiency of the last crop had been a full fourth; two millions of quarters must be purchased, which could not cost less than twelve millions of money. Mr. Bouverie deemed it ridiculous to assert that any scarcity of corn could make the nation hesitate as to the prosecution of a great public object. He was convinced that we had plenty of corn to supply the people till next harvest.

Mr. Tierney, after defending the observations of Mr. Nicholls, made many reflections on the often-repeated subjects of the origin and causes of the war, on the faithlessness of our allies, on the refusal to treat, on jacobinism, and the insincerity of government. It would be said that Russia had not renounced, but still desired to promote, the objects of the war; her troops were only withdrawn from active operation on the Continent. But did this power ever furnish a man without being paid for him? Or would the Emperor Paul now co-operate with us, except on the old terms, that we should pay, feed, and clothe his troops, and send them home again, each with a bounty-money in his pocket, under the name of two months' additional pay? In like manner he analyzed the conduct and intentions of the Emperor of Germany, declaring that, notwithstanding the ifs and buts, and diplomatic special pleading, which they always introduced on the subject, ministers continued the war merely for the restoration of monarchy in France, an object for which he would never consent to vote one shilling of the public money. The war had for some time been defended as just and necessary; those words had died a natural death. Jacobinism was an indescribable phantom; its power and influence in France were, by recent events, almost annihilated; but it always tended to some species of liberty, to vesting power in

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Mr. Nicholls.

Mr. Bouverie.

Mr. Tierney.

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the hands of the people. He then demanded of the minister to state, in one sentence, what was the object of the war: he was persuaded that Parliament was called upon to lavish treasure and blood in its support, when no one plain, satisfactory, and intelligible reason could be given for its continuance.

Mr. Pitt.

To this challenge Mr. Pitt instantly responded; not in one sentence, but in one word; he defined the object of the war to be security, against the greatest danger that ever threatened the world, a danger which never existed in any past period of society. This country alone had recognized the necessity of open war, as well with the principles, as the practice of the French revolution. We saw that it was to be resisted no less by arms abroad, than by precaution at home; no less by military effort, than by legislative enactment. "But how long is it," he added, "since the honourable gentleman and his friends have dis- covered that the dangers of jacobinism have ceased to exist? How long is it since they have found that the cause of the French revolution is not the cause of liberty? How or where did the honourable gentleman discover that the jacobinism of Robespierre, of Barrère, of the five directors, of the triumvirate, has all disappeared, because it has all been centred in one man, who was reared and nursed in its bosom, whose celebrity was gained under its auspices, and who was at once *the child and the champion* of all its atrocities?" With equal force and judgment he defended the alliance with Germany, although the ultimate intentions of the Emperor might not be exactly the same as our own. Admitting that his only view was to recover the Netherlands and the fortresses which he was forced to abandon, and to drive the enemy back to the Rhine, had these objects no connexion with British safety? Why, then, should we be unwilling to employ the co-operation of Austrian arms for objects in which we were ourselves so nearly concerned? "The honourable gentleman," he proceeded, "has said that the war cannot be just, because it is carried on for the restoration of the house of

“ Bourbon ; and it cannot be necessary, because we
 “ refused to negotiate when an opportunity offered.
 “ In the first proposition, he has assumed the foun-
 “ dation of the argument, and has left no ground for
 “ controverting it, or for explanation, because he says
 “ that any attempt at explanation on this subject is the
 “ mere ambiguous language of *ifs* and *buts*, and of
 “ special pleading. Now, I never had much liking to
 “ special pleading ; and if ever I had any, it is by this
 “ time almost intirely gone. He has, besides, so
 “ abridged me in the use of particles, that although I
 “ am not particularly attached to the sound of an
 “ *if* or a *but*, I would be much obliged to him if he
 “ would give me some others to supply their places.
 “ The restoration of the French monarchy I consider as
 “ a most desirable object, because I think that it would
 “ afford the best security to this country and to Europe.
 “ *But* this object may not be attainable ; and *if* it be
 “ not attainable, we must be satisfied with the best
 “ security we can find independent of it. Peace is
 “ most desirable to this country ; *but* negotiation may
 “ be attended with greater evils than could be counter-
 “ balanced by any resulting benefits. And *if* this is
 “ found to be the case ; *if* it affords no prospect of
 “ security ; *if* it threatens all the evils which we have
 “ been struggling to avert ; *if*, on the contrary, the
 “ prosecution of the war affords the prospect of attaining
 “ complete security ; and *if* it may be prosecuted
 “ with increasing commerce, increasing means, and
 “ increasing prosperity, except what may result from
 “ the visitations of the seasons ; then, I say, that it is
 “ prudent in us not to negotiate at the present moment.
 “ These are my *buts* and my *ifs*. This is my plea ;
 “ and on no other do I wish to be tried, by God and
 “ my country.”

Beside a general view of the matter immediately in question, Mr. Sheridan made an essay on jacobin principles, contending that, from the fraud, oppression, tyranny, and cruelty, with which the conduct of France had marked them, they were now nearly dead, extinct, and detested. “ But who,” he said, “ are

Mr. Sheridan.

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" the jacobins ? Is there a man in this country who
" has at any time opposed ministers, who has resisted
" the waste of public money and the prostitution of
" honours, that has not been branded with the
" name ? That the Whig Club are jacobins there can
" be no doubt, for a right honourable gentleman (Mr.
" Windham) on that account struck his name off the
" list. The friends of the people are jacobins. I am
" one of the friends of the people, and consequently
" am a jacobin. The right honourable gentleman
" pledged himself never to treat with jacobin France.
" Now, he did treat with France at Lisle and at Paris ;
" but perhaps there were then no jacobins in France.
" I do think jacobian principles never existed much in
" this country ; and even admitting they had, they have
" been found so hostile to true liberty, that in propor-
" tion as we love it we must detest these principles.
" But more : I do not think they even exist in France :
" they have stung themselves to death, and died by
" their own poison. Bonaparte had been termed the
" child and champion of jacobian principles ; his cha-
" racter had been represented as marked with fraud
" and insincerity ; yet had he not made treaties with
" the Emperor, and observed them ? Was it not his
" interest to make peace with us ? And if peace were
" made, had he not power to make it be observed by
" the people of France ? The late note, in answer to
" his proposal to negotiate, was foolish, insulting,
" undignified, and calculated to irritate such a mind ;
" and ministers could not say that they would not yet
" be obliged to treat with Bonaparte." In 1797, the
opinions of the majority on peace were those of the
people ; and he believed the same coincidence still
existed.

Mr. Windham.

In answer to this speech, Mr. Windham made many severe reflections on the conduct of opposition members ; their constant exultation in the successes of France, whoever might chance to be her rulers ; and their unvarying resistance of all measures tending to preserve mankind from the grasp of her tyranny and rapacity. One question which they had asked required

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a definitive answer. "Will you," they said, "fight for the restoration of that monarchy in France which was always hostile to this country, and has been the occasion of our wars and debt?" This was a matter of calculation. The monarchy of France existed eight hundred years; and were we to consider the evils it occasioned us in that time, *pondere non numero*, we should find them far inferior to those accumulated upon us by the unprovoked aggressions, the plots, and the arts of France, in the short course of eight years. What was found most execrable in the history of the worst times, had been the every-day practice of France*.

On a division the address was carried†.

Mr. Sheridan's assertion, that the people at large were desirous of peace, received some countenance from the resolution of a numerous common-hall in the city of London, where, in a concourse of two thousand persons, a large majority voted and signed a petition for an immediate negotiation; but a counter-petition was subscribed by a large number. Earl Stanhope followed the proceeding of the Common Hall, with a motion for an address, in recommending which he depicted the financial state of the country as most deplorable and ruinous; the taxes which must be paid if the war were immediately to cease, exceeding forty-four millions, while the total annual produce of the land, which could be taxed, was less in amount by £1,354,000. After investigating every particular of public revenue, expenditure, agriculture, and commerce, he said the nation was yet insulted with false

Petition of the
Common Hall.

19.

Counter
petition.20th.
Motion of Earl
Stanhope.

* In this very able speech, as to its general purport, Mr. Windham introduced some of those arguments and expressions which his opponents so often converted into topics of ridicule. On the bad effect of an attempt at negotiation, he said, "If a man were to ask, what would open an oyster? he would answer, 'a knife of a certain thickness and dimensions: so, if a man were to ask, what would break up a coalition? he would answer, a negotiation; it is the apple of discord, meant to disunite only, and not to produce pacification'" In another part, he introduced the anecdote of a man, who, after wearing his shirt a fortnight, turned it, with an exulting exclamation on the comforts of clean linen. He recited also a conversation between himself and a friend at Norwich, whom he knew to be a little tainted. "Brissot (he said) was a fine fellow." "If he was so (said I), what was he who cut off Brissot's head?" "He was a fine fellow too," answered this weak person.

† 62 to 19.

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statements of its prosperity, and flourishing accounts of revenue. There was infinitely more wisdom in the American government, whose annual expenses did not exceed two hundred thousand pounds, than in ours which boasted that it was forty millions. He had not, for several years, troubled their lordships with his sentiments on public affairs, but now came down to the house most earnestly, and upon his knees, to implore that they would, by putting an end to the calamities of this cruel war, preserve the country and save the people. As a proof that he had long predicted the evils he now deplored, he obtained the reading of a protest of his own, on the 1st of February, 1793. The irregularity of this proceeding alone claimed the notice of the Lord Chancellor ; he termed a speech a visitation from God ; and the House, without debate, negatived a motion which was supported only by one peer beside the mover*. Another protest of the Noble Earl was placed on the journals.

28th.
Mr. Tierney's
motion.

Applying himself to the same subject, although not exactly to the same division of it, Mr. Tierney moved for a distinct vote, declaring that it was not just or necessary to carry on war for the purpose of restoring the monarchy of France. Mr. Eliot moved the order of the day, which was carried by a large majority†. The debate was long and animated, but produced little more than a repetition of sentiments previously uttered, and a renewed refutation of erroneous deductions or unfounded assertions. It may be mentioned that Mr. Jones expressed a hope that Bonaparte might prove a saviour of his country, and become a second Washington : and Mr. William Smith observed, that, although perpetually inveighing against something called jacobinism, we thought it not inconsistent to be the professed champions of popery, whose political doctrines were jacobinical, in the most obnoxious sense of the word ; they tended to dissolve allegiance, and destroy every social tie ; sovereigns might be attacked on their thrones, and heretics were not entitled to good faith. These principles, too, had been acted on in

* Numbers, 26 to 2.

† 142 to 34.

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numberless instances ; they had cost France the life of of her best monarch, and had sanctioned the most nefarious attempts. Nor did the court of Rome even yet abandon her most extravagant pretensions, or give up one atom of those powers which she had formerly claimed*.

On the subject of finance, the failure of which had been so confidently predicted, Mr. Pitt brought forward, in the committee of ways and means, a statement, which even Mr. Tierney was forced to acknowledge, exceeded his most sanguine expectations. The service of the year would require a loan of eighteen millions and a half, which had readily been subscribed at an interest of less than four and three quarters per cent. ; and the only additional taxes would be five per cent. on all teas valued at more than two shillings and sixpence per pound, and a small augmentation of the duties on British and foreign spirits.

Before this budget was presented, an arrangement had been made with the Governor and Company of the Bank for an advance by that body of three millions, for six years, without interest, in consideration of a renewal of their charter for twenty-one years. A bill, brought in to give effect to this contract, passed very quietly through all its stages, to the motion for the third reading, when Mr. Tierney censured it in all its parts, and spoke with great approbation of a project which had been set on foot by some capitalists for establishing a rival bank. He really thought the country was dealing in assignats, in flimsy paper, and that a mean plan of state juggling was carried on between government and the Bank ; ministers courting the Bank, and the Bank courting ministers ; and he called on the House to pause before they agreed to a measure which was such an infringement on the dear-

19th.
Renewal of the
Bank Charter.

March 24th.

* On the 3rd of March, Mr Smith took occasion to observe, that he had omitted to say, that the English Roman Catholics had made a complete renunciation of those tenets. Though they were Catholics, they were not in the strictest sense of the word papists ; for by papists, he understood those who believed that a dispensation from the Pope dissolved the civil relation between the subject and his prince ; tenets certainly the most dangerous, but such as had been unequivocally renounced by the British Catholics ; and, therefore, whatever their errors might be, they were perfectly harmless in a political sense.

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June 5.
Mr. Tierney's
motion on the
income-tax.

est rights of the nation. The portion of this speech which could be termed argumentative, was easily answered by Mr. Pitt; that which was merely vituperative called forth a vigorous reproof from two Bank directors, Mr. Samuel Thornton and Mr. Manning; and the bill passed without further observation.

Pursuing his attacks on the system of finance, Mr. Tierney moved, not as at first he had given notice, for a repeal of the income-tax, but to bring in a bill for limiting its duration to the 5th of April, 1801. His speech was a recapitulation of the arguments used when the measure was first introduced, with striking pictures of the pressure of the impost on persons in the middling condition of life, and a declamation against the inspectors who were employed to prevent evasions; spies and informers, unfit for a free country, whose duty it was to go about and ascertain the number of each man's servants, horses, and dogs; to determine the amount of men's property by prying into the secrets of their affairs. How was this to be done? By cajoling, corrupting, and bribing clerks and domestics; actions for which they ought to be hooted out of society. They rendered this a country not for men of plain, honest feelings to live in, although it might be fit for placemen and pensioners.

Mr. Pitt.

To eloquence like this, it was not difficult for Mr. Pitt to reply. The House rejected Mr. Tierney's motion*.

July 21.
Mr. Tierney's
finance resolu-
tions.

Before the close of the session, Mr. Tierney presented a series of resolutions on the state of public finances; Mr. Pitt admitted the calculations to be correct, but wished to propose some additional resolutions; they were presented, and while they affirmed the correctness of the arithmetical statements, led to very different conclusions; the resolutions of the minister were received, and those of his opponent dismissed by a motion for the previous question.

24th.
Mr. Pitt's.

Another measure of finance claims notice, not from its tendency to afford a new source of income, but to

May 19th.
Public
accounts.

prevent injury to the public from the retention of large balances in the hands of public accountants, by charging them with interest from the time the accounts were closed. The propriety of this measure was shewn to the House in a lucid speech by Mr. Abbott; Mr. Tierney expressed his full acquiescence, and without difficulty the bill passed.

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May 19.

Much attention was bestowed on the distress felt in consequence of the late unfavourable summer. Every sentiment was uttered in the course of the debates which good feeling and a true regard for the wants and interests of the people could suggest; nor was any thing omitted which could shew a disposition to promote by example the self-denial and economy in the consumption of wheat flour which it was deemed necessary to recommend. In the House of Lords, an agreement prepared and promoted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, by which every subscriber bound himself to limit the portion of bread consumed in his family to one quartern loaf per week to each individual, was carried as a resolution, and generally adopted, although the Earl of Darnley treated the report of extreme scarcity as a delusion, and charged Lord Auckland, who had made some observations on the subject, with sounding the trumpet of alarm; and the Earl of Romney maintained that, in the county of Kent, the harvest, although not so good as in 1798, had been less deficient than was represented. He believed the scarcity to be artificial, as at that moment there were many granaries and large warehouses full of wheat on the banks of the Thames, the owners of which held it back from the market, in hopes of an advance in price.

A committee of the House of Commons had been formed to consider of means for rendering more effectual the act for regulating the assize of bread, and of remedying the inconveniences which might arise from the deficiency in the last crop of grain. In their report, they disapproved of some plans which had been suggested for preventing the use of the finest flour in making bread, as useless in itself, and contrary

Assize of
bread.

CHAP.
CXII.

1800.

to the general feelings of the people, or for compelling millers to issue only one sort of flour. They recommended the self-denying system, which the lords had sanctioned by their voluntary agreement, and a law prohibiting bakers from selling bread until it had been baked twenty-four hours; and they disapproved of giving bread or flour at reduced prices as an act of charity; relief ought, on the contrary, to be afforded only in soups, rice, potatoes, and other substitutes; and they approved the policy of government in abstaining from all interference in the purchase of corn in the foreign markets, conceiving that the speculations of individuals were the most likely means of producing an adequate supply.

March 6, 7.
Other mea-
sures enacted.

An act was speedily passed for restraining the sale of bread until baked twenty-four hours; and the committee, after the lapse of nearly a month, produced a second report, recommending a bounty, by way of indemnity, to importers of grain from the Mediterranean and America, before the month of October, if, in consequence of a good harvest, it should decline in price. They expressed satisfaction at the decrease in consumption which had ensued from limiting the use of bread in families, and shewed how useless it would be to stop the distilleries, considering the small quantity of grain consumed in them, and the great importance of the residue, after the spirit had been extracted, in feeding swine and cattle; and they generally recommended the use of Indian corn and rice, mixed with flour in making bread, and the substitution of potatoes, pease, and other nutritious vegetables, as well as fish, in the allowances made to the poor.

These recommendations were adopted; and, as party did not enter into the discussions, the debates were not long nor animated. The proposed measures were chiefly supported by Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Addington, and Mr. Wilberforce*; and little differ-

* In one of these debates, Mr. Wilberforce read from a newspaper, which a friend had just put into his hand, a pretended report of his speech on the former day, in which, among other things not less ridiculous, he was supposed to have said that "Potatoes made men healthy, vigorous, and active; but what "was still more in their favour, they made men tall: and being himself rather

ence of opinion seemed to prevail, except on the question, whether the war had or had not contributed to the scarcity.

Mr. Whitbread re-introduced a bill he had formerly recommended, for regulating the wages of labourers in husbandry*, and exactly with the same success, the second reading being postponed six months. Late in the session, a bill for creating a new corporate body, under the name of the "London Company for "the manufacture of flour, meal, and bread, to be sold "at reasonable prices," notwithstanding many petitions, passed the House of Commons by a very small majority†, and received the sanction of the upper House. The parties were empowered to subscribe a joint capital, not exceeding £120,000, in shares of twenty-five pounds each, their profits being limited to ten per cent., and the surplus, if any, being at the disposal of Parliament.

On a bill, introduced by the Attorney General (Sir John Mitford) for continuing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, debates took place in both houses; but nothing occurred of sufficient force or novelty to claim particular notice. The opponents of the bill maintained that it was unnecessary, as the spirit of jacobinism no longer existed in this country; no arrest for treasonable practices occurred, and better were it that the Habeas Corpus should be abolished altogether, than that its benefits should be withheld because certain opinions were maintained by persons in other countries. In answer, it was denied that jacobin principles were eradicated or foregone, they were only

"under the common size, he must lament that his guardians had not fed him "with that genial vegetable." (See Parliamentary History, vol. xxxiv. p. 550.) When he had proceeded thus far, he joined in the hearty laugh which pervaded the house; and, folding up the paper, declared, to the great relief of the poor reporter, who sat trembling in the gallery, that he would read no more. The fact is, that a barrister, of little professional employment, took the reports for a morning paper; he was directed to pay particular attention to the speech of Mr. Wilberforce, and detail it exactly, but unhappily fell asleep, and did not awake until the honourable member had concluded. Some of his friends in the gallery undertook to supply his deficiency, and, by way of frolic, furnished the matter which, but for the good nature of the honourable member, might have occasioned the punishment of his employer and his own dismissal.

* Vol. vi. p. 388. † 48 to 44.

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Others
attempted.

Feb. 21.

June 6.

July 5.

21.

Feb. 10, 19,

27.

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CXII.

1800.

veiled or concealed ; and the fact, that there were few arrests, was the natural consequence of the system which it was now sought to impede : the arguments of opposition meant only that the measure should be abandoned, because it had been found to be efficacious*.

July 22.
Motion on the
prison in Cold
Bath Fields.

Connected with the liberty of the subject and the interests of humanity, was a motion made by Sir Francis Burdett, that the house should resolve itself into a committee of inquiry on the state and management of the prison in Cold Bath Fields. A traverse jury had already investigated the matter, and made a report highly disadvantageous to the prison and its governor ; a committee of magistrates, to whom the case was referred, had come to resolutions directly opposite. Statements, both on oath and without that sanction, had necessarily been made ; and Sir Francis affirmed that the existence of numerous and flagrant abuses, and great misconduct in the magistrates, were demonstrated, specifying many cases of particular injury, and general hardship and cruelty, and of inhumanity, extortion, and crime in Mr. Aris, the governor. Objections were made to a Parliamentary inquiry into matters, which, so far as individuals were concerned, might be examined in the courts below ; still, as the administration of public justice was affected, investigation ought not to be suppressed ; and therefore, on the suggestion of Mr. Pitt, Sir Francis substituted for his first motion, one for an address to his Majesty, to give directions for the requisite inquiry, which was acceded to without hesitation.

Motion on
divorce bills.

March 21.

Several measures, applying to questions of religion and morals, engaged the attention of the two Houses. Lord Mulgrave made an effort to obtain a repeal of the standing order, requiring the dishonoured husband, who applied for a divorce a vinculo matrimonii, to appear at the bar, and answer interrogatories respecting his own conduct. It was a violation of the general

* The divisions which took place in the House of Commons were, for leave to bring in the bill, 60 to 9 ; for a second reading, 98 to 12 : in the House of Lords, for the third reading, 30 to 3.

1800.

principles of law, that no man should be a witness in his own cause, or compelled to give evidence against himself; nor was it justifiable to assume, as a general suspicion, that a husband could be so lost to all sense of shame, as to become the instrument of his own disgrace. In answer, it was observed by the Bishop of Rochester, that a petitioner for a divorce bill did not come to their bar as a criminal, but to ask a favour, for a matter of favour it was, and not of right. *Divorce a vinculo matrimonii* was unknown to our laws; no court, either of common or ecclesiastical law, could grant it. The petitioner could be intitled to his act only upon proving his claim to a good domestic character. Great allowance was undoubtedly to be made, and great compassion felt, for an innocent, virtuous, and deeply-injured husband, who might be called to be examined; but compassion and feeling for him must yield to the paramount duty of preserving the morals of the people. Several other peers opposed the motion, and it was negatived.

In the course of the debate, Lord Auckland declared that, far from considering the actual proceedings too rigorous, he had often been inclined to propose a standing order, that no bill of divorce should be admissible without a clause rendering it unlawful for the offending parties to intermarry. This intimation was received with general applause; and the Bishop of Durham asserted that the experience of thirty years had shewn him, that nine divorce bills out of ten had been founded on collusion. A bill, containing the proposed restriction was brought in by Lord Auckland; who, in supporting it, observed that a similar prohibition existed in other nations; in many, adultery had been punished as a capital crime; and it had been so, even in this country, during the Commonwealth, in 1650. He was not desirous to imitate republics in the excesses of their puritanism, or of their profligacy; but perhaps, for the sake of the public morality, he ought to wish that adultery were subject to some chastisement beyond that of a civil action for damages.

Lord Auckland's bill.

April 2.

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1800.

A different bill was afterward substituted, with a clause for subjecting guilty persons to punishment, by fine and imprisonment, as in cases of misdemeanor. In the House of Lords several debates arose. All agreed in expressing detestation of the crime; but it was denied that adultery had increased in these times beyond the pitch to which it had attained when general immorality and profligacy prevailed, although the applications to Parliament had been more numerous than formerly; and the heavy damages which of late had been awarded encouraged the more frequent institution of law-suits. Many of these were said to be collusive, mere foundations for bills of divorce; the damages seldom paid, but generally released; nor were appeals omitted in favour of females, who, having been led astray by the arts of the seducer, aided perhaps by the negligence of their legal protectors, would thus be deprived of the only possibility of a restoration to respectable society, and, being incapable of menial drudgery, driven to prostitution for subsistence.

Duke of
Clarence.

The Duke of Clarence, opposing the measure, recapitulated the forms of a Jewish bill of divorce, and stated the customs of the Greeks and Romans, which were analogous to those of the Jews. He instanced the conduct of Alcibiades toward his wife Hipparete, who carried her home by force from the court where she was applying for a divorce on account of his conjugal irregularities; and of Socrates and Cato of Utica, who avowedly lent out their wives to their friends; and yet, among those very people, the husband who surprised his wife in adultery was allowed to kill her.

Lord
Auckland.

This learning was encountered by Lord Auckland, who, beside the Mosaic law, produced quotations from Tacitus, Juvenal, the Digest, the Canons, and many other authorities. Although opposed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, the Earls of Moira, Westmoreland, and Carlisle, and several other peers, the bill passed the House after two divisions*.

* They were, on the motion for a second reading, 30 to 11; for the third reading, 77 to 69.

As if by a prophetic anticipation, Lord Auckland adverted to two bills, which in 1771 and 1779* had passed that House without opposition, but been rejected by the Commons. When the present bill was introduced, a second reading was voted on a very favourable division†, but the motion for going into a committee was successfully resisted, and the bill lost‡.

Willing to afford ample protection to the unfortunate clergy hunted from France, but at the same time, to protect the established Protestant religion of this country, Sir Henry Mildmay brought in a bill to prevent any addition to the number of persons belonging to certain foreign religious orders, or communities, lately settled in this kingdom, and to regulate the education of youth by them. Although a friend to toleration, he thought that, having admitted five thousand priests into this country, of a persuasion inimical to the established religion, and continuing to subsist here at the public expense, it was a duty to avoid giving offence to the regular church, and to see that the interests of the Protestant communion did not suffer by our humanity and indulgence. He recommended, therefore, that the admission of new members into such societies should be prohibited; and the names and numbers of their members annually returned to the court of Quarter Sessions; and all persons undertaking the public education of youth in the Romish faith, should also return annually to the court, a list, containing the names of all their pupils and their parents; and power be given to magistrates, specially appointed, to inspect such institutions at pleasure.

Mr. Windham and some other members denied the necessity for any enactment, and the validity of that which was proposed; but it passed the House of Commons.

In the Lords, it was resisted by the Bishop of Rochester, who observed that it was unnecessary, as the required security was already provided, and the new power which it would give to the crown was per-

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Rejected in
the House of
Commons.

26.

May 22.
Bill against
monastic insti-
tutions.

July 4.

10.
Opposed in
the House of
Lords.

* Vol. i. p. 495; vol. iii. p. 34.

† 152 to 38.

‡ 143 to 104.

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fectly unconstitutional. He maintained that every man who had a religion had some zeal for propagating it, and spoke with severity of those who, now-a-days, would be thought good Christians and the best of Protestants, while they had no acknowledged creed, but a sort of confession of disbelief, without an avowed assent to any thing definite; persons who, not adhering to the original principles of the reformation, as laid down in the confession of faith of the churches of Saxony and the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, thought to reform the Reformation, by expunging, one after another, every article of our belief. "The man who puts the Son of Mary," he said, "upon a level only with the son of Sophroniscus, who acknowledges in our Lord Jesus Christ nothing more than the Socrates of Jerusalem, will feel, I suppose, no more zeal for the propagation of the moral of the Gospel, than I feel to propagate the dry moral of Socrates, or of Marcus Antoninus. I suppose, therefore, that the Roman Catholic priest has this zeal, and I bear him no ill-will for it, conscious that I have it too for our common Christianity, and for that form of Christianity to which I am attached, the doctrines and rites of the reformed Church of England." Nor was there reason to apprehend danger; the monks were very few, and the far greater portion, both of them and of nuns, were the natural-born subjects of his Majesty. The monks were English Benedictines, now settled at Acton Barnell, near Shrewsbury; English Benedictines at Vernon Hall, near Liverpool; English Franciscans, near North Allerton; and English Dominicans, at Carshalton, in Surry. The persons of these four different orders amounted to no more than twenty-six; and these, with the addition of five miserable Cistercians, of the order of La Trappe, settled near Wareham, and five Carthusians, near Wardour Castle, made the sum total of monks, English and French, settled in England. The nuns were more numerous, consisting of the surviving members of twenty-two convents in all, of which eighteen were English, and four only

French, the Bernardine Dames, from Abbey Desprez, at Douay, settled at Pentonville, near Islington ; the ladies of the order of St. Francis de Sales settled near Little Chelsea ; the Benedictine Dames of Montargis, at Bodney Hall, in Norfolk ; and the Hospitalières of Cambray, near Ilford, in Essex. The whole number in these four French convents did not exceed three hundred and sixty persons ; and he particularly objected to obliging those who kept schools to make the required returns to the clerks of the peace. The Bishop of Winchester, in a short speech, vindicated the bill, but finally it was rejected.

Sir William Pulteney obtained leave to bring in a bill for preventing the practice of bull-baiting, which proceeded so far as to be reported by a committee, when Mr. Windham moved to postpone the consideration for six months. In a manly, sensible, and statesman-like speech, he derided the busy and anxious disposition to legislate on matters in which the laws were already sufficient to prevent abuse. They ought only to legislate when an act of legislation was gravely and generally called for, and not merely to gratify petty, personal, and local motives, infinitely beneath the deliberative dignity of Parliament. He remarked with great severity on the meddling intrusiveness which would take from the common people their few remaining amusements, which would draw out the whole force of magisterial interference against a hop, prohibit the exhibitions of a strolling company, unless they happened to be patronized by some ladies, or other persons of local importance ; and would now proscribe a long-used and manly exercise, while their own sports of hunting, shooting, and horse-racing, not in any respect less cruel, or less the occasion of loss of time and expenditure of money, were left to flourish in all their vigour. The dignity of the House would have been better preserved, had it never meddled with this story of a cock and a bull. It was absurd to legislate against the genius and spirit of this and of almost every country and of every age. The natural instincts

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and rejected.

April 2.
Bull baiting.

8.
Mr. Windham.

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1800.

May 15.
Attempt to
murder the
King.

and mutual antipathies of animals had ever been a source of amusement to man ; and, notwithstanding all the laws that could be made, would continue to be so. On a division, his motion was carried*.

A most extraordinary and alarming event engaged the attention of the public and of Parliament. As an introductory fact, it may be stated, that his Majesty, being in Hyde Park in the morning, viewing the field exercises of the grenadier guards, was nearly struck by a ball discharged from the firelock of one of the soldiers. There was not the slightest ground for imputing the event to any thing but the accident of a ball instead of a blank cartridge being delivered to one of the men ; no individual who had fired it could be pointed out, nor was any suspicion excited. In the evening, the King went to Drury-lane Theatre ; and as he entered his box, a man in the pit raised himself upon one of the lower benches and discharged at him a horse pistol, loaded, as was afterward discovered, with two slugs. With that composed bravery, derived from the consciousness of integrity and virtue alone, and not from a military education, or from practice in the field of battle, the King maintained, undisturbed, a noble calmness and presence of mind. Having advanced four paces toward the front of the box, his Majesty, hearing the report of the pistol, stood firmly, then proceeded to the front, and with his opera glass looked round the house, without any appearance of alarm or discomposure. The Marquis of Salisbury, Lord Chamberlain, apprehensive that a renewed attempt might be made, earnestly entreated his Majesty to retire into his private room, but was steadfastly refused. Every possible effort was made to repress the agitation of the Queen and Princesses, but they remained in a state of most painful anxiety ; the audience partook of their perturbation ; the performers hurried through their parts, evidently absorbed by other thoughts than those appertaining to the drama ; the only person who sat undisturbed, in the full pos-

1800.

session of his usual composure, was the cause of all this anxious solicitude, the King himself*.

Immediately after the pistol had been discharged, the offender was seized, and carried across the orchestra to a room where he was examined by Sir William Addington and some other magistrates. It appeared that his name was James Hadfield; that he had served in the army under the Duke of York, in Flanders, where he had been dangerously wounded in several places on the head. He had afterward obtained his discharge, and worked in London as a silversmith. He said he had not intended to kill the King, but being tired of life, yet not wishing to die by his own hands, had fired his pistol, expecting that the attempt would occasion his immediate destruction.

He was tried in the Court of King's Bench, on an indictment for high treason. The facts were too well known and too clearly proved to admit of a doubt; the only attempt, in cross examination, was to obtain from the Duke of York, who appeared as a witness, some declaration of an opinion that the prisoner, on the night of his offence, gave some indications of insanity; but it utterly failed. Mr. Erskine, in defending the prisoner, made one of the most brilliant, argumentative, and affecting of all the speeches which distinguished his glorious career. The transaction, he said, placed our country, its government, and its inhabitants upon the highest pinnacle of human elevation.

June 26.
Trial of the
offender.

* Annual Register, vol. xlvi. p. *25. Mr. Kelly, who was an eye-witness of the whole transaction, has given also a full account of it in his Reminiscences, vol. ii. p. 172. The only part of the performance in which the actors displayed real spirit was in singing "God save the King." It had been given, as usual, before the commencement of the play; at the close, the audience vehemently demanded a repetition. Mr. Sheridan composed, upon the moment, an additional stanza, which, if it would not establish or increase his fame as a poet, showed, what he so often evinced on great occasions, a just and honourable feeling, as well as a felicity in seizing promptly a favourable occasion. The lines, which the audience obliged the performer (Mrs. Jordan) to sing three times, were these:—

"From every latent foe,
From the assassin's blow,
God shield the King!
O'er him thine arm extend,
For Britain's sake defend
Our father, prince, and friend;
God save the King!"

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His Majesty, after a reign of forty years, not merely in sovereign power, but spontaneously in the very hearts of his people, was openly shot at in a public theatre, and amidst the loyal plaudits of his subjects, yet not a hair of the head of the supposed assassin was touched. In this unparalleled scene of calm forbearance, the King himself, though he stood first in personal interest and feeling, as well as in command, was a singular and fortunate example. The least appearance of emotion on the part of that august personage must unavoidably have produced a scene quite different, and far less honourable than that which the Court was witnessing ; but his Majesty remained unmoved, and the offending person was only secured, without injury or reproach.

The learned advocate then endeavoured to establish, that, at the time of committing the offence, the prisoner laboured under mental insanity, so as not to be responsible for his own acts, and laid down a most ingenious and luminous theory on the subject, which has ever since been referred to as of the highest authority, and supported by instances and cases most cogent and well selected. He then pointed out, on the person of his client, the marks of those wounds in consequence of which his reason had become impaired, and said, that although he could on many occasions converse and act rationally, yet, upon some others, particularly religion, his malady would become instantly apparent.

Witnesses were called, both military, surgical and medical, who supported the facts and opinions stated by Mr. Erskine ; and members of the prisoner's own family proved that recently, and up to the very day of his guilty attempt, he had been in a state of alarming and dangerous mental derangement. When several of these persons had been examined, and it was known that there were many more in attendance, Lord Kenyon suggested that, unless the Attorney-General was prepared to rebut their testimony, or to shew that it had been falsely given, or corruptly obtained, it would be of little use to proceed. The Attorney-

General admitted that he had no such evidence; and the jury, under the Court's direction, found the prisoner Not Guilty, he being under the influence of insanity at the time the act was committed.*

In the course of his defence, Mr. Erskine had remarked on the state of the law which interposed protective delay in cases of high treason. "Where the intent charged affected the political character of the sovereign, the delay and all the other safeguards provided were just and necessary; but a mere murderous attack upon the King's person, not at all connected with his political character, seemed a case to be ranged and dealt with like a similar attack upon any private man."

A bill was brought in by the Attorney-General for 30. regulating trials for high treason in certain cases, and for the safe custody of insane persons charged with offences: it was afterwards divided into two. By the first it was provided that, where the act of high treason consisted in a direct attempt on the person of the sovereign, the offender might be tried as in a case of murder. It was clearly shewn that this regulation could not be injurious to liberty, or let in any doctrines of constructive treason: it passed with very little debate. The other bill provided that, in cases where persons charged with crimes were acquitted on the ground of insanity, they should not be permitted to go at large, but kept in safe custody, at the discretion of the Crown. On this bill only one short debate arose, in consequence of an observation by Mr. Windham, that an offender, even if insane, should be subjected to some sort of punishment, for the sake of example: this notion met no support, and the bill passed as originally framed. Under its operation, Hadfield was committed to Bedlam, and lived forty years, an indisputable, though innoxious maniac†.

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1800.

Bills passed on trials for high treason,

and for the custody of insane offenders.

July 11.

* Howell's State Trials, vol. xxvii. p. 1281; Erskine's Speeches, vol. v. p. 1.

† This man's crime and the proceedings on it naturally bring to recollection the case of Damien, who, in 1757, made an attack on Louis the Fifteenth: for the facts, and some judicious observations on them, see Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 113.

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTEEN.

1800.

The Continent.—France.—Palaces appropriated.—Bonaparte at the Tuilleries—his guards.—Police.—Internal government.—The Chouans.—Treacherous seizure of their chiefs. Exertions against England.—Prussia.—Pacific proposals to the Emperor.—Russia.—Re-establishment of the Pope.—Preparations in France for a campaign.—Finance.—Soldiers. Altered forms of society.—Military distinctions decreed.—Conscripts enrolled.—Volunteers.—Army of reserve.—Strength of the Austrian army.—How commanded.—French leaders.—Proceedings of the French in Germany.—They cross the Rhine—their successful progress.—Kray retreats behind the Inn.—State of Italy.—Siege of Genoa—its surrender.—The army of reserve—headed by Bonaparte.—Passage of the French over the Alps.—Their progress.—Battle of Marengo.—Its consequences.—Armistice concluded.—Effect of these events—to Bonaparte.—His progress to Paris.—His reception.—Treaty with Austria.—Not ratified.—The Emperor's treaty with England—submitted to Parliament.—Mr. Tierney.—Mr. Canning.

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CXIII.1800.
The Continent
France.

WHILE the attention of Parliament was thus engaged, events occurred on the Continent of the highest importance to all Europe.

France, which had so long disturbed the repose and destroyed the safety of other nations, and from the reduction of whose power so many favourable expectations had been formed, was enabled, by a series of military successes, to regain, and even to extend, her ascendancy, and, while submitting to an arbitrary rule

at home, to impose new fetters on neighbouring states. In her interior, she displayed a striking lesson to nations who think to remedy abuses or grievances by the overthrow of every thing that is established; who remove present evils by such acts of violence as prostrate the national strength, enfeeble the reasoning mind, and, from lassitude and the experience of heavy calamity, and the exposure of the fallacy of patriotic pretension, induce a state of passive acquiescence, under every species of tyranny and oppression. The absurd fiction of the sovereignty of the people, which every demagogue, from the Duke of Orléans down to Barras, had made his theme, for purposes of delusion, was now evidently reduced to a mere phrase, used only to grace a proclamation, or give force to a defiance; a sole sovereign, by whatever name he might be distinguished, was in effect constituted, and the external signs of dominion were unreservedly displayed.

Established for life, and thus forming a sort of incipient nobility, the members of the Conservative Senate were put in possession of the palace of the Luxembourg, and rendered independent of the public and every other authority, by pensions, paid by the state and secured on the national domains. To the tribunate was assigned the Palais Royal; and to the legislative body the Palais Bourbon, the confiscated property of the Princes of Condé.

The Tuilleries, the ancient abode of the kings, was selected for that of the three Consuls: the best portion of the building was occupied by Bonaparte. He had been an eye-witness of the expulsion and seizure of Louis the Sixteenth; and, had his natural sagacity been insufficient, that example would have taught him not to entrust his safety to a few grey-headed, though brave and affectionate, adherents. He surrounded himself with three thousand of the troops most attached to his person, who had fought by his side in Italy and Egypt. Nor did he place confidence in these securities alone; his active and powerful mind embraced every department, and appreciated every individual bearing, or capable, or desirous of bearing, any public

Palaces
appropriated.

Bonaparte at
the Tuilleries.

His guards.

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CXIII.

1800.

Police.

Internal
government.

Feb. 16.

The Chouans.

Treacherous
seizure of the
chiefs.

character. Some celebrated and able men, such as Portalis, Carnot, and Barthélemy, and some of less estimable character, as Barrère, were recalled from exile, or erased from the lists of emigrants; some to be employed in high and honourable stations, others to be placed under the strict and vigilant observance of the police, conducted by Fouché; a vigilance never intermitted, but daily adding fresh force to a system which, under a ruler so able as Bonaparte, was always becoming more and more despotic.

By an arrangement well conceived and ably detailed, the internal government of the country was placed on a footing which, in all its parts, supported, and was subservient to, the general plan, while those by whom it was administered were appointed and removable at will. A law was framed, placing every department under the superintendence of a prefect, aided by sub-prefects; and of councils formed for every purpose of civil and judicial administration. The monarchy, in its most vigorous days, never possessed a power so completely master over every form and position of society as this; a government without the possibility of any expression of free or popular opinion, the persons who exercised it unrestrained by any privileged individual or corporation, and not liable to any suit or prosecution for acts done in the exercise of their office. A telegraphic dispatch would suffice to set the whole administrative body in motion; a single order to deprive every administrator of his power*.

After the pacification of La Vendée, the Chouans alone remained in arms in the royal cause. Headed by Count Louis Frotté, their energetic enmity, rather than their numbers or their power, rendered them formidable. Many attempts had been made to reconcile them; but in vain: the chiefs alleged a principle of honour which would admit of no compromise, and which equally resisted menaces and promises. By one of those base acts of treachery and inhumanity, the perpetration or sanction of which have left indelible

* Capefigue, tome ii. chap. viii. The law itself is in the Moniteur, in all the periodical works, and in Peltier's Paris, tome xxv. p. 596.

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stains on the character of Bonaparte, Frotté was seduced, under the semblance of a negotiation for an arrangement, and guaranteed by a safe conduct, to repair, with six of his officers, to the house of General Chamberlac, at Alengon. After a short conversation, in which it was attempted to introduce the subject of a treaty, Chamberlac exclaimed, “There is no treaty; “you are prisoners;” gave them immediatley in custody to a body of troops, and they were conducted to Verneuil, where, by order of the Consuls, they were all put to death. Their cruel fate exasperated the Chouans into a feeling of deadly personal hatred against the First Consul; nor was it mitigated by the barbarous murder, in Paris, of the Count De Toustant, a youth, who, at the age of sixteen, had attained the command of a division of the royalist army. His father being a prisoner in the Temple, he had obtained permission to pay his filial duty; but, on pretence that he was come to Paris to purchase military stores, he was seized, tried before a military commission, sentenced to death, and shot on the Place de Louis Quinze, before his professional adviser could be properly informed of the proceedings against him*.

In opening the communication with England on the subject of peace, Bonaparte gained all that he expected, in an opportunity, of which he unsparingly availed himself, of casting on the King, the ministry, and the government of Great Britain the accusation of resisting reasonable proposals, and protracting, for selfish purposes, the calamities of war; which accusation, garnished with the terms so profusely used in all the periods of revolutionary hostility, of ambition, avarice, bribery, and machiavelism, formed the subject of proclamations and addresses; while many political writings, composed under the direct authority of the First Consul, tended to diffuse his opinions, and produced many conflicting essays†. To inspire, or rather to exas-

Exertions
against
England.

* Capefigue, tome ii. p. 238: Peltier's Paris, tome xxv. pp. 471, 510; tome xxvi. p. 79.

† Among these productions, the work of Frederick Gentz, who advocated the cause of European liberty and independence, and the answer of M. Blanc Hauterive, are particularly worthy of notice. See also Homme d'Etat, tome vii. p. 384.

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Prussia.

perate, the feeling of hatred against England, was a permanent, but not the only, aim of the French ; to weaken the confidence of the European powers in each other, and to dissolve their union by separate treaties, was an attempt vigorously and perseveringly pursued.

To Prussia all the belligerent powers turned an anxious eye, and endeavoured to allure her by tempting offers. Bonaparte had employed General Duroc, a young officer of frank and engaging manners, without any express diplomatic mission, beyond that of announcing his accession, to intimate to Frederick William the importance of his alliance in the effectual settlement of the balance of Europe. On the other hand, the Russian minister was pressing for a decision which should emancipate the Continent. Austria, in the midst of her successes, proposed great advantages to the Prussian monarch ; and England offered a subsidy : but the views of the King were directed to objects in which the friendship of France would be more beneficial than that of the other powers. The maintenance of the republic in a superior position would assure the ascendancy which Prussia had acquired, and was anxious to extend and perpetuate, in the Germanic body ; the dominion of the Hanseatic Towns was much desired, and more than equivalent to whatever could be offered by Russia ; and the proposals of England were rendered ineffectual by the prospect of ultimately acquiring possession of Hanover. For the present, therefore, the neutrality of Prussia was decided.

Pacific propo-
sals to the
Emperor.

About the same period that proposals of peace were made to England, and with hopes and views of the same description, a similar attempt was made on Austria : a congress for a general pacification, on the basis of the treaty of Campo Formio, was suggested. The Archduke Charles was known to favour the proposition ; but the position of military affairs, and the altered views of the Emperor, after some little shew of hesitation, occasioned its rejection. England had assured to the Emperor the possession of Italy, and promised enlarged subsidies ; the contingents of Bavaria

and Wirtembourg were on foot, and the population of Hungary shewed a patriotic zeal in the cause of the sovereign. Nor were advances towards Russia more successful : Paul still cherished hopes of restoring the authorities and systems which had been overthrown, and his co-operation, if not so extensive, was yet as sincere as formerly. If, by subsequent events, his expectations were exposed to ridicule, they were for the moment countenanced by some appearances in France, and by the re-establishment of one power, which, from the preceding aspect of the times, must have been deemed irreparably overthrown—that of the Pope. This was effected by a conclave of Cardinals, held in Venice under the direct influence of Austria : the choice fell on Cardinal Chiaramonte, Bishop of Imola, who took the title of Pius the Seventh*. Feb. 14.

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Russia.

Re-establish-
ment of the
Pope.

In his preparations for a new campaign, Bonaparte displayed equal vigour and judgment. In his proclamation, on the failure of his proposals to England, he had said that the government which had not been afraid to offer, even to solicit, peace, could recollect that it was for the nation to command it ; for that purpose, they wanted money, arms, and soldiers†. To supply the first, an exact system of regularity and economy in the administration of public affairs was enforced, and a bank instituted, under the authority of government, intended by its punctuality and integrity amply to obtain from public confidence those funds hitherto so sparingly yielded to arbitrary exactions and precarious imposts. Feb. 4.

March 7.
Preparations
in France for a
new campaign.

Finance.

In a country so long devoted to military pursuits, arms could not be deficient ; men were not only to be procured, but to be renovated. Frenchmen, always brave in the field, and easily trained to exact discipline, could not be wanting to the service of their country, if properly called upon ; but valour, recompensed only in general commendations, while those who displayed it were left undistinguished among the crowd, or,

Soldiers.

* Homme d'Etat, tome vii. p. 387. Capefigue, tome ii. pp. 149, 177.

† Moniteur, du 18 Nivose, an 8. Recueil de Décrets, &c., par Lewis Goldsmith, tome i. p. 46 ; and all the collections.

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1800.

Altered forms
of society.

rather, undervalued in presence of men, who, without peculiar merit, assumed proud distinctions, wanted its best motive to exertion, and its most favourable influence over the rest of society.

Bonaparte, correctly discerning the true principles of human conduct and springs of public devotedness, was disembarrassing French society from the disguises which affected pedantry or brutal vulgarity had imposed : the installation of himself and the other Consuls at the Tuilleries had been conducted in a style of gorgeous pomp, calculated to create emotions of public pride ; the parties given at that palace displayed, in all their lustre, the elegance of French fancy ; splendid dresses and polite manners again distinguished the superior classes. The ridiculous term, citoyenne, fell into disuse ; the disgusting puerility of the bonnet rouge was discontinued ; and public functionaries, no longer, except on great public occasions, theatrically disguised in antique robes, appeared in the ordinary dresses, or proudly followed the example of the First Consul, by wearing their military habiliments. From these indications of an intention to alter the degraded forms of republicanism, many, without any claim to extraordinary sagacity, prophesied a return to the old system of honorary personal distinctions, the germ of a new order of nobility.

Military
distinctions
decreed.

An indication of this spirit was held out as the means of recruiting and inspiriting the army ; distributions of ornamented arms, muskets, carbines, swords, trumpets, and other insignia, with increased pay, and personal distinctions, were decreed to those, who, by their conduct in battle, or otherwise, gained the approbation of their leaders, and deserved the gratitude of their country. The first class of the conscription for the current year, called into service without distinction of station or fortune, placed at the disposal of government one hundred and twenty thousand men ; a revocation of the leave of absence, which had been granted to many veterans, produced a supply of thirty thousand, of inestimable value for their experience and their ability to instruct the recruits. Large bodies of volun-

Conscripts
enrolled.

Volunteers.

teers enrolled themselves in the departments. At the suggestion of Bonaparte, an army of reserve, of sixty thousand men, was ordered to be formed at Dijon ; twenty-five thousand horses, purchased in the interior, supplied the wants of the cavalry and the artillery ; and all these efforts shew that a sense of the danger of the country, a desire to redeem its glory, confidence in the government, and an enthusiastic attachment to the fame and fortune of their commander, can produce, even on the sudden, more copious beneficial results than can be derived from arbitrary requisitions, unprincipled spoliations, and the whole apparatus of tyranny and terror*.

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CXIII.1800.
Army of
reserve.

Before these preparations had been so much as commenced, the armies had been informed, by energetic proclamations, that they were not engaged to defend their frontiers, but to invade the countries of their enemies, and dictate peace under the walls of terror-stricken Vienna†. But the formidable state of the Austrian armies rendered the accomplishment of these undertakings doubtful. The approaching campaign, to which all Europe looked with interest and anxiety, was to be fought, in Italy, upon the Alps, and, in Germany, upon the Rhine. The neutrality of Switzerland was not respected, and her mountains became a field of battle, extending northward from the Glaciers to the Black Forest ; and, on the south, across the Appenines to Genoa. In aggregate numbers, the opposing forces were not greatly disproportioned ; exact accounts of their strength cannot be given, although those which are furnished do not materially vary. In the gross, it may be stated that the Austrian troops in Italy were one hundred and seventeen thousand men, and on the Rhine nearly the same number. The French army of Italy was thirty-six thousand, worn with fatigues and privations, dispirited by defeats, and generally disposed, until a new spirit was infused into them, to desertion ; but, in Germany, were one hundred

Strength of the
Austrian army.

* The authorities already mentioned, and Alison, vol. iv. p. 229.

† Œuvres de Napoléon, tome iii. p. 175.

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1800.

and twenty-eight thousand, who could be relied on for active service; and the army of reserve, nominally stationed at Dijon, but in its greatest real strength at Geneva, was in readiness to transfer its aid to either of the other bodies, when required. Nor was this force to be contemned as a mass of raw and ignorant recruits; it possessed twenty thousand veterans, brought from Holland, and who had served in La Vendée; the residue were conscripts.

How com-
manded.

The Archduke Charles, whose wishes to negotiate for peace had been over-ruled, whose plans of operation had been rejected by the Aulic Council, and whose state of health rendered repose necessary, left the army of the Rhine under the command of General Kray, a brave and experienced officer; while that of Italy was entrusted to General Melas, a veteran, in his seventysixth year, but who, nevertheless, had shewn, even in the last campaign, great vigour and presence of mind in aid of Suworow. The French army of Italy was placed under Berthier, who, in accepting it, gave up the office of minister at war, which, much to the benefit of the country, was conferred on Carnot. Moreau commanded the army of the Danube, aided by St. Cyr, and other generals of approved ability.

French
leaders.

Proceedings of
the French in
Germany.

Presuming that the first and greatest efforts of the enemy would be directed toward Italy, the Austrians made their chief preparations, and fixed their hopes, on that quarter; but the sagacity of Bonaparte discovered the advantages of an attack where the adversary expected only defensive measures, and saw that through the hereditary states he could best command the fate of Italy, and, by a vigorous movement on the Danube, render certain his success in the other field of operations. Anxious to give the fullest effect to this plan, he thought of assuming the chief command in person; but Moreau, untaught to stoop to his supreme ascendancy, declared that he would rather resign than descend to appear as a subordinate in his own army; and the other generals could not be relied on to support a measure adverse to the just pretensions of their old comrade and friend; consequently, Bonaparte

yielded the point ; but the transaction was never forgotten, and his mind retained an adverse feeling, which afterwards produced serious consequences.

By ingenious manœuvres, and judicious feints, Moreau divided the attention of the Austrians, and prevented them from concentrating their scattered forces, until the time came when, at several points, with Generals Suzanne, St. Cyr, and Lecourbe, he crossed the Rhine. The fort of Hohenstohel surrendered without resistance, and the whole French army was rapidly approaching the imperial magazines at Engen and Moeskirch, which could only be saved by a battle, in which the Austrians would be greatly outnumbered. While Kray was preparing, by judicious arrangements, for the expected conflict, a body under Lecourbe and Molitor defeated the Austrians near Stokach ; and, besides taking three thousand prisoners and eight pieces of cannon, gained possession of that ^{2.} important town, with all its magazines. On the same day, a battle was begun between Kray and Moreau, on the plain which lies before Engen ; valour and skill were equally displayed on both sides, and at night the advantages were nearly balanced. The conflict was renewed on the ensuing morning ; the French received an augmentation of force by the arrival of General St. Cyr with his troops ; and General Kray, learning at the same time the capture of Stokach, drew off his forces in the direction of Liptengen and Moeskirch, to join the Prince of Lorraine, who was retreating in that direction. The carnage on each side was nearly equal, being computed at seven thousand men ; but the moral advantage was greatly on the side of the French, as their self-confidence increased, and their spirit of enterprise was encouraged. Hoping to concentrate his widely-scattered forces, General Kray, with forty thousand foot, twelve thousand cavalry, and two hundred pieces of cannon, occupied a position, apparently impregnable, before Moeskirch ; but it was unhesitatingly assailed. A brave and skilful conflict, marked by every variety of success and diversity of operation, ended in the complete success of the French, and the

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1800.
April 25.
They cross the
Rhine.

May 1.
Their success-
ful progress.

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1800.

June 10.

23.

24.

Kray retreats
behind the
Inn.

State of Italy.

retreat of Kray to the intrenched camp at Ulm. During six weeks, repeated attempts were made by the French to cause the relinquishment of this commanding position ; but the Austrians vigorously maintained it, gaining, on several occasions, considerable military advantages, and placing the French in great danger of total destruction. At length, the activity and vigilance of the republican generals prevailed : the Austrians, relaxing their vigour, opposed to their crossing the Danube only a tardy and unavailing resistance ; and by a battle, fought on the celebrated plain of Hochstedt, they were enabled firmly to establish themselves on the left bank of the river. Kray was compelled to abandon the intrenched camp at Ulm, but left in the town an ample garrison ; and, by a forced march of four days, of complicated toil, privation, and perils, established himself at Nordlingen. Moreau took possession of Munich, and laid all Bavaria under contribution. After some less important events, Kray was obliged to fall back behind the Inn ; and, for the present, no further event worthy of note distinguished the war in this quarter.

At the commencement of the campaign, all the fortresses in Italy, from that of Bard, in the valley of Aosta, to Coni, were in the hands of the Austrians ; through the ascendancy of the English, the sea was open, and supplies plentifully obtained ; the corps of emigrants, in the pay of England, were traversing the German Alps, to embark in Lord Keith's flotilla at Leghorn, expecting to form the nucleus of a new Royalist army in Provence ; the capture of Genoa and Nice, the occupation of Toulon, and all other desirable effects of successful warfare, appeared to be within their reasonable scope of expectation. The external circumstances of the enemy were calculated to confirm these hopes ; they had passed a severe winter amid the greatest privations, suffering from cold, famine, the fatigues of a service disproportioned to their numbers, and consequent sickness, which raged to a frightful degree ; yet their spirits were buoyed up by the change of government, the extinc-

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tion of the rule of lawyers, which they equally despised and detested, and the elevation of the leader whom they loved and revered. With joy and confidence, therefore, they received, as their commander, General Massena, whom they had so often followed to victory, and whose experienced skill in mountain warfare pointed him out as a chief peculiarly well selected.

Genoa was the great object of desire to both armies. From an early period, it had been devoted to the French, and was now garrisoned with their troops. Melas put his army in motion with a view, in the first place, to secure this important possession, which to him would have opened the communication of the maritime Alps and Switzerland, and afforded a secure and convenient depot for any army destined to act in Piedmont, while to the French it was the only remaining rallying point on the south of the Alps. Several well-contested conflicts took place before the siege was regularly formed. Lord Keith declared all the ports and coasts of the republic of Genoa in a state of blockade; but if this measure diminished or destroyed the means of obtaining supplies by sea, the evil was less sensibly felt, as the advancing season facilitated the receipt of them by land. Melas, commencing operations by a well-concerted and spirited attack, drove Soult from Montenotte, possessing himself of Savona, Cadebon, and Vado, while Suchet was obliged to retreat into France. On the side of Gavi and of Trebia, important advantages were also obtained; and the republicans were expelled from the Monte-Faccio and the Monte-Ratte; while the forts of Quizzè, Richelieu and San Teela, within cannon shot of Genoa, were invested. The situation of the French became critical and alarming; a party in the city, favourable to the Austrian cause, raised its head, deriving courage from the transactions without; but Massena, disdaining to await the possibility of distant events, threw open the gates of the town, sallied forth on the 7th. Austrian division at Monte-Faccio, expelled them from that and all the passes of the Appenines, and, to the astonishment of the inhabitants, returned at night,

Siege of
Genoa.

April.

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crowned with victory, and leading in his train fifteen hundred prisoners. With various success, many other battles were fought; consummate skill and heroic valour were displayed on both sides; but at last, pressed in every direction by the superior numbers and undiminished energy of his adversaries, Massena, after a contest of fifteen days, was obliged to shut himself up, with twenty-thousand men, and the incumbrance, rather than advantage, of four thousand prisoners, in Genoa, where a scarcity of provisions had already begun to be felt. A close investment of the place by land and by sea was immediately formed; numerous sallies served to shew the enterprising gallantry of the French, and the immovable firmness of the Austrians; but, at last, famine, in its most awful extent, ravaged the ranks of the army, and destroyed the miserable inhabitants. Horses, dogs, vermin, and the most loathsome substitutes, were resorted to for food; women and children, in the agonies of hunger, were screaming, day and night, in the streets, and left there to perish; the soldiers were so enfeebled, that, when they were led forth to an attack on the works of the besiegers, the mere effort of marching exhausted them, and they remained powerless in the presence of the enemy they had come out to seek, and were happy, after considerable loss, to obtain again the shelter of the fortifications; many rushed in desperation on the Austrian bayonets, or plunged themselves into the gulph, to abridge their insupportable agonies. At this point, Melas addressed a letter to the French General, in terms of personal civility, but recommending a surrender, as further resistance was hopeless. A doubt was at first entertained that this was a contrivance to disguise the intention of raising the siege; but a vigorous bombardment, continued for two days, and the total exhaustion of all provisions, compelled Massena reluctantly to accede to a capitulation, on terms exceedingly honourable. As soon as it was executed, the hunger-worn inhabitants had the inexpressible joy, on the firing of a gun from the ramparts, to see innumerable barks, laden with provisions, enter the harbour.

May 31.
Its surrender.

June 4.

While these events were taking place, the commanders on both sides were acquainted with the proceedings of Moreau, and also with those of the army of reserve. In the formation of this corps, Berthier displayed equal industry, judgment, and ability; as it attained perfection in discipline, the First Consul, doubting at first in which direction he should employ it, finally fixed on Italy, and determined to lead it in person. With his usual address he veiled his real intentions, proclaiming that the army was assembling at Dijon, to raise the siege of Genoa; but the Austrian emissaries, employed to gain information, finding only a few battalions of conscripts on that spot, by their reports induced a belief that the army of reserve was altogether a boastful fiction, invented to alarm them and give confidence to the troops of Massena; and this belief was firmly rooted in the mind of Melas, until he was undeceived by grievous calamities. Accurately informed of every circumstance of difficulty attending the enterprize, Bonaparte, at the head of his army, effected a passage over the mountain of Saint Bernard, into Italy. The difficulties and dangers of this enterprize, the judgment and perseverance by which they were surmounted, the foresight employed in securing the troops from want, and the skilful appeals to their feelings, by which they were led to contemn perils, and emulously persevere in exertions almost exceeding human power, have deservedly formed the subject of many eloquent and animated descriptions: the attempt succeeded to the fullest extent of hope*.

Firmly established in Italy, the advanced guard of the French, under General Lannes, proceeded, by the valley of Aosta, to Turin. The castle of Bard, which protects the entrance to Piedmont, presented some obstruction; but it was overcome by the ingenuity and

* After describing this extraordinary passage with great minuteness and eloquence, Mr. Alison justly reprehends the exaggerations of some too rhetorical and poetical writers, who encumber it with an unnecessary adornment of inapplicable phrases. Without endeavouring to detract from the exploit of Bonaparte, he shews that it does not, under all circumstances, equal that of Hannibal, in ancient history, or those of Suworow and Macdonald.

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CXIII.1800.
The army of
reserve,headed by
Bonaparte.Passage of the
French over
the Alps.May 18.
Their pro-
gress.

CHAP.
CXIII.

1800.

26th.

June 4.
Battle of
Marengo.

16th.

Its conse-
quences.

perseverance of the French. Strengthened by a detachment of twenty thousand men, reluctantly granted by Moreau, Bonaparte, hoping to relieve Genoa, proceeded by the road to Vercelli, captured the magazines formed by the Austrians on the Tessino, the Adda, and the Oglio; and, having speedily taken Vercelli, all the other towns in Upper Piedmont, from Finestrella to the confluence of the Sessia and the Po, opened their gates. Vigorously and judiciously pursuing his successes, in a fortnight after his descent from the Alps, he found himself in the midst of his former conquests, having captured the magazines and garrisons left by Melas, and intercepted his communication with the Tyrol; and he re-established the Cisalpine Republic.

Foiled in an ill-conceived irruption into Provence, Melas concentrated his forces on the Tanaro and the Bormida; but the surrender of Genoa having rendered needless the plans combined by the French for raising the siege, and the Austrians, under General Ott, having, after some severe skirmishes, effected a junction with Melas, preparations were made on both sides for a pitched battle. This great and decisive contest took place near the village of Marengo, from which it derives its name. After an engagement of six hours' duration, the Austrians had gained possession of the village, compelled Victor and Lannes to retreat; and the main body of the republican troops retired to San Giulio, where General Desaix, recently arrived from Egypt, was stationed with a small corps de reserve. The Austrians were uttering shouts of victory; but Desaix, making a sudden and desperate charge, revived the spirits of the fugitives; led by General Beurnonville, they rallied; the Austrians were broken, a division of six thousand surrounded and made prisoners, and finally, after thirteen hours, the victory remained with the French.

If this success was unexpected, its consequences were still more so; they were absolutely incalculable. The Austrians, far from feeling themselves hopeless, or effectually defeated, were ready to renew the engage-

ment on the following day; their numbers still surpassed those of the enemy, and they possessed many advantages in their position; but, to their surprise and indignation, General Melas, dazzled by the renown of his adversary, deceived by pompous and menacing professions, or enfeebled by old age, gave way to the unreasonable dictates of unmanly fear. He apprehended that he should not find subsistence for his army, that his communication with Alexandria would be intercepted, that he could not maintain the Emperor's dominions in Venice, and that, on the slightest check, he must lay down his arms. Under the influence of this panic, the brave and experienced General sunk into abject passiveness: treachery or evil intention has never been imputed to him; but he executed a convention such as could have been expected from those principles alone. On the condition of being permitted to cross the French cantonments, and retire behind the line of the Mincio, he surrendered the fortresses of Genoa, Savona, Coni, Ceva, Turin, Tortona, Alexandria, Milan, Pizzighitoné, Arona, and Urbino, with all Liguria, Piedmont, and the Cisalpine, except the towns of Peschiera, Mantua, Borgo-forte, Ferrara, and Ancona; and a truce was concluded, not to be broken without ten days' notice. The Cabinet of Vienna ratified these concessions; and a similar truce was concluded on the Danube, the conditions of which were, that the three fortresses of Ingolstadt, Ulm, and Philipsburg were to remain blockaded, but to be daily supplied with provisions during the time fixed for the suspension of arms. The whole of the Tyrol remained in the power of Austria, and the line of demarcation passed by the Iser to the foot of the Tyrolese mountains.

The celebrated battle of Marengo was of great importance to the French republic, and of still greater to the personal fortunes of Bonaparte, who on its result had risked his fame, his fortune, and his life. Nor was he negligent in deriving from it the utmost personal advantage. To him who had been in full retreat, and not to Beurnouville, whose intrepid and masterly movement decided the day, was the glory of it attri-

CHAP.
CXIII.1800.
Armistice
concluded.

15th.

Effects of
these events
to Bonaparte.

CHAP.
CXIII.

1800.

24th.

July 2.
His reception.Treaty with
Austria.

buted; Desaix, who fell on the field of battle without uttering a word, was made by some, who reported the event, to expend his last breath in eulogies on Bonaparte*; the glorious exploits and skilful manœuvres of Moreau were little celebrated, while (such was the conduct of the press and management exerted upon it) every movement, act, and saying of the First Consul was cited and amplified with all the arts of interested flattery. Deeming his presence in Paris more important than in Italy, he left Massena in the chief command, and proceeded on his journey, hailed in all parts with popular acclamations. He took the road into France over Mount Cenis, where, travelling in royal state, with an equipage of eight horses, he passed through triumphal arches; while deputations from the magistracies paid their humble devoirs, and processions of young females, dressed in white, strewed his way with flowers. The road, as he travelled, was lined with men of every rank and class, inhabitants of town and country, who rent the air with acclamations. He repaid these marks of homage at Lyons, by laying the first stone of the Place de Belcour, now to be rebuilt, after the barbarous destruction during the reign of terror. In Paris, beside every other mark of joy and popular devotion, his return was celebrated by a general illumination†.

As the first and greatest advantage to be gained from recent success, the French government was eager to obtain, from the alarm of Austria, a separate treaty of peace, which should break the connexion with England, and destroy all prospects of mutual

* On the subject of General Desaix, who appears to have been no less amiable than brave, an interesting memorial, relating to this period, may be found in *Les Mémoires de Constant*, tome i. p. 66. Bonaparte, it is to be observed, was never ungrateful for his services, nor envious of his fame: statues were erected to his honour.

† In the narrative of these events, about the general substance of which no material difference prevails, I have consulted the historical authorities in general, but have chiefly followed the clear and able details by Alison, vol. iv. chap. 30; which, for correctness and amplitude of statement, and justness of observations, well merit attentive perusal; Due de Rovigo, tome i. p. 170 to 186; Gourgaud, vol. i. p. 159 to 189, and 201 to 311; the Annual Register, vol. xlvi. c. 5 to 10; Capefigue, tome ii. c. 10 to 14; Mémoires de Constant, tome ii. pp. 57 to 77.

1800.

28th.

support. This plan prospered so far, that preliminary articles were signed by General Count St. Julien, on the part of the Emperor, by which, after the necessary arrangements for the discontinuance of active hostilities, and the position of troops, it was agreed that the treaty of Campo Formio should serve as a basis for a definitive treaty, the necessary alterations excepted; a place for final arrangements was to be fixed upon, and the articles of the present compact were to be kept secret until the exchange of ratifications had been effected*.

This treaty was the effect of no inconsiderable diplomatic insincerity on both sides. The ministers of the Emperor, justly alarmed at his humiliated and critical situation, and anxious to gain time and means for re-establishing his affairs, dispatched St. Julien with Count Neipperg to Paris, ostensibly for the purpose of converting the late ruinous convention into a treaty of peace. They were invested with no regular diplomatic character, and consequently their acts might be sanctioned or disavowed at pleasure; but the Count St. Julien was the bearer of a letter in the Emperor's own hand writing, promising a ratification of every agreement he should make†. Unconscious of any latent intention on the part of those by whom he was employed, Saint Julien conducted himself throughout the transaction with the frankness of a soldier; while Talleyrand, employing his usual astuteness, contrived to obtain the tranquil though reluctant submission of the Austrians to the terms prescribed by the convention. This reluctance had been particularly displayed at Genoa. Lord Keith had remonstrated, that the blockade having been effected entirely by the British fleet, and the re-victualling of the town proceeding from the same source, the restoration of the place, which had been a joint capture, could not be agreed upon by one of the parties without the assent of the other; and he required Count Hohenzollern to deliver it up to him. This

Not ratified.

June 24.

* Annual Register, vol. xlii. p. *361; Goldsmith's Recueil, tome i. p. 67.

† Gourgaud, vol. ii. p. 2; Homme d'Etat, tome vii. p. 410.

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reasoning was perfectly congenial with the wishes of the inhabitants, and the fleet repaired to Minorca, to obtain from the British army there a sufficient force to form a garrison. On the day when the ships with this desired supply came in sight, the period stipulated for surrender had arrived, and the place was given up according to the treaty. Suchet eagerly seized all the strong places of defence ; and the people saw the event with grief and consternation, which, in their usual manner, the French bulletins converted into transports of joy*.

The Emperor's treaty
with England.
June 20.

In fact, there was no sincerity in the whole transaction ; for, while his agent in Paris was unconsciously pursuing measures supposed to form the foundation of a lasting peace, Baron Thugut, at Vienna, had concluded with Lord Minto a convention, by which, in consideration of a loan of two millions sterling, to be advanced in equal portions in the first days of July, September, and December, it was agreed that the contracting powers, in concert, should carry on the war with France with all their forces, both by land and sea ; and neither was to make a separate peace without the previous and express consent of the other, nor receive any overtures for a general pacification without communicating them ; and the agreement was to be in force until the end of the ensuing month of February†. General Duroc was deputed to Vienna, in consequence of the unratified treaty, but stopped at the frontier ; and St. Julien was sent to confinement in an Austrian fortress‡.

Submitted to
Parliament.
July 15.
18.

Mr. Pitt submitted to the House of Commons the treaty with this country, with a message from the King, which was followed by another, requiring a vote of credit. The minister stated the amount at a million and a half for Austria, and rather more than half a million to make good the sums which had become due, or were in the course of becoming so, to the Emperor of Russia. As far as ministers had received inform-

* Homme d'Etat, tome vii. p. 408

† Annual Register, vol. xlvi. p. *835 ; Parliamentary History, vol. xxxv. p. 431 ; and all collections of state papers.

‡ Capefigue, vol. ii. pp. 342, 344 ; Homme d'Etat, tome vii. p. 424.

ation, he said, the Emperor, notwithstanding the disasters he had sustained in Italy, had determined not to recede. Whether the House, in that case, should enable his Majesty to afford the required assistance, was a question rather to be stated than to be argued: for it was not to be believed that the magnanimity and courage of Great Britain was to be affected by the vicissitudes of war; that its faith towards its allies was to be shaken by fortuitous events; or that it would shrink from those allies in whose success it expected to have participated, merely because they had experienced disasters, the effects of which there was every reason to hope would be momentary, and eventually inconsiderable.

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After few speeches of little importance, Mr. Tierney commenced his grand and general attack. If anything in the conduct of Mr. Pitt, he said, could surprise him, it would have been the lofty tone which he had assumed. If ever there had been a day in which it would have become him to come down covered with sackcloth and ashes, it was the present. The war was an unjust and unnecessary war, begun and carried on to gratify the inordinate pride of ministers. Admitting the French to have been the aggressors, yet, from the date of Bonaparte's letter to his Majesty, things assumed a quite different complexion; and ministers were answerable to God and their country for all the blood and treasure that had since been shed and expended. They had rendered England the laughing-stock of all Europe. The Emperor was pledged to continue our ally only till the twenty-eighth of February, and then new topics must be devised to rouse the languid spirit of the country. Could not the minister see that no good could be obtained by war, unless unanimity was accomplished by a fair avowal of a disposition to negotiate for peace? Another victory might open to the enemy the very gates of Vienna.

Mr. Tierney.

Mr. Canning answered this invective in a speech displaying, as usual, correct information, sound judgment, great powers of argument, and brilliant flashes of wit. Having exhibited in their true light many of

Mr. Canning.

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Mr. Tierney's arguments, exposed many misrepresentations, and shewn that the real object of his effort was merely to displace the present ministers, he turned against him one strong point in his oration. "The honourable gentleman," he said, "tells us that, by the folly of her present ministers, Great Britain is become the dupe of most of the powers on the Continent, and the laughing-stock of all. I would answer this from another part of his speech, in which he also says (and it was some comfort to hear it) that such is the envy which the situation of this country has excited throughout Europe, that we are in imminent danger from a confederacy, formed for the express purpose of reducing our power and greatness. Now, how both these things can be true, I am at a loss to conceive. Contempt and envy do not usually exist together with respect to the same object. But if they be both true, and if the effect of the misgovernment of ministers has been only to increase the power and prosperity of the country; if, through their blunders, we have been duped into wealth, and deceived into aggrandizement; if we have been deluded and misled into a degree of greatness and power which excites the jealousy of our deluders; happy is that country whose misconduct turns out so fortunately for itself; and long may such misconduct, if such be its consequences, continue. 'Malim, mehercule, cum istis errare, quam cum aliis recte sentire!' " The resolutions were agreed to without division.

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTEEN.

1798, 1799.

Union of Great Britain and Ireland.—How rendered necessary.—Objections felt.—Opinions in favour of the measure. First rumours.—Government pamphlet.—Answers.—Parties formed.—Dismissals from office.—Meeting of barristers. Their resolutions.—Resolutions of the corporation of Dublin.—Other meetings.—Parliament.—Speech of the Lord Lieutenant.—Address in the Lords.—Protest.—Debate in the Commons.—Sir John Parnell.—Lord Castlereagh.—Mr. George Ponsonby—his amendment.—Mr. Fitzgerald. Mr. Lee.—Mr. Barrington.—Lord Castlereagh.—Mr. Plunkett.—Observations.—Division.—Majority of one only for the ministry.—State of the public mind.—Report of the address.—Amendment moved.—Lord Castlereagh — Mr. Ponsonby—other members.—Mr. William Smith.—Mr. Egan.—Amendment carried.—Injudicious proceeding of Mr. Ponsonby.—His motion—reduced to writing.—Mr. Fortescue.— Motion withdrawn.—Popular feeling.—Proceedings in the English Parliament.—Message from the King.—Mr. Dundas moves an address.—Mr. Sheridan an amendment.—Mr. Canning.—Mr. Pitt.—Address carried. Mr. Pitt moves resolutions.—Mr. Sheridan counter-resolutions.—Lord Hawkesbury.—Dr. Laurence.—Mr. Sheridan's resolutions rejected.—He renews his motion.—Mr. St. John opposes the Speaker's leaving the chair.—Mr. Dundas.—Mr. Sheridan.—General Fitzpatrick.—Dr. Lawrence.—Committee formed.—Mr. Bankes.—Mr. Addington. Report brought up.—Mr. Hobhouse.—Resolutions com-

municated to the Lords.—Earl Fitzwilliam.—Earl of Camden.—Earl of Moira.—Earl of Camden.—Other peers.—Marquis of Lansdown.—Duke of Portland.—Resolutions agreed to.—Address.—Protests.

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1798.
Union of
Great Britain
and Ireland.

How rendered
necessary.

Objections
felt.

To the interesting proceedings in Parliament already recited, one remains to be added, of still greater national importance ; one which changed the frame and constitution of the representative body, and the political position of the most highly valued portion of the British dominions ; the legislative and incorporate union of Great Britain and Ireland.

A measure of this magnitude could not be effected, in kingdoms where freedom of discussion and publication was allowed, on a sudden, or without strenuous expressions of opposite opinions ; nor could it be expected that such opinions, considering recent events, would be expressed with unvarying temperance, or without vehement accusation and recrimination.

On many occasions, the inconvenience of a separate legislation, where there was an united interest, had been severely felt ; as in the instances of a short money bill in one country, while supplies were voted for a year in the other ; and the alarming crisis of the regency, in which, but for the providential recovery of the King, Ireland would have been governed under a system widely differing from that of Great Britain. But whatever ills may have been felt, or whatever inconveniences anticipated, it was a severe and grievous blow to that honest pride which ought ever to animate a community of free men, to find their state entirely altered, their independence and individuality surrendered, their peerage no longer to assemble in a firm and constitutional body, but to be represented by delegates in another assembly, of which they would only form a small proportion ; while the Commons, or people at large, instead of choosing an entire body, sitting under their sanction, pronouncing their will, and providing for their wants, were only to contribute a certain portion toward a legislature in which their influence might be little felt, their judgment overruled, and the

government and policy relating to their country entirely wrested from their grasp. To the majority of the people, these feelings were aggravated by the fact, that their capital would no longer be the seat of a government, that their parliament house would lose its quality and its name, and that Ireland, instead of being an independent, although inseparably connected kingdom, would be reduced to a mere province, distinguishable in name alone from any of the counties in England or Wales.

How these objections were advanced, and how answered, will be the subject of some ensuing pages; but the sentiment which they embraced was not confined to the higher, or diffused among the inferior classes alone; it was entertained by men in every degree of birth, learning, wealth, and influence, and resounded through the land in every possible mode of communication.

The opinion that an union of the two kingdoms would be highly beneficial and honourable to both, did not originate with the events of the present day; it had been promulgated from a very distant period, by writers of different parties and religious persuasions, by Whigs and Tories, Roman Catholics and Protestants*. In more recent times, it had been discussed, and supposed to be seriously contemplated by government†. In 1784, Dr. Watson, Bishop of Landaff, avowedly and somewhat ostentatiously a Whig, had earnestly recommended it to Mr. Pitt‡; and, in 1793, Dr. Duigenan, no less conspicuously an Anti-Romanist, had publicly avowed and patronized it in the Irish House of Commons§. It has therefore been most unjustly considered as an expedient, originating with the pressure of the moment, or as the constant aim of Mr. Pitt during the whole of his administration; as the origin of the commercial propositions; of the mission

Opinions in
favour of the
measure.

* See Historical Dissertation on the Irish Parliament, by Lord Mountnorris, 1795, *passim*, and particularly c. 4.

† See Letter from Dr. Franklin to his son, Governor Franklin, 1st Sept. 1773, Memoirs by his Grandson, vol. ii. p. 200.

‡ See Chalmers's edition of De Foe's History of the Union with Scotland, p. 82. Anecdotes of the Life of Richard Watson, vol. i. p. 212.

§ A fair Representation, &c. by Dr. Duigenan.

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First rumours.

October.

November 8.

Government pamphlet.

Answers.

and recall of Earl Fitzwilliam; the cause of the tardy opposition to the French invaders, and the spring of every other measure tending to put the government of England and Ireland in opposition to each other*.

When rumour first announced a projected union, the friends of government who were not entrusted with state secrets represented it as a plan to open afresh the sources of discontent; as the joint offspring of the old opposition and the United Irishmen. The Earl of Charlemont, when his health was failing, and his end evidently approaching, received it with alarm, sought an interview with the Lord Lieutenant, and, from his reserve, derived a conclusive confirmation of his fears†.

Explicit avowals were soon made, not publicly, but confidentially, and the matter was fairly and forcibly submitted to the opinion of the nation in a pamphlet, anonymous, as it appeared, but the well-known production of Edward Cooke, Esq. under secretary in the civil department, called "Arguments for and against an Union considered." A long and animated controversy ensued, in which the question was discussed in all its possible bearings‡; and the writers, who are said to have been, for the most part, members of the legal profession, treated copiously on the right or power of a Parliament, elected only for eight years, to do an act which should prevent the existence of any future Parliament; of the probable injury to the trade and manufactures of Ireland; and on the situation of the members of every form of religion, the rights of the

* Historical Memoirs of Ireland, by Sir Jonah Barrington, vol. ii. p. 285, et passim. Among other equally rash and unconsidered assertions, this author states (vol. i. p. xi. of the Introductory Observations) that "in 1799, Mr. Pitt "edited a new edition of Daniel De Foe's History of the Scottish Union (a most "partial production), in order to prepare the Irish people for a similar catastrophe." It is difficult to imagine how the learned author could be misled into so strange a statement. Mr. Pitt never edited any book. Mr. George Chalmers did indeed publish, in 1786, an edition of De Foe's History; and the Union was not then in direct contemplation. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Chalmers, if they united in this plot, must have been very shallow contrivers, if they supposed that "the "people of Ireland" could be much influenced by a thick quarto volume, of the price of thirty shillings, unenlivened by anecdotes, but filled chiefly with state papers, edicts, and debates.

† Hardy's Memoirs of the Earl of Charlemont, vol. ii. pp. 411 to 416. The Earl died in the month of August following.

‡ The number of publications is variously stated. Mr. Plowden (vol. ii. p. 818) says that, before the end of December 1798, there were no fewer than thirty. Other writers give a much larger number.

established church, the claims of the Catholics, tithes, and all other incidental matters.

Parties were speedily formed, with avowed leaders, to forward or to oppose the intended measure: the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Clare, was considered the head of the Unionists; and Mr. Foster, the Speaker of the House of Commons, who had always been a firm supporter of government, was now the declared leader of the adverse party, called Anti-unionists. As it was impossible that a measure of so great moment should be conducted by a divided cabinet, some dismissals necessarily took place; two of the principal were Sir John Parnell, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Fitzgerald, the Prime Serjeant.

In Dublin, a meeting was convened, on a requisition signed by a numerous body of barristers, among whom were fourteen King's counsel: the assemblage was very great; the speeches delivered were rather animated than profound; but it was resolved, by a large majority, that "the measure of a legislative union with Great Britain was an innovation which "it would be highly dangerous and improper to propose at the present juncture of the country."

This example was followed by the corporation of Dublin, who, at a post assembly, resolved "That, by "the spirited exertions of the people and Parliament "of Ireland, their trade and constitution were settled "on principles so liberal, that the nation had ever "since risen rapidly in wealth and consequence; and "that they would steadily oppose any attempt to sur "render their free legislation by uniting it with the "legislature of Great Britain."

On the following day, a meeting of merchants and bankers, over whom the Lord Mayor presided, expressed sentiments of similar import. Meetings were advertised of counties, baronies, parishes, and all forms of incorporation, except those which received their denomination from differences in religion; all sects, for this occasion, joined indiscriminately in the common cause. Among the resolutions most noticed for strength of language, are those of the counties of West-

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Parties formed

Dismissals
from office.

December 9.
Meeting of
barristers,

their resolu
tions.

December 17.
Resolutions of
the corpora
tion of Dublin.

18th.
Other
meetings.

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1799.
January 22.
Meeting of
Parliament.Speech of the
Lord Lieute-
nant.Address in the
Lords.

Protest.

Debate in the
Commons.Sir John
Parnell.

meath, Galway, and Louth. The freeholders of the county of Dublin strongly expressed their opinion; and the fellows and students in the University united in requesting their representatives in Parliament firmly to oppose the obnoxious measure*.

When the Irish Parliament assembled, the Lord Lieutenant, in his speech, said, “The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention; and his Majesty commands me to express his anxious hope, that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the Parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire.”

In the House of Lords, three amendments to the address were moved: the divisions were highly in favour of government†; but fourteen peers, among whom were the Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Charlemont, and the Bishop of Down and Connor, joined in a protest.

Lord Tyrone, eldest son of the Marquis of Waterford, proposed the address in the Commons, and declared his intention to move for a call of the house. He was seconded by Colonel Fitzgerald. The debate was highly animated—in some portions, violent. Sir John Parnell observed that, as the speech did not avow the measure of a legislative union, nor distinctly recommend it to consideration, a discussion of it might have been unnecessary; but as it had been publicly avowed, and introduced by a side-wind into the speech, he should oppose it in limine.

* From Plowden, vol. ii. pp. 821 et seqq. Much lively anecdote and pointed, if not always just, delineation of character, are also to be found in Barrington, vol. ii. pp. 286 et seqq.

† 46 to 19, and 49 to 16. 166 to 32.

Lord Castlereagh destroyed this supposed ambiguity, by an avowal that, although there were not in the address any specific pledge to the measure, it was clearly implied in the wish to strengthen the resources of the empire; and as it afforded the only means of settling their unhappy country in permanent tranquillity and connexion with Britain, he did intend, at an early day, to submit to the House a specific motion.

Sir John Parnell strongly distinguished the present state of Ireland from that of Scotland at the period of the Union; and Mr. George Ponsonby insisted that neither the legislature nor any power on earth had a right or authority, by annihilating the Irish Parliament, to deprive the people for ever of their claim to the benefits of the constitution and their civil liberty. They had been required to discuss the measure with coolness; but when the minister himself would not leave men to the free exercise of their understanding, but turned out of office the best and oldest servants of the Crown, because they would not prostitute their conscience, how could he talk of cool discussion? He moved, as an amendment, an addition to the profession of the House's willingness to consider of measures to confirm the common strength of the empire, the words, "maintaining, however, the undoubted birthright of the people to a resident and independent legislature, "as was recognized by the British Parliament, and in "1782 finally settled as the adjustment of all differences."

Mr. Fitzgerald, late Prime Serjeant, observed that, unless the amendment was carried, he feared this would be the last time of his addressing an Irish Parliament; for although the pageantry and ceremony of its funeral might take up some time, and give opportunities for lamentation, yet the character of Parliament would be extinguished: and character was a Phoenix which died but once, and from its ashes there was no resurrection. On the authority of Mr. Burke, he maintained that the House of Lords was not competent to dissolve the House of Commons, nor even to dissolve itself; that a king might abdicate for his own

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Lord Castle-
reagh.Mr. George
Ponsonby.Moves an
amendment.

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Mr. Barrington.

person, but not for the monarchy: and by as strong, or by a stronger reason, the House of Commons could not renounce its share of authority. It was not within the moral competence of Parliament to destroy and extinguish itself, and with it the rights and liberties of those who created it.

In the course of the debate, Mr. Barrington, Judge of the Admiralty*, uttered, avowedly in a state of the greatest agitation, a fierce invective against the union. He had heard of calm and dispassionate discussion; it was the language of a slave: he who could reflect on the annihilation of his country with apathy, must be less than man, or more than mortal. Ireland had not fair play; her Parliament had not fair play; and he had good reason to believe that corrupt and unconstitutional means had been used by the noble lord to influence individuals of that Parliament.

Mr. Barrington being, at this point, called to order, with a request that his words might be taken down, Mr. Plunkett rose and reiterated them, declaring his determination to use language still stronger.

Mr. Barrington then repeated the offensive expression, ascribing the dismissal of Sir John Parnell and Mr. Fitzgerald to their having presumed to hint an opinion adverse to the stripling's dictates. Other gentlemen in office, notwithstanding their real opinions, were dragged to the altar of pollution, and forced, in obedience to their necessities, to vote against their country. If the executive power had thus overstepped its bounds, the people were warranted in doing the same: between both, the constitution might be annihilated. If Mr. Pitt were to propose to reduce the British Parliament to two hundred commoners and sixty lords, and send them over to legislate in Dublin for the good of the empire, that would not be an union, but a revolution.

Scotland, after two rebellions, had submitted to her union: Ireland had risen more in ten years by her independence, than Scotland in a hundred by her subjection.

* The author already quoted.

" Great Britain has nothing to give," he said, " which can compensate the loss of independence : we ask no favour from her, and we will submit to no injury ; we will unite with her as a friend and as a sister in the common cause ; our lives and our properties shall be united with her in support of our King and our constitution ; we will rise and fall with her ; but we will not submit to be ruled by a British faction, and plundered by a British minister, to satisfy the avarice or the jealousy of those persons to whose confidence and liberality he owes his gratitude, and which he can only repay by heaping burdens upon Ireland."

Lord Castlereagh, the only member who attempted a detailed speech on the side of government, said that, amidst much heated declamation, he had heard very little sound reasoning. The imputations against his side of the house might have been retorted, but for the interference of more refined manners. It was the misfortune of the country to have in it no fixed principles on which the human mind could rest, no standard to which its different prejudices could be accommodated. What was the price of connexion at present with Great Britain ? A military establishment far beyond their natural means of support, and for which they were indebted to Great Britain, which was also obliged to guarantee their public loans. The country could not be saved by flattery ; truth, however disagreeable, must be told ; and if Ireland did not boldly look her situation in the face, and accept that union which would strengthen and secure her, she would perhaps have no alternative but to sink into the embrace of French fraternity. " Incorporate with Great Britain," he said, " and you have a common interest and common means. If Great Britain calls for your subjection, resist it ; but if she wishes to unite with you on terms of equality, it is madness not to accept the offer." With a local legislature and the present division of the people, Ireland could not go on. Absentees would be somewhat increased, no doubt, by an union ; but a compensation would

Lord Castle-reagh.

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Mr. Plunkett.

be found in the growth of an intermediate class between the landlord and the peasant, which would come over from England to train the mind of the lower people, bringing with them commercial capital.

Mr. Plunkett, in a speech still more vehement than those which had preceded, said, “The freedom of discussion, which has taken place on this side of the house, has, it seems, given great offence to gentlemen on the treasury bench; they are men of nice and punctilious honour, and will not endure any thing implying a reflection on their untainted virgin integrity. They threatened to take down the words of an honourable gentleman, because they contained an insinuation; and as I then promised to indulge their fancy to the top of its bent, I will not insinuate, but directly assert, that, base and wicked as is the object proposed, the means used to effect it have been more flagitious and abominable! Do you choose to take down my words? Do you dare me to the proof? I had been induced to think that we had, at the head of our executive government, a plain, honest soldier, unaccustomed to, and disdaining, the intrigues of politics, and who, as an additional evidence of the directness and purity of his views, had chosen for his secretary a simple and modest youth (*ingenui vultus puer ingenuique pudoris*), whose experience was the voucher of his innocence; and yet I will be bold to say, that, during the viceroyalty of this unspotted veteran, and during the administration of this unassuming stripling,—within these last six weeks,—a system of black corruption has been carried on within the walls of the Castle, which would disgrace the annals of the worst period of the history of either country. The noble lord has shewn much surprise that a doubt should be expressed of the competence of Parliament to do this act. In the most express terms, I deny their competency. I warn you, do not dare to lay your hand on the constitution. If you pass this act, it will be a mere nullity, and no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it. We are told to discuss this question with calm-

“ ness and composure ; I am called upon to surrender
“ my birthright and my honour, and I am required to
“ be calm and composed. National pride ! independ-
“ ence of our country ! these, we are told, are vulgar
“ topics, fitted only for the meridian of a mob, but un-
“ worthy to be mentioned in this enlightened assembly ;
“ they are trinkets and gewgaws, fit to catch the fancy
“ of childish and unthinking people, but utterly un-
“ worthy the consideration of this House, or the ma-
“ tured understanding of the noble lord who conde-
“ scends to instruct it.” In conclusion, he said, “ I
“ thank administration for this measure : they are,
“ without intending it, putting an end to our dissen-
“ sions ; not by fomenting the embers of a lingering
“ and subdued rebellion—not by hallooing on the
“ Protestant against the Catholic, and the Catholic
“ against the Protestant—not by committing the north
“ against the south—not by inconsistent appeals to
“ local or party prejudices—no ; but by the avowal of
“ this atrocious conspiracy against the liberties of Ire-
“ land they have subdued every petty feeling and sub-
“ ordinate distinction ; they have united every rank
“ and description of men by the pressure of this grand
“ and momentous subject ; and they will see every
“ honest and independent man in Ireland rally round
“ her constitution, and merge every other considera-
“ tion in his opposition to this ungenerous and odious
“ measure. For my own part, I will resist it to the
“ last gasp of my existence, and with the last drop of
“ my blood ; and when I feel the hour of my dissolu-
“ tion approaching, I will, like the father of Hannibal,
“ take my children to the altar, and swear them to
“ eternal hostility against the invaders of their country’s
“ freedom.”

To arguments like these, in which reason was so Observations. much blended with passion, the supporters of govern-
ment could offer but little effectual resistance. The
details of their supposed plan were exhibited and as-
sailed with unsparing fury, while they, having as yet
no authority to propose any specific measure, could
not vindicate a plan which existed only in intention ;

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they could not admit that their opponents had accurately defined their plans, nor could they, as the matters suggested were in general accurate, deny or recede from them. They could only deprecate haste and prejudice, implore a fair hearing and patient investigation, and assert the moderation of their views and the integrity of their principles. Such a course of conduct in a government is more calculated to invite attack than to conciliate favour, and this effect was abundantly produced.

A great number of members addressed the chair, the greater portion of whom, in deprecating the union, spoke in terms, if not equally eloquent, at least equally vituperative, with those already cited, sparing neither the cabinet nor the Lord Lieutenant. One member in particular, Colonel O'Donnel, disclaimed his allegiance if an union were effected: he held it as a revolution, to be opposed by every loyalist, and avowed that he would take the field at the head of his regiment to prevent its execution, and would resist rebels in rich clothes, as he had the rebels in rags. He would either live free, or fall by the *cut-sabre* of some Hessian sabre, or other foreign mercenary.

Division.

'A division took place at eleven o'clock in the morning, after a sitting of twenty-two hours, when the ministry found that they had a majority of one only*. Even this discreditable superiority would not have been attained, but for the unaccountable conduct of Mr. French, member for Woodlaw. In an early period of the debate, he declared he should vote for the amendment; but afterward he said, that as he now found that such a course would prevent further discussion, he should give his support to the address†.

24th.
State of the
public mind.

Although the discussion had continued to so late an hour, it was renewed with increased energy and acrimony at five o'clock in the evening, when the report of the address was brought up. The fermenta-

* 106 to 105.

† Although he intrenched himself in a classical quotation, the honourable member's conduct was exposed to severe attacks, and his motives were most unfavourably represented. Barrington's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 295. The same author mentions another tergiversation, but not so conspicuous.

1799.

Report of the
address.

tion of the public mind was excessive ; the avenues to the House were densely crowded, and clamorous expressions of exultation at the strength of opposition were mixed with reproaches and insults toward those who were known to favour the union. The portions of the House allotted to strangers were similarly thronged, and ladies of rank and fashion formed no inconsiderable portion of the audience.

In point of argument, the debate would be little distinguished from that of the preceding evening ; in personal defiance and contemptuous virulence it may be said even to have surpassed it. An amendment, moved by Mr. George Ponsonby, proposed the exclusion of a paragraph, which, in conformity with the language of the speech, pledged the House to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to the common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire. The great efforts of the anti-unionists were directed against Lord Castlereagh, who was equally assailed in his political and personal character.

That nobleman made a speech, not untainted with the qualities which distinguished those of his opponents. After some observations on the particular points urged against the measure, he noticed the manner in which the opposing party had been formed, and their course of proceeding. " If Ireland," he said, " were to be governed by combination, it was brought to absolute ruin. If the minister must retain persons hostile to his measures, because such was the will of a faction, the constitutional power of the Crown, and with it the constitution itself, was at an end. What kind of an opposition had been arrayed against the measure ? Some of the very men who, by attempting to degrade and vilify Parliament, had given a pretext to traitors and rebels. What were the last words of the person now most forward, upon his ceding from the House ? ' That the Parliament was so lost to every constitutional principle, that he was

Lord Castle-
reagh.

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" ' ashamed to continue to sit in it ;' and he therefore abandoned his duty. What was the last effort of his public life ? To assimilate the Parliament of Ireland to the government of France ; to carve out the country into French departments, and, by a system of representation which had destroyed France, to introduce anarchy and massacre ! " He spoke also with great severity on the conduct of the bar, using, in the course of his speech, the term *pettifogger*, and animadverted on the past life and present motives of Mr. Ponsonby. Insinuations of a general nature had been advanced that ministry had employed illicit means to secure support. He passed them by, as they deserved, with contempt. But he had also heard particular circumstances mentioned as facts, of so base and false a tenor, that he would trace them to the individual, be he whom he might, from whom they originated, and force him to make a public disavowal.

Mr. Ponsonby

Mr. Ponsonby, with the impenetrable coolness which gives to a veteran, experienced in the arts of hostile debate, so much advantage over impetuous youth, made a forcible reply. " Were the country gentlemen of Ireland," he asked, " tame enough to bear the imputation of being tools—instruments, used by a few factious men for the worst of purposes ? Would they submit to such a declaration from a young man, who had nothing to shield him from their contempt, but the office which he abused ? He had said he would not now press the measure, but would never lose sight of it. No thanks to him for not pressing it now ; for he could not carry it : the thanks were due to the virtue and spirit which had appeared both in and out of Parliament."

Other members.

Several members made a spirited vindication of the bar ; and Lord Castlereagh, while he declared that nothing was further from his intention than to throw any aspersion on the profession, apologized for having used the word *pettifogger* ; it was a vulgarism, of which he was heartily ashamed.

Mr. William Smith.

Mr. William Smith resisted the amendment in an able, argumentative, and temperate speech. He con-

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tended that the operation of the union would be to fortify the empire, and eradicate the seeds of separation. "That we sacrifice a portion of our national "splendour," he said, "I admit, and make the sacrifice with regret; I allow for, I almost rejoice and "triumph at, the repugnance with which this measure is at first received: I agree with those who consider national pride and honour as some security for "national valour, liberty, and virtue. But let us look "to our country, torn with conflicts and stained with "blood; let us turn our eyes inwards to the traitors "and separatists who swarm among us; let us contemplate the state of Europe, and of the world, and "then enquire whether it may not be expedient to "sacrifice somewhat of our dignity, and exchange our "situation for one which will secure and strengthen "our connexion with Great Britain." He treated at length on the Roman Catholic body, their situation, their numbers, their demands, and the reasonable expectation that, should an union be effected, they might indulge the honest pride of feeling themselves on a par with their Protestant brethren, possessing capacity for an equal share, not only in the benefits, but in the honours of the constitution; whilst, on the other hand, the Protestant body, superior in number, and consequently possessed of the greater portion of those capacities, would obtain complete security for their religion, without wounding, degrading, and alienating the Catholic subject. After the union, the great mass of the united legislature would be Protestant. How impotent, then, would be the anti-supremacy of a Catholic minority! Union, then, might improve the Catholics' views, without alarming the Protestants, by rendering their importance quite compatible with the safety of the established church.

To this speech, Mr. Egan, a barrister, made an answer, in which burlesque and ridicule were much more prominent than reason or argument. A division was expected with great anxiety, and, after a few more speeches, it took place, to the disadvantage of govern-

Mr. Egan.

Amendment
carried.

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ment, their former inglorious majority of one being changed to a minority of five*.

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Injudicious
proceeding of
Mr. Ponsonby:

Had the contest been permitted thus to terminate, the triumph of the anti-unionists would have been without alloy ; but their great leader, Mr. Ponsonby, threw away much of the advantage of victory, by endeavouring to press it too far. After the declaration of the numbers on each side, members were preparing to withdraw, when he requested a delay of a few minutes, for a business of the utmost importance. After congratulating the House and the country on the honest and patriotic assertion of their liberties, he declared that he considered there would be no security against future attempts to overthrow their independence, but by a direct and absolute declaration of the rights of Irishmen, recorded on their journals as the decided sense of the people through their Parliament ; and therefore moved, "That this House will ever " maintain the undoubted birthright of Irishmen, by " preserving an independent Parliament of resident " Lords and Commons, as stated and approved by his " Majesty and the British Parliament in 1782." Lord Castlereagh protested against the dangerous tendency of the motion, but, hopeless of success, offered no direct opposition ; and, on the question being put, none pronounced a negative but the noble Secretary and Mr. Toler. Doubtful of the exact terms, the Speaker requested that the proposition might be reduced to writing. Being thus authenticated, it was, according to the usage of the Irish Parliament, read twice from the chair, with appearance of general acquiescence, when Mr. William Charles Fortescue, member for Louth, requested to be heard.

His motion.
Reduced to
writing.

Observations
of Mr. For-
tescue

He said that he was adverse to the measure of a legislative union, and had voted against it ; but he did not wish to bind himself for ever : future circumstances might render that measure expedient ; and he would not for ever close the doors against future discussion. This opinion was adopted by Mr. French,

* The numbers were 111 to 106.

of Roscommon, Lord Cole, and Mr. John Beresford, who all had voted against the minister. Mr. Ponsonby felt his critical situation ; the majority of five diminished by three would have given a majority to government ; and, with a somewhat awkward apology, he withdrew his motion*.

By the public, the division was hailed with boundless exultation. The Speaker was drawn to his house by the populace ; acclamations and marks of esteem were showered on the prevailing party, while their opponents were pursued with yells, execrations, and menaces ; printed lists of the voters were circulated gratis, in order, as the superscription imported, that the people might know their glorious and virtuous defenders, that every honest man might engrave their names and their services on his heart, and hand them down to his children's children.

On the same day that the debates began on the address in the Irish Parliament, the King sent a message to both Houses in England, recommending, in the same words which were employed by the Lord Lieutenant, the consideration of the best means of consolidating the strength, power, and resources of the whole empire.

Mr. Dundas, having presented, sealed up, copies and extracts of papers, relative to proceedings of persons and societies in Great Britain and Ireland, engaged in a treasonable conspiracy for effecting the separation of the two kingdoms, simply moved an address of thanks, stating that the House would take the subject into serious consideration.

Mr. Sheridan said that, at a period not very distant, a solemn, intire, and final adjustment had taken place between Great Britain and Ireland, and it was incumbent on those who advanced a new proposal, to shew that the last had not answered the intended purposes. He believed that ministers considered the intended measure to be for the real interests of Ireland, and of the empire ; that they pressed it, in order to continue a connexion which he, as well as they, deemed essen-

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Motion
withdrawn.Popular
feeling.January 22.
Proceedings
in the English
Parliament.
Message from
the King.23rd.
House of
Commons.Mr. Dundas
moves an
address.Mr. Sheridan
moves an
amendment.

* This last account is abridged from Barrington's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 313.

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tial to the prosperity and to the existence of both countries; and he claimed it equally from their justice to believe, that he was as little likely as themselves to promote any thing by which the connexion could be impaired, or encourage those who would unite Ireland in a fatal alliance with our cruel and rapacious foe.

He should propose an amendment, not with a view to exclude discussion, but to prevent the attempt from being prosecuted in the present situation of affairs. Separation, he said, would be ruin to both countries, ruin more or less rapid; but a connexion of Ireland with France was the worst alternative that could be supposed, and pregnant with immediate destruction. Still, an union, at present, without the unequivocal sense of the Irish people in its favour, an union effected by fraud, by intrigue, by corruption, by intimidation, would ultimately tend to endanger the connexion between the two countries. In any future rebellion, its promoters would have pretences of much more colour and plausibility than the last: the recovery of independence and of separate existence, taken from them without their consent. The last insurrection was supported partly by the Catholic, partly by the Presbyterian, partly by the wild republican; but the cause of a future insurrection would address itself equally to all. Great impolicy had marked the conduct of this country to Ireland for three centuries; and when at last she had wrung from our tardy justice those rights which it was a shame for England to withhold, was it not incredible that in sixteen years she should be called upon to resign that Parliament to which she was indebted for their attainment? His amendment expressed the surprise and deep regret of the House that the final adjustment of 1782 had not produced the expected effects, and implored his Majesty not to listen to the counsels of those who should advise or promote an union at the present crisis, and under the present circumstances.

Mr. Canning.

Mr. Canning, in opposing this amendment, referred to the journals in 1782, to shew that, although, in the particular resolutions on which Mr. Sheridan had re-

lied, the words “final adjustment” were used, yet those resolutions were followed by another evidently of a prospective nature, declaring the necessity of establishing some more permanent system, by which alone the tranquillity and prosperity of Ireland could remain uninterrupted and continue to be improved.

He took an ample review of the state of Ireland, and, on the subject of the Catholics, cited the conflicting opinions of the parties themselves on the propriety or expediency of bestowing or withholding further concessions, while Ireland continued separate from Great Britain. On the Protestant side, he quoted Dr. Duigenan, who, in his answer to Mr. Grattan, gave the most complete statement of the causes and nature of the present distractions, and most completely demolished his antagonist. That learned author considered, as an unavoidable alternative, that a plan of union must be adopted, or some other devised, to strengthen the Protestant ascendancy. The Catholic party, on the contrary, contended for an union, or a continued struggle for a repeal of the remainder of the penal code. Thus two opposed parties agreed in one common opinion. If any middle term could be found to assuage their animosities, to heal their discords, and reconcile their jarring interests, it should be eagerly and instantly seized and applied. That an union was that middle term, appeared the more probable, when it was recollect ed that the Popery code took its rise after a proposal for an union, proceeding from Ireland, had been rejected by the British government.

To shew that the present was the fit time for considering the question, he examined the late transactions, particularly the rebellion, and the unextinguished desire of France to separate Ireland from this country and annex it to their own. The moral influence of the French revolution was not likely soon to pass away. Even were peace restored, and the kingdoms, or even the states which it had torn up by the roots, replaced in their former political situation, latent mischief, the principle of future convulsion, would remain; and no country was more adapted to

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receive, to cherish, and to mature principles calculated to array the physical force of the lower orders against the educated; to arm poverty against property, labour against privilege, and each class of life against its superior, than that, where the inhabitants were in general poor and uncivilized, and where religious distinctions so extensively prevailed. With equal force of argument and ridicule, he assailed the complaints of undue influence, and explained particularly the case of Sir John Parnell. Finally, he invoked the benevolent feelings of the House for the distractions and disquietudes of a country which the ties of nature, of friendship, of common language, manners, and interests, of similar laws and constitutions, bind so indissolubly to ourselves, that separation would be destruction to each and to both.

Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt stated the question to be, whether, when his Majesty recommended an important subject to the consideration of the House, they should accord in that request, or adopt an amendment declaring that they would not deliberate. He asserted, in contradiction to Mr. Sheridan, the power of Parliament to discuss and to decide on the question, and referred more amply than Mr. Canning to the resolutions of 1782.

Address
carried.

The amendment was negatived, and the address carried without a division.

31st.
Mr. Pitt moves
resolutions.

Notwithstanding the transactions in the Irish House of Commons, Mr. Pitt pursued his original intention. He had hoped, he said, for a different result; but although there was no chance, while that body maintained their present opinions, that his propositions would be adopted, he felt only that it was the more necessary distinctly to explain the principles of the measure, and its claims to approbation. It was founded on such clear, such demonstrable grounds of utility to the whole empire, and fraught with such peculiar advantages to Ireland, that, when the whole plan should be distinctly, temperately, and fully shewn to the Parliament of Ireland, it would be sanctioned by their unprejudiced, dispassionate, sober judgment.

In stating the general ground of a series of resolutions to be discussed in a committee, he assumed as a conceded principle, that a perpetual connexion between Great Britain and Ireland was essential to the interests of both. The resolutions of 1782 were not a final adjustment; on the contrary, an address was presented to his Majesty, praying him to take further measures to strengthen the connexion between the two countries; his answer, echoing the very words of the address, was delivered to the House by Mr. Fox, and measures had been meditated, but never produced.

After noticing the opinions of Mr. Foster, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, on occasion of the commercial propositions, and the contrary decisions of the two legislatures on the regency question, Mr. Pitt dilated on the bad effects of adverse determinations in case of war. “If, when the Parliament of Great Britain considered the present war to be just and necessary, that of Ireland had voted it unjust, unnecessary, extravagant, and hostile to the principles of humanity and freedom, would that Parliament have been bound by this? If not, what security was there that, at a moment the most important to our common interest and common salvation, the two kingdoms should have but one friend and one foe? Ireland was the point in which the enemy considered us the most assailable. Were we not then bound in policy and prudence to strengthen that vulnerable point, involved as we were in a contest of liberty against despotism; of property against plunder and rapine; of religion and order against impiety and anarchy? There was a time when this would have been termed declamation; but, unfortunately, long and bitter experience had taught us to feel it only as the feeble and imperfect representation of those calamities (the result of French principles and arms) every day attested by the wounds of a bleeding world.”

Religious differences was a dangerous and delicate topic, especially where the property of country was in the hands of a comparatively small number professing

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the established faith, while the religion of a great majority was different. By many it would be contend-ed, that the religion professed by the majority would, at least, be intitled to an equality of privileges ; but no man could say that, in the present state of things, and while Ireland remained a separate kingdom, full concessions could be made to the Catholics, without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution to its centre. Without anticipating discussion, or saying how soon it might be fit to agitate the question, two propositions were indisputable : first, when the con-duct of the Catholics should make it safe to admit them to the same privileges with those of the estab-lished religion, and when the temper of the times should be favourable to such a measure, it might be treated in an united, imperial parliament with much greater safety than in a separate legislature. Secondly, that, for whatever period it might be thought neces-sary, after the union, to withhold from the Catholics the enjoyment of those advantages, many objections would be removed, if the Protestant legislature were no longer separate and local, but general and imperial ; and the Catholics themselves would at once feel a mitigation of the most goading and irritating of their present causes of complaint. Questions of tithes, and of adequate provision for the Catholic clergy, with other subordinate points, were more likely to be per-manently and satisfactorily adjusted in an united legis-lature, than by any local arrangements.

As advantages accruing to Ireland from the union, he enumerated protection in the hour of danger ; the means of increasing her commerce and improving her agriculture ; the command of English capital ; the in-fusion of English manners and English industry : these would ameliorate her condition, accelerate the progress of internal civilization, and terminate those feuds and dissensions which distracted the country. The avenue to honours, distinctions, and exalted situations, would be opened to all ; and to these benefits he would add, the preservation of all the blessings arising from the British constitution, which were inseparable from her

connexion with Great Britain ; those blessings, of which it had long been the aim of France, in conjunction with domestic traitors, to deprive her, and on their ruins to establish (with all its attendant miseries and horrors) a Jacobin republic, founded on French influence, and existing only in subserviency to France.

Having dilated at great length, and with his usual force, on these various points, the minister submitted to the House a series of resolutions for consolidating the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, by forming the two countries into one kingdom, under the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and pointing out particular measures as to representation, religion, commerce, and navigation, finance and jurisprudence.

Mr. Sheridan, while he acknowledged the eloquence of the minister, attributed his perseverance, after the decision of the House of Commons in Ireland, to pride and presumption.

Mr. Sheridan.

"As to the power of Ireland to defend herself "against her powerful enemies," Mr. Sheridan said, "does not the right honourable gentleman know that "her volunteers have defended Ireland ? that they "were equal to that task during the American war, "when the enemy rode triumphant on their coasts and "in our channel ? but it was a most cruel taunt to say, "that, while we have forty thousand British troops in "the heart of their country, we will awe them by the "presence of such a force ; to reproach them with "weakness, while we have had two hundred thousand "of their people to support us in the war, while one "hundred thousand fighting men of their nation have "fallen in our battles in the West Indies and else- "where.

"Time was demanded for the people to examine "the measure, for their heats to subside, for a fair and "deliberate discussion of it by the two Parliaments. "This only meant that time should be allowed for the "operation of corruption ; time to intimidate the "people ; time for the peremptory dismissal of the "opposers of the measure ; time for the dissolution of

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“Parliament.” In a shameful manner had Lord Fitzwilliam been recalled from Ireland, at a moment when he was supposed to have been sent over to grant to the Roman Catholics their rights and privileges. The cup of concession just presented to their lips, was dashed in their faces before they were permitted to taste it. The division in the Irish House of Commons, close as it was, afforded no proof in support of the measure; they who divided in its favour being, for the most part, under the influence of government. The people of Cork and Limerick alone had expressed themselves favourably to the union; Cork, allured by the expectation of a dock-yard, and Limerick menaced with a privation of some of the means by which she carried on her linen trade. He treated as bribes the inducements held out to the Roman Catholics: a diminution of tithes, and an establishment for their clergy. If right, these concessions ought to be made whether an union should take place or be refused, but ought not to be converted into bribes and barter, to win the affections and confidence of the people.

After some further observations on the union with Scotland, which, he contended, afforded no parallel to the present case, and the outcry against French principles and Jacobinism, he moved resolutions disapproving measures which had not for their basis the manifest, fair, and free consent and approbation of both Parliaments, and denouncing those who should endeavour to obtain the appearance of such consent and approbation by influence of government, corruption or intimidation, as enemies to his Majesty and to the constitution.

Lord
Hawkesbury.

Lord Hawkesbury repelled many of Mr. Sheridan’s observations and assertions, and generally enforced the arguments in favour of the measure.

Dr. Laurence.

Dr. Laurence observed that on the resolutions in 1782, so confidently cited as supplying an argument in favour of ministers, he had received an explanation from his illustrious friend, Mr. Burke, who, to the last moment of his existence, regretted that he had not opposed the recognition of Irish independence, with-

1799.

out that clear exposition, which he believed the succeeding resolution to have meant, of the new relative situation of the two countries; yet, far from contemplating any such measure as the present, he considered that they had now grown up, under circumstances which did not admit of such an incorporation. He desired that the connexion of the sister kingdoms should be reduced to a positive compact; that the manner should be explicitly defined in which Ireland, with the entire and absolute power of local legislation, should be bound, on imperial questions of peace and war, to stand or fall with the fortunes of Great Britain.

Mr. Sheridan's resolutions were rejected by a majority of nearly ten to one*.

Notwithstanding the unfavourable shew on this division, Mr. Sheridan, on the first opportunity, reproduced his motion in almost the same words. He was supported by Mr. Grey, and very shortly answered by Mr. Pitt. The principal novelty in the debate was a parallel, rather witty and fanciful than convincing or correct, which the honourable mover drew between the British government and the United Irishmen, tending to shew that both ascribed all the evils of the country to its Parliament, and were desirous to destroy it, with the constitution. The only difference between them was, that the United Irishmen, conceiving their Parliament to be the mere tools of England, were for deposing it, and setting up a republican form of government, with foreign assistance; while the right honourable gentleman desired to merge the Irish representation into that of England.

A motion to proceed on the order of the day, produced a division, in which the majority was still very great†; but Mr. St. John resisted the consequent proposition that the Speaker should leave the chair. He was supported by Mr. Grey, who, in an able speech, recapitulated the former objections to the measure, explained the resolutions of 1782, vindicated the consistency of Mr. Foster, and censured the agitation of this momentous question at the present period. It

February 7.
Mr. Sheridan
renews his
motion.

Mr. St. John.

Mr. Grey.

* 140 to 15.

† 141 to 45.

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was discussing a bargain which the minister had not the power to conclude, and on which one of the parties, whose consent was absolutely necessary, had distinctly declined listening, even to the preliminary proposal. He most heartily wished for an union, not of Parliaments, but of hearts, affections, and interests; of vigour, ardour, and zeal for the general welfare. The present measure, with the name only of union, would tend to disunite; to create disaffection, distrust, and jealousy; to weaken the whole of the British empire. Discontent, distrust, jealousy, suspicion, were already its visible fruits in Ireland. "If you persist," he proceeded, "resentment will follow; and although you "should be able, which I doubt, to obtain a seeming "consent of the Parliament of Ireland, yet the people "will wait for an opportunity of recovering their "rights."

Mr. Dundas.

Mr. Dundas ably vindicated the proceeding of government, and answered the objections of opposition. The great strength of his speech lay in a luminous display of the circumstances under which the union between England and Scotland had been effected, proving that, while the political interests and rights of his native country had always been adequately maintained by her representation in Parliament; her agriculture, commercial and social condition, had been benefited, to the utter discredit of the prophets of evil, and to the entire satisfaction of all her real friends. On this point, he quoted a letter from Queen Anne to the Scottish Parliament, prognosticating, in terms which had been fully verified, the benefits which would result from the measure*.

11th.
Mr. Sheridan.

Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Windham, and some other members, continued the debate; and the House divided†, but too late to admit of further progress.

In order to prevent or delay the examination of Mr. Pitt's resolutions in a committee, Mr. Sheridan,

* An abridgment or analysis can give no adequate notion of this speech, which occupied two hours and twenty minutes in the delivery; it should be read, and it well repays the effort. See Parliamentary History, vol. xxxiv. p. 345; and a separate publication of it by Wright, 1799.

† For the Speaker's leaving the chair, 149; against, 24.

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moved that they should be instructed to consider how far the abolition of civil incapacities, on account of religious distinctions, throughout his Majesty's dominions, would be consistent with justice and policy, and conducive to the consolidation of the strength of the British empire ; but, after a short debate, this motion was negatived without a division.

General Fitzpatrick then adverted to the adjustment in 1782, in which he had been officially employed ; and the evening was occupied in a debate, principally on the question, whether or not the Parliaments of both countries could give effect to a legislative union ; but more especially on the impropriety of pressing the measure in England, while it was so decidedly rejected in Ireland. On these points, Mr. Ryder, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Perceval, Mr. Sylvester Douglas, and several other members, were heard on each side. Dr. Laurence particularly distinguished himself by a speech of profound argumentation, in which he opposed the union, without disguising the dangers of Ireland, arising more from the intrigues than the military power of the enemy. The original motion was carried on a division*.

General
Fitzpatrick.

Dr. Laurenc

12th.
Committee
formed.

After a short-lived attempt at delay, illuminated by a witty speech of Mr. Sheridan, who described the ministers as endeavouring to abridge debate by muzzling his majority, the House resolved itself into a committee, Mr. Sylvester Douglas in the chair.

Mr. Bankes began the debate, contending that Ireland was not in a condition to coalesce and unite with this country, from the state of her religious discords and political feuds, originating in the prevalence of English faction and influence. The Catholics of Ireland might hope hereafter to see a reformation in the representation of Parliament, and through that medium looked to a participation of honours and emoluments, or, at least, to an alleviation of their burdens ; but if the measure of union took place, all those hopes must be cut off ; as, by the United Parliament, the door of redress must ever be shut upon them, especially as

Mr. Bankes.

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a test was one point to be established. He had the authority of the committee of the Irish Parliament for stating that the Roman Catholic priests were the most active instruments of the late rebellion. Notwithstanding the conduct of the French to the Pope, and to all religions, particularly the Catholic, these priests were so inveterate in their animosity to British connexion, that they were ready to promote the views of France for its destruction. It was not religion then, but dislike of the English name, by which they were actuated. He had opposed the proposition formerly made for infusing, as it was called, fresh blood into the veins of the constitution, by the addition of the new knights chosen from the counties of England; but the admission of a still greater number, taken from among those who constituted the Irish Parliament, could tend only to render our House of Commons tumultuous and disorderly.

Mr. Addington

Mr. Addington, in a speech replete with political wisdom and historical information, supported the resolutions. The legislature of Ireland, he said, was not adequate to the redress of all grievances. There were radical and inherent evils, closely interwoven with the state and condition of the country, and with the temper, the feelings, and the prejudices of the great body of the people, which an incorporation of the two legislatures could alone effectually remove. The state of Ireland had, at no period, been such as to afford satisfaction to any reflecting mind. The bounty of Providence had been displayed in a fertile soil, in abundant means of internal improvement and prosperity; its inhabitants had not been less distinguished than those of Great Britain in corresponding stations of life, for eloquence, for literary and scientific acquirements, and for those talents and exertions which had established the naval and military renown of the British empire. Their form of government was the same as our own; but it wanted its true characteristics; it did not, like ours, bestow and receive general confidence and protection; for it was not, like ours, connected by ties which he trusted were here indissoluble—the obvious

interests, the feelings, and the sentiments of the great body of the people. To account for a perpetually prevailing animosity, it might be sufficient to state, that a large majority of the people were Catholics, and that four-fifths of the property was in the hands of the Protestants, who were alone legally competent to hold the high offices of state, and perform the functions of legislation. Hereditary feelings and resentments had, besides, contributed to keep these elements of internal discord in almost constant agitation. The confiscations after the suppression of Lord Mountjoy's rebellion; the creation of numerous boroughs by James the First; the Act of Settlement; the severities exercised by Cromwell; the event of the battle of the Boyne and the surrender of Limerick; the code of Popery laws, which, however necessary for the security of persons of one persuasion, must be admitted to have operated with great severity on those of the other; the recollection of all these circumstances could not fail to make the Catholics look with irritation at power lodged in the hands of those whom they considered as their oppressors, whose opinions they conceived to be heretical, and who were in possession of property which they supposed had been unjustly wrested from their ancestors. On the other hand, the horrible excesses to which the vindictive fury and bigotry of the Catholics were carried in 1641, the dreadful use they made of the power which they acquired upon the usurpation of James the Second, the forfeitures, the sequestrations, and the attainders which then took place, had necessarily engendered those sentiments of apprehension and distrust in the Protestants which occasioned, and appeared to justify, the code of penalties and disabilities.

He then adverted to the various measures, in 1778 and subsequently, by which the situation of the Catholics had been improved; to the effects of the French revolution on their minds; and to their conduct during the late rebellion. There were no means by which the destruction of the Protestant establishment and the overthrow of the Hanover succession could be averted, but a legislative union, or a renewal of the

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restrictions and disabilities which were abrogated in 1793. On the expediency of extending to the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland, in the event of an union, a more ample participation in the rights of Protestant subjects, he would not now offer an opinion; but he quoted the sentiment of Dr. Duigenan, that if the Irish were one people with the British nation, the preponderance of the Protestant body of the whole empire would be so great, that all rivalship between Protestants and Romanists would cease for ever; and it would not be necessary, for the safety of the empire at large, to curb Romanists by any exclusive law whatsoever. Having shewn that the union, while highly beneficial to Irish, would not be injurious to British commerce, he declared himself satisfied that greater advantages were now held out to Ireland than had ever been afforded by any single measure to any country; and that it would greatly augment the resources, and place upon an immovable basis, the strength and security of the British empire.

The several resolutions were then agreed to, with little observation and no division.

When the accustomed motion was made for bringing up the report of the committee, Mr. Hobhouse recapitulated many of the objections which had been advanced, enforcing them by a narrative of a riot which took place in Dublin in 1759, when an union was surmised. He quoted, as his authority, the Annual Register; but the same account, with motives much more cogent, arising out of the personal character of the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Bedford, is given by Dr. Smollett*; and a subsequent writer attributes the commotion, in a great degree, to an intrigue against the Roman Catholics†.

The observations of Mr. Hobhouse produced able speeches from Earl Temple, Mr. Peel, and the Solicitor General. Some other members spoke; but, although not deficient in eloquence or energy, the debate afford-

14th.
Report
brought up.
Mr. Hobhouse.

Resolutions
carried.

* Smollett's History of England, vol. iv. p. 509. And for a characteristic account of this outbreak, see Lord Orford's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 401.

† Plowden's History of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 327.

ed little novelty. The question was carried on a division*, and the resolutions, finally sanctioned, were communicated to the House of Lords at a conference.

In debating them, Lord Grenville endeavoured to remove the prejudices prevailing in Ireland. The resolution of their House of Commons was not conclusive; far from amounting to a law, it was a mere dead letter on the journals. He considered the connexion between the two countries, ruled by separate and independent legislatures, as consisting only in their having one common sovereign, and shewed the evils which had arisen, and were still likely to arise, from such a state of things, in a mixed government and limited monarchy. The bond of union was a mere nullity, and the two countries were reduced to the alternative of either giving up the exercise of the independence of Parliament in the one, or of all bond of connexion between both. He stated the concessions which, during the reign of our present Sovereign, had been adopted toward the Catholics and the people in general; but evidently with little good effect. Free trade in 1780, and legislative independence in 1782, were granted according to their desire; but, a few years afterward, a new light broke in: "Catholic emancipation and Parliamentary reform" was the cry, raised even by the lower orders; while, in truth, independently of the confessions of avowed and convicted traitors, it appeared that this class cared for neither; nor did one in a hundred know the meaning of the terms, which served only as a watch-word to corrupt them, and to disseminate widely the poison of French principles. By the proposed resolutions, Ireland would be rendered a part of the proudest and most solid independence that ever was enjoyed; and the promoters of the late rebellion were sensible that if the connexion with Great Britain were dissolved, Ireland would not become independent, but would rather fall under the dominion of France.

Avoiding the question, whether the measure would

1799.
Communicated to the
Lords.
18th.
March 19th.
Lord Grenville

* 120 to 16.

Earl Fitzwilliam.

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CXIV.

1799.

be a benefit to Ireland or not, Earl Fitzwilliam contended, that in this, the moment of greatest distress in which this country had been involved, it would weaken, instead of strengthening the means of resistance to the enemy. In considering whether this was the proper time for an union, he would ask the English Parliament—"Do you wish to introduce here the representatives of Ireland? Representatives elected by the free electors of Ireland? Oh, no! by British bayonets." His lordship then entered into a view of his own conduct in the government of Ireland, asserting, upon his honour, that he believed the events which had then occurred led to the existing evils, and had stamped the doom of that unhappy country.

Marquis of
Lansdowne.

The Marquis of Lansdowne cordially concurred in every thing that had been advanced in praise of the Roman Catholics. Some among them would prove ornaments to that House, if admitted to the honours which they ought to enjoy. The proposed union might ultimately tend to do them justice. He then stated the petitions and proceedings of that party until 1796, when an ambassador was first sent to France from the discontented (and much he feared that a treaty between France and the United Irishmen still subsisted). An armament sailed from Brest, in consequence, to invade Ireland. In 1798, another invasion took place; and in 1799, he added, we are assured by high authority, that a directory is now sitting and organizing insurrection and rebellion throughout the country. The noble Marquis then adverted to the attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, after his death, and without any trial. This was a precedent far more alarming than any on the statute book. Was it possible for a government, where such acts were passed, to continue for any time? The Orange and the Green, the Dissenter, the Catholic, and the Churchman, when attacked by a common enemy, called out by instinct for an union with each other. An union, at all times desirable, at present was indispensable. In dealing with the Irish people, he recommended firmness, jus-

tice, a candid avowal of the object pursued, and a reliance on their honour*.

After some observations from the Earl of Camden, the Earl of Darnley, and Lord Hobart, the Earl of Moira said he would heartily concur in the measure, were he assured that it was founded on the wishes of the majority of the people; but the opposition was not limited to the Parliament; the nation at large had viewed the proposal with an abhorrence amounting almost to phrenzy. Their objections were not against any specific resolutions; they refused to listen to any terms, however advantageous, which trenched on their independence. The noble Secretary of State had not been very correct when he said that the only link of union between the two countries was the Crown. He forgot ties of a much more powerful kind: mixture of blood; the identity of the army and navy of the two islands; and above all, the reciprocal, undiscriminated rights of citizenship enjoyed by the individuals of each kingdom within the other. He forgot that the sole distinction consisted in their separate Parliaments.

“The noble lord,” he proceeded, “expatiates on the benefits which an union will confer on Ireland. Possibly he may be right; but the question is not what the noble lord conceives the Irish ought to think upon the subject, but what the Irish do actually think. Whether justly or not, it appears that they consider the demand upon Ireland to be nothing less than the whole body of her laws, her rights, her liberties, her independent Parliament, the blood, the labour, the wealth, and resources of the people. And under what circumstances do the mass of the Irish nation come to weigh such a supposed demand? Disgusted by recent outrages, still smarting from the lash of late severities, and irritated by present threats of continued infliction, how is it to be supposed that they can meet, with temper, the proposition for draw-

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CXIV.

1799.

Earl of Cam-
den and other
peers.The Earl of
Moira.

* His lordship whimsically, but not inaptly, illustrated the latter point, by mentioning a popular Irish ballad, in which a grenadier, accused by the landlady of a public house with having stolen her poker, denies the charge with the most bitter oaths; but being reminded that he had not pledged his honour—“Och!” says he, “touch my honour, touch my life. Here’s your paltry poker.”

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CXIV.

1799.

"ing closer the ties to which they have been mischievously told were owing all their past sufferings?" Indiscriminate and savage torture had been adopted without compunction, and persevered in without remorse; pickettings, burning of houses, rapes, and numberless other outrages, had been perpetrated, with the view, as it was whimsically said, of crushing disaffection. To this cause, and not to the introduction of French principles, he attributed the prevalence of dissatisfaction. It was curious that Lord Grenville, while he termed the people barbarians, utterly uncivilized, and even incapable of comprehending the meaning of Catholic emancipation or Parliamentary reform, yet supposed them intimately acquainted with all the abstruse discussions that had taken place respecting forms of government, and the principles on which they were established. In conclusion, he repeated the observation, that if a majority in the Irish House of Commons could be prevailed upon to change their sentiment and vote for the measure, still nothing could be effected without conciliating the great body of the people. The step would be dangerous as well as delusive, adding another class of discontented persons to the mass already hostile to government.

Earl Camden.

Earl Camden said that, during his government, the acts alluded to might have occurred; but, whenever made known, they were not only immediately discredited, but the offenders were punished.

Lord Holland.

To prove how little probability existed that the proposed measure would conciliate the affections of Irishmen toward this country, Lord Holland observed that, only five years after the union with Scotland was settled, the very same persons who moved it proposed its abolition, which was voted for by every Scotch lord in the House, the Duke of Argyle saying, that, far from promoting good-will and friendship between the countries, the people had become greater enemies than ever.

Other peers.
Marquis of
Lansdowne.

Lord Mulgrave supported the measure. The Earl of Carlisle and the Earl of Westmorland made some observations; and the Marquis of Lansdowne having

repeated that the adjustment of 1782 was considered to be conclusive as to the question of the independence of the Irish Parliament, the Duke of Portland, the highest authority on this point, said, that having had the honour to hold the government of Ireland at that period, he could declare, without scruple, that his wish was to meet the grievances, of which the country at the time complained, with an adequate remedy, and that he certainly considered the measures then adopted as amounting to such remedy; but he never imagined that the adjustment was to preclude any further arrangement that different circumstances might require; much less that it was to be relied on as an unanswerable argument against the proposed union, which he thought to be, of all others, the measure best adapted to benefit Ireland, and to promote the general interests of the empire.

The resolutions were agreed to without a division, and, with only a few prefatory words, Lord Grenville moved an address to the Throne, founded on them.

Lord Auckland, the Bishop of Landaff, and Lord Minto, made most able and statesmanlike speeches in support of the measure; and Lord Boringdon added a few observations: but as there was no argument advanced in opposition, it is not necessary to detail their remarks*. The address was agreed to; and Lord Holland, Lord Thanet, and Lord King entered on the ^{Protest.} journals a protest in five articles.

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1799.
The Duke of
Portland.

Resolutions
agreed to.
April 11.
Address.

* The speeches of these three peers were published as pamphlets, which are reprinted in the thirty-fourth volume of the Parliamentary History.

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTEEN.

1800.

Proceedings respecting the Union continued.—Irish Parliament.—Adjournment moved.—Exertions during the recess. Complaints of publications.—Business in Parliament.—Bill against United Irishmen—Regency bill.—Committee.—Mr. Foster.—Lord Castlereagh.—Regency bill rejected.—Debate on a new writ for a vacated seat.—Mr. Plunkett.—Prorogation.—Proceedings in the British Parliament.—Speech of Sylvester Douglas—Lord Sheffield—Mr. Canning. Address voted.—The King's answer.—Notice by the Lord Lieutenant.—Observations.—Progress of the measure.—Exertions of the opponents.—Of government.—British Parliament.—Address moved by the Marquis of Buckingham. Changes in the Irish Parliament.—Mr. Grattan returned. Meeting of Parliament.—Address moved.—Sir Lawrence Parsons—moves an amendment.—Lord Castlereagh.—Mr. Hardy.—Dr. Browne.—Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald.—Mr. George Ponsonby.—Mr. Grattan.—Mr. Corry.—Address carried.—Proceedings out of Parliament.—Aggregate meeting in Dublin.—Petitions to Parliament.—Tipperary petition.—Military interference.—Lord Castlereagh.—The Lord Lieutenant's message.—Lord Castlereagh describes the outline of the Union.—Proposed course of proceeding.—Articles detailed.—Finance.—Trade.—The Church.—Representation.—Compensation for disfranchised boroughs.—Mr. George Ponsonby.—Mr. Dobbs.—Mr. Edgeworth.—Mr. Grattan.—Division.—Heat of the people.—Guards stationed.—Debate in the Lords.—The Earl of Clare.—Explanation of Lords Charlemont and Downshire.—Resolu-

tions carried.—Mr. Grattan's pamphlet in answer to Lord Clare's speech.—The Lords adjourn.—Acrimonious debates in the lower House.—Duel between Mr. Corry and Mr. Grattan.—Further debates.—Union agreed to.—Resolutions revised by the Lords—and finally adopted.—Message from the King—debated in the British House of Lords.—Lord Holland.—Lord Grenville—resolutions carried —House of Commons.—Mr. Jones.—Mr. Pitt.—Mr. Grey moves an amendment—which is negatived.—Apportionment of taxation.—Amendment moved by Mr. Bankes.—Dr. Laurence. Resolution carried.—Number of representatives.—Mr. Grey's motion.—Lord Hawkesbury.—Sir William Young. Previous question moved.—Resolution carried.—Counsel heard on the exportation of wool.—Resolution moved.—Mr. Peel.—Mr. Wilberforce.—Dr. Laurence.—Resolutions finally passed.—Conference.—House of Lords.—Lord Holland.—Lord Grenville moves an address.—Opposed.—Carried.—Protest.—Bill passed.—Proceedings in Ireland. Bill for regulating elections.—Debate on the resolutions sent from England.—Protests.—Bill for the Union passed in England.—Speaker's address to the King.—Lord Lieutenant's speech.—Observations.—Conduct of the Roman Catholics—their hopes.—City of Dublin.—Meeting.—Mr. O'Connel.—Conduct of the Marquis Cornwallis and Mr. Pitt.—Conduct of ministers in England.—Motion by Lord Holland.—Marquis of Lansdowne.—Observations on Mr. Fox's absence from Parliament.

FOR the more correct understanding of subsequent proceedings, and in explanation of some observations already made, it is now necessary to return to the transactions in Ireland.

Amid the exultation occasioned by the late division, Lord Castlereagh moved an adjournment for ten days, which was carried, after a vehement debate, in which Sir John Parnell insisted that the Parliament ought to remain vigilant at its post, as the British minister was

CHAP.
CXV.

1800.
Proceedings
in Ireland.
January 28.
Adjournment
moved.

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CXV.

1800.

Exertions
during the
recess.Complaints
of publications

February 8.

Business in
Parliament.March 29.
Bill against
United
Irishmen.

Regency bill.

Feb.

reported to have declared that he would unceasingly persevere in the proposed measure.

In the short interval thus obtained, strenuous exertions were made by both parties to increase their numbers in Parliament, and to obtain popular suffrages by means of public meetings. The newspapers were actively employed, and many pamphlets were issued. Mr. Pitt's speech was profusely circulated: some have even gone so far as to say that ten thousand copies were gratuitously distributed by government*.

Before the adjournment, complaints had been made of personal insults committed against members who supported the union, and of the unmeasured attacks made on them by the press: it was even intimated, that, for the sake of tranquillity and safety, the legislature should be removed to Cork: but these complaints produced no effect; the facts were contradicted or palliated, and the inferences denied. Less moderation was observed when the grievance was alleged by the other party. On the re-assembling of Parliament, the Sun and some other English newspapers being denounced as instrumental in the scheme of the British ministry to force the union, it was ordered that they should be burned by the common hangman in College Green, in presence of the sheriffs.

A bill for preventing persons who had ever taken the oath of the United Irishmen from voting for members of Parliament was supported by Mr. Ogle, Mr. J. C. Beresford, and Dr. Duigenan; but opposed by the Attorney General, who treated it as a breach of the covenant of pardon, and lost.

For the purpose of introducing the great, the overpowering question of the union, and in the hope of destroying one of the strongest arguments in its favour, a bill was introduced, by the opponents of the measure, to provide for the administration of the government of Ireland in the case of a regency, declaring that, whenever such an event should occur, the same power in

* This fact was broadly asserted by Mr. Foster, Speaker of the House of Commons. See his speech on the 11th of April, 1799, published by Moore, College Green, Dublin; and it is repeated, on his authority, by Mr. Plowden, vol. ii. p. 962; and by Sir Jonah Barrington, vol. ii.

Ireland should be exercised only by the same person or persons, and under the same restrictions and limitations, as in Great Britain.

In the committee, Lord Castlereagh offered some observations on its inefficiency; to obviate which, Mr. Fitzgerald moved an amendment.

Mr. Foster, who, as Speaker, had not hitherto had the power of delivering his opinions, now made a long and animated speech on the union, professing his intention to animadvert copiously on that of Mr. Pitt in the British Parliament. He treated largely on the arrangement in 1782, citing the speeches of Mr. Fox, the King's message, the speeches of the Duke of Portland as Lord Lieutenant, and the addresses of the House of Commons in Ireland, to prove that the adjustment was on all hands considered final. As to the several arguments, or rather assertions, used by Mr. Pitt, respecting that point, he said, "there never was "a great speech made by a great man which contained "so little matter; and if any thing could make me "believe that the noble lord (Castlereagh) possesses "less good sense and political talents than I am dis- "posed to ascribe to him, it is the pains which he has "taken to disseminate such a paltry production—a "mere tissue of general assertion without proof, high- "flowing language without meaning, and assumptions "without argument." Various proceedings in the Irish Parliament, many votes and addresses, and the declarations of the Lord Lieutenant, would shew that, in the sense of all, the two kingdoms were then one, indissolubly connected in unity of constitution and unity of interests, and they must stand or fall together. " Yet Mr. Pitt says your connexion hangs by a thread, " your constitution is of a nature to prevent unity, and " your separate interests are destroying that connexion " which the Viceroy called indissoluble. Does this "gentleman, who thus contradicts King, Lords, Com- "mons, Viceroy, and himself, forget our solemn ac- "knowledgment of that day when we thought our "connexion so happily settled, and so secure, that the "whole nation desired to return their solemn thanks

CHAP.
CXV.1800.
April 11.
Committee

Mr. Foster.

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1800.

" to God for that union, harmony, and cordial affection, which the final adjustment assured to both kingdoms ? This adjustment is our second, if not our great Magna Charta ; and Mr. Pitt, who laboured with so much impotent sophistry to deny it, knew that an union in its instant operation effects a total extinction of it."

The real motives of this scheme, and he thanked Lord Castlereagh for stating them so fairly, were, that Ireland must contribute to every war, and the minister must have her purse within his own grasp. He wanted an union, in order to tax the people and take their money when their own representatives would deem it improper, and to force regulations on trade which their own Parliament would consider injurious or partial.

Having disposed of the difference respecting the regency, by the usual observation, that it did not apply to the person, but to the extent of his authority, Mr. Foster denied that an union would augment the general force of the empire, and still more firmly that it would tranquillize Ireland. When, by the indiscreetness of a few leaders, the zeal of the volunteers was misled, and they began to exercise deliberative functions, Parliament spoke out firmly, and they instantly returned to cultivate the blessings of peace. Would equal firmness in a Parliament composed five parts in six of strangers, sitting in another country, have had the same effect ? It appeared, by the report of the secret committee sitting in England, that France had a sanguine hope of separating Scotland as well as Ireland ; that, even in England, there were conspiracies ; yet their Parliament had not, like that of Ireland, probed the conspiracy to the bottom ; and he could not deem it a vain supposition, that if Scotland had had its Parliament sitting in Edinburgh, the conspiracy, which spread so widely, would have been sooner developed, and not shewn itself again.

He decried the notion that Ireland would be improved into British manners and British customs, and cited the instances of Scotland and Wales, where En-

glish manners and English habits had not got the English language into full use; nor was it possible, without strong compulsion of law, to put down the Highland dress.

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CXV.

1800.

On Mr. Pitt's supposition that an union would occasion a diffusion of British wealth in Ireland, he expatiated at much length, maintaining that British capital was not likely to be employed, either in the manufacture of woollens, iron, pottery, or cotton; and he supported this proposition by extracts from the books of the Custom-house, and the report of the Board of Trade in 1780. With respect to religion, the statements of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas were evasive and insincere; but, at all events, the subject was more proper for the consideration of an Irish Parliament, than of a foreign and uninformed assembly.

In conclusion, he exhorted all members to resist the union. They who had a doubt ought not to hazard a change from whence there was no return; and he implored them to think of the dreadful consequences, if, fatally, the shock of arms should follow. Even to those whose conviction was clear, he would recommend conformity to the majority of their countrymen, or even to a respectable part of them, in preference to a too confident reliance on their own judgment. Whether representatives of close boroughs, or of numerous electors, he earnestly exhorted them not to annihilate the interest they were entrusted with. "Refuse the measure," he added; "but refuse it with calmness and dignity. Let not the offer of it lessen your attachment or weaken your affection to Britain, and prove that you are, and wish to be, indissolubly connected—one in unity of constitution and unity of interest. But, above all, revere and steadily preserve that constitution which was confirmed to you in 1782, and which has given you wealth, trade, prosperity, freedom, and independence."

Lord Castlereagh deprecated Mr. Foster's speech, as having a tendency to agitate and inflame the minds of the people. The doubts which had been expressed of the competency of Parliament were pregnant with

Lord Castle-
reagh.

CHAP.
CXV.

1800.

Regency bill
rejected.

18th.

May 12.
Debate on a
new writ for a
vacated seat.

Mr. Plunkett.

Mr. Martin.

Prorogation.
1st of June.

mischief, and might be applied to the most seditious purposes. In his general arguments, the noble Secretary reproduced, for the most part, those which had been used in the British Parliament.

After continuing to a very late hour, half past four o'clock, the committee adjourned; and the regency bill was finally lost, by the postponement of its further consideration till August.

Another warm debate took place on a motion by Lord Castlereagh for a new writ to fill the vacancy occasioned by the acceptance of a nominal office, similar to the stewardship of the Chiltern Hundreds. Gross partiality and injustice were attributed to ministers; and they gave no explanation, insisting that the motives for bestowing offices by the Crown were not to be inquired into.

In the course of the debate, not otherwise of much interest, Mr. Plunkett again introduced the union, in a speech of no novelty; which afforded Mr. Martin an occasion to vindicate and eulogize the Lord Lieutenant. By his wisdom, more than by his arms, the rebellion had been put down; by the expectation of his clemency, as much as the terror of his power, Ireland had been preserved. Had he listened to intemperate, bigotted councils and counsellors, when the French landed at Killala, the rebellion would have raged in every county as much as it had in Wexford; and at the battle of New Ross, by his mercy he conquered; for he separated from the rebels those who were forced by terror, and even those who were deluded. But his Excellency, more nobly conquering his own nature, refused to spare those who, by irrevocable wickedness, became the proper objects of punishment; rendering, with a mild firmness, what was due to justice, as well as to humanity. Three or four individuals blamed what almost as many millions approved. That the noble Marquis had saved Ireland, witness the confidence of a disciplined army—witness the confidence which the country had in them, and which both had in the name of Cornwallis.

A motion of adjournment, in which the ministers

had a majority, terminated the debate; and in a few days Parliament was prorogued.

In his speech on this occasion, the Lord Lieutenant adverted to proceedings in the British legislature on the subject of the union, to which it is now necessary to return.

The address voted by the Lords having been communicated to the other House, Mr. Pitt moved that they should agree in it, and present it to the King.

Mr. Sylvester Douglas made a very detailed and able speech, professedly in answer to that of Mr. Foster, which had been printed both in Dublin and London, and widely circulated. Two circumstances, he said, distinguished the opposition to the present measure. One was the unanimous reprobation which it encountered from the rebellious and traitorous enemies of the country: Mc Nevin, Lewins, and other self-convicted traitors, had continued to publish new libels on the government and constitution of their country, to co-operate with those who, though of a very different description, and acting from motives of mistaken patriotism, had exerted their talents and influence to counteract and retard the happy consolidation of the empire. The other circumstance was, that the opposers of the union had, almost all, endeavoured to shew that the case of the incorporation of Scotland and England, in 1707, was altogether inapplicable to the present occasion. "If those gentlemen," he said, "could induce us to shut our eyes against history, and wander with them in the obscure mazes of theory and speculation, their ingenuity might, perhaps, bewilder and perplex us; but if we recur to that memorable event, its similarity to what is now proposed, both in principle and in all its most characteristic features, is so great, that they naturally feel it furnishes, by its complete success, after the trial of a century, the strongest and most irresistible refutation of their arguments."

"To maintain," he said, "that the constitutional legislature of a country has not the right of doing certain acts, however clearly beneficial to that country,

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CXV.

1800.

April 22.
Proceedings in
the British
Parliament.

Speech of Mr.
Sylvester
Douglas.

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CXXV.

1800.

" without a previous special commission from the mass
 " of the nation, leads immediately to the false and mis-
 " chievous principle of the direct sovereignty of the
 " people, and to that equally mischievous fiction, to
 " which it has given rise, that an original compact
 " between the governors and governed is the only law-
 " ful foundation of government. What sort of philo-
 " sophy is that which traces the cause of all political
 " phenomena to a fact which no history shews ever to
 " have existed, which the consideration of the human
 " character, and the daily transactions and past and
 " present situations of life, demonstrate to be, and al-
 " ways to have been, impossible, and every attempt to
 " realize which, either by the Jacquerie in ancient
 " France, the Wat Tylers and Jack Straws in England,
 " or the modern Jacobins, has proved as pernicious
 " and destructive, as to suppose the possibility of its
 " actual existence is foolish and absurd*."

On this basis he raised a strong body of argument, both with respect to the power of Parliament to form an union without an appeal to the people, a vindication of the proceedings on the union with Scotland, and a demonstration of the advantages of which it had been productive to that country.

" But," he proceeded, " after making the best stand they can on this quicksand of incompetency, the gentlemen proceed to the real merits of the question, and expressly deny that Ireland will reap any benefit from the measure; meaning, I suppose, also to deny that it will prove beneficial to this country, or to the empire at large." Adverting then to some heated and violent expressions used in the debate of the Irish bar, about a transmarine Parliament, and the planting of " a new Sicily in the bosom of the Atlantic,"—an observation which, if just in principle, would equally apply to the islands of Orkney and Shet-

* To the printed copy of this speech, its right honourable author added a note, describing the evils which Mr. Locke, although himself a great and upright man, and a pious Christian, had done to society and to religion by promulgating a theory of government which had served for a basis to the destructive systems of the Condorcets, Priestleys, and Paines. Just as his system concerning ideas tended, by its natural consequence, to those of Berkeley and Hume.

land,—he displayed, in answer to Mr. Foster, the great benefits which an union would ensure to the empire collectively, and to each branch of it in particular.

In a long and luminous argument, he refuted the supposed injury to the constitution ; and, in answer to assertions that the already-formed compacts were binding, complete, and not to be departed from,—that nothing further was wanting to the growing prosperity and safety of Ireland, and that an union would annul them, would shake or destroy every security which had been established, and substitute the capricious, selfish, and despotic will of an unjust, narrow-minded, and rapacious rival,—he shewed the manner in which the arrangements respecting the trade of each country in woollens and linens had been formed, in and before 1782, investigated, with minuteness, the supposed final adjustment of that year, and enumerated the facilities afforded to the commerce of Ireland up to 1793.

Ireland would gain, by an union with Great Britain, most important advantages : general civilization ; settled habits of morality and true religion, in the room of blind superstition and fanatical rage ; an uniform submission to law ; and the mitigation and gradual extinction of the spirit of disturbance, insurrection, devastation, plunder, and massacre, which had prevailed among their peasantry, almost without intermission, from the earliest periods of their authentic history. Was it believed that all would have been well, if Lord Fitzwilliam had been left to govern Ireland ? Would the disciples of Wolfe Tone have been satisfied with the intended grant of Catholic emancipation, coupled with the refusal of Parliamentary reform ? That preacher of revolution and his disciples were to be satisfied with nothing but the establishment of a democratic republic, with a Gallo-Hibernian directory ; while their mad and deluded followers were inflamed, not with considerations of religion, or rights of election, but with a rage for the invasion of property, the abolition of tithes, and even rent, on the true French plan, without compensation or equivalent, and the ex-

tinction of all law, civil and criminal. The separate Parliament of Ireland never would—perhaps, with safety, never could—admit the Catholics to participate in the higher political privileges of the state; and the Catholics would never quietly submit to an Irish Parliament exclusively Protestant. Perhaps the United Parliament might find it safe to admit them; and if their admission were safe, their exclusion would thenceforward be unjust.

After refuting the supposition that the public purse of Ireland would not be faithfully administered by a Parliament sitting in England, he treated the alarm about increasing the number of absentees as utterly unfounded, and fortified his argument by the example of Scotland, affirming that no nobility and gentry resided more at home than those of that country.

As to the popular feeling, certain words and quaint abstractions had been employed to excite prejudice. “Protestant ascendancy,” “Catholic emancipation,” and “Parliamentary incompetency,” were all of this description, and all, aided by popular fictions, produced their effect. But there did not prevail, as was supposed, an universality of sentiment against the union. Certain meetings in Dublin and its neighbourhood, and in a few of the counties in Leinster, had declared such an opinion; but Cork had addressed his Majesty in favour of an union; and addresses and resolutions from the grand juries of the first city in magnitude and opulence, next to Dublin, and of the first county, that of Cork, were particularly to be distinguished.

In conclusion, he adverted to the apprehensions of inconvenience to Great Britain, which he had heard stated; the removal of capital; the increased numbers in the House of Commons; some supposed incongruity between the national habits and characters of the people of Ireland, and of those of this country, which might occasion an injurious change in the character, modes, and principles of deliberation, and decision in our legislature; and that an union on the basis of the present resolutions would be imperfect. He noticed also, and shewed the equal impropriety of two projects

which had been suggested. The one, a repeal, without condition or distinction, of all laws in both countries, affecting Roman Catholics, and a free communication and permanent security of every branch of trade to the sister kingdom. The other, a resumption of all concessions ; a re-enactment of that Popish code, the relaxation of which had been the universal boast and praise of his Majesty's reign, on both sides of the channel.

Lord Sheffield said, that every thing which had happened in Ireland, and in respect to Ireland, during the last twenty years, particularly that which took place in 1782, and was whimsically enough called final adjustment, had convinced him of the necessity of an union. When it was found proper to take off the shackles from the Irish Parliament, an union should have been proposed, and by the same measure only should all the commercial and other advantages have been communicated. Independence of legislature seemed to have suggested notions of separation, which appeared in some degree as early as in 1784. Union became more necessary as well as more difficult, in consequence of what was done in 1782, and also in 1793, when the principle of our navigation and colonial laws was, without terms or occasion, sacrificed by the act permitting goods and commodities of the growth, production, or manufacture, of Asia, Africa, or America, to be imported from Ireland into Great Britain. All these benefits should have been reserved as the means of union ; but being then unconditionally granted, they had rendered that measure much less sought for by Ireland. The bad effects of two separate Parliament within one empire, and the baneful idea of separation, could be done away only by an union ; and, until that event should take place, Ireland would always be disturbed by mischievous speculations and intrigues, the sport of parties, and of the enemies of England ; a weakness instead of a strength to the empire.

After some vehement observations from Sir Francis Burdett, on the necessity of dismissing ministers, and Mr. Canning.

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on Parliamentary reform, and from Mr. Buxton and General Fitzpatrick, Mr. Canning answered the objections which had been offered. To those who considered the end unattainable after the manner in which the proposal had been received in Ireland, and censured further perseverance, he opposed the difference of their conduct with respect to negotiations for peace, when they recommended perseverance, even after reasonable hope was at an end; concession, even to abject prostration, to conciliate an overbearing and implacable enemy. He amply investigated the course of events in Ireland until the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam. The predictions referred to on this subject reminded him of one very successfully employed by Columbus, who, when the people of Hispaniola resolved to drive him away from their coast, and refused to furnish provisions, informed them that on a certain day the heavens should be overcast, the sun should hide his head, and then, in the darkness that would cover the land, they should acknowledge the anger of the offended Deity, whose minister and messenger he was. His power of prophecy was derived from his pocket-almanack; and when the eclipse did take place, the Indians, convinced of his more than mortal power, hastened to make their peace, and to offer every atonement for their former impiety. It required not much more knowledge of moral, than Columbus possessed of physical causes, to discover, in the situation of Ireland, in the distribution of the different classes of society, in the state and temper of the lower orders of the people, materials, which, if a spark from the dreadful conflagration of the French revolution should fall upon them, would presently burst into explosion: for their sagacity he gave those who foretold it full credit; but he believed that Lord Fitzwilliam's recall was not more immediately the occasion of the rebellion, than the displeasure of Columbus was the cause of the eclipse.

"Let us not," he said, "be led to imagine, that the Irish, however spirited and quick in feeling, are creatures of passion only; that they are not capable of appreciating real benefits, or of being convinced

" by a fair appeal to their understanding. Such an appeal it is the business of this address to secure. If, upon examination, the union shall be found to offer solid and permanent advantages, let us not be apprehensive that the proposal of it can long be construed into insult or unkindness. If from this root shall spring and thrive the peace, the prosperity, the happiness of Ireland, the affections of the Irish will grow and flourish with them."

Mr. Pitt closed the debate by producing letters Mr. Pitt. written by the Duke of Portland, the Marquis of Rockingham, and Lord Shelburne, from the second of May to the twenty-second of June, 1782, clearly proving that arrangements beyond those which had received the sanction of Parliament were deemed necessary, and were then in a state of confidential discussion.

The address was voted without a division ; and, in answer to it, the King said " he should embrace the first favourable opportunity of communicating the propositions to the Parliament of Ireland, as calculated to form the basis of a complete and entire union. Such a settlement, established by mutual consent, and founded on a sense of mutual interest and affection, would, he was persuaded, promote the security and happiness of both kingdoms, and confirm and augment the stability, power, and resources of the empire."

In proroguing the Irish Parliament, the Lord Lieutenant had mentioned this address and the King's sentiments, adding that his Majesty would receive the greatest satisfaction in witnessing the accomplishment of a system, which, by allaying the unhappy distractions too long prevalent, and by promoting security, wealth, and commerce, must afford them the best means of resisting the destructive projects of foreign and domestic enemies.

In perusing these debates, which, on account of their high importance, are detailed with unusual minuteness, although much of their matter is unavoidably omitted, the difference of tone and manner adopted by the members of both Parliaments must necessarily Observations.

April 26.
Address voted.
The King's
answer.

June 1.
Notice of their
address by the
Lord
Lieutenant.

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occur to observation. In Ireland, all was passion, vehemence, feeling : political and commercial details were not overlooked ; but they did not seem to engage the minds of the speakers so much as the fear of public reproach, grounded on a supposed surrender of national dignity and independence. The British Parliament, on the contrary, treated the matter with gravity and general moderation ; few ebullitions of feeling were apparent, even in individuals who came from Ireland. In this distinction, both senates truly represented the people : the Irish felt all that the opponents of the union expressed ; and, although a great portion of the country might be won to the other side, acquiescence alone could be gained from them ; the warmth of desire, the fervour of hope, even the steady tone of assured confidence, were absent from all their opinions and addresses. In England, the project occasioned no violent or animated sensation ; the accurate investigation of probable good and possible evil, and the endeavour to adjust a balance between them, were alone attempted ; whatever had an appearance of greater warmth, in or out of Parliament, was occasioned more by habitual personal opposition and party dislike, than by anything arising immediately out of the matter in debate.

Anticipation boldly vented in the terms almost of prophecy, and historical investigation pursued with great diligence, but with evident views to discoloration, addition or suppression, formed the grand characteristics of the speeches. With respect to future events, as no defined or certain result could be positively proposed, as in a case where taxes are to be imposed or remitted, territories ceded or acquired, the reasoning upon the subject must be confined to conjecture ; and that will be more or less sanguine, and better, or less favourably, received, according to the impression of the circumstances adduced in support, illustration, or contradiction, of the prophecy. Precedents drawn from history were either defective or fallacious. A reference to incorporations or annexations, ancient or recent, elucidated the arguments but little. Scotland, by the union of the two crowns, became a portion of

the dominion of the King of England, without any of the invidious or reluctant feeling arising from the supposition of conquest : in fact, she had given a sovereign to England, who had so acquired an English, not conquered a Scottish, crown. The individuality of the realm, preserved by separate courts, a separate judicial system, and a separate church, all remained to Scotland when she surrendered her Parliament. The authority of the heads of clans, if straightened, was not abolished ; and it might easily be conceived, that when industry and wealth, and a knowledge of positive rights in relative stations, were diffused over the land, the clannish feeling would rapidly decay, and, at last, resolve itself into little more than a name. Yet, not the lower orders alone, but the statesmen, the philosophers, and the poets of Scotland, deplored the legislative union, as an extinction of the honour, the name, and the political existence of the country. The change so much deprecated brought wealth, industry, and comparative happiness, unknown before, into those regions ; but the causes of hatred to the union, which disappeared before these effects, were very different from those which operated on Ireland. Not to dwell upon the difference of national character, which in such a matter ought not to be overlooked, the church of Scotland, a reformed church, did not, like the Roman Catholic, claim ascendancy and nomination merely by divine right and holy institution ; the only ground of political disagreement between the two countries was the disputed succession, which time must abolish. In Ireland, beside the unappeasable hostility of the Romish to the reformed faith, all the wild doctrines let loose by the revolutionists of France were in full operation, generating at once hatred of the British name and contempt for British form of government. The operation of these principles was not universal ; but it was sufficiently extended to present formidable and alarming difficulties. Scotland, it was thought, if she gave up something, retained much ; Ireland, if she gave up her separate legislature, retained nothing ; her sacrifice was immediate, her remuneration only in

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hope, and even that not in distinct promise. With such reasonings before them, even if not true in all their extent, it was not matter of surprise that a sensitive, high-spirited, irritable people should be taught to consider the present proposal both as an injury and an indignity.

In their mode of conducting their cause, the anti-unionists shewed much zeal, a profusion of talent, but a miserable want of skill and judgment. By their feeble majority in the House of Commons, they let it be known how small was the labour required to drive them from their slight ascendancy. When the amendment on the address had given them a temporary advantage, they forfeited, by Mr. Ponsonby's untimely motion, all further opportunity of improving it. Had they permitted the introduction of the measure, opposed it at every point in its details, and retained a majority on a few divisions, the bonds of party would have been strengthened ; their efforts would have been encouraged by popular declarations, flowing in from many quarters, and recorded on the journals ; but their hasty proceeding in the first days of the session seemed to denote that which must always be found in a political party acting without a known established leader—a want of confidence in each other, a fear that if a blow were not speedily struck, their cohort might disband. After they had decided, by their early division, that the question should not be entertained, it became irregular, forced, and immethodical to introduce speeches respecting it into debates where it was not properly the question.

By his animated speech, Mr. Foster placed himself in a flattering, although extraordinary situation. His declared sentiments on the union had previously changed his position in political estimation ; his violent opposition to the measure had suddenly translated him from general dislike and odium to the pinnacle of frantic popularity. Some short time afterwards, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council went in state to Molesworth Street, where Mr. Foster resided, amid the acclamations of thousands of spectators ; the

band playing, “Long live the King;” to deliver an address to him, as an honest man and lover of his country, for refusing to vote away her liberty and independence. And on the same day, a numerous body of the merchants and traders of Dublin went in procession from the Royal Exchange to his house, and also presented him a most respectful address to the like purport*.

In consequence of the ill-considered proceeding of the Irish House of Commons, the debates in both capitals assumed an extraordinary appearance. Mr. Pitt’s speech, after the first votes of the session, might be considered as a sort of state paper, a manifesto containing his views and the system of those with whom he acted on the great subject. Being circulated in print, Mr. Foster, when no vote could be influenced by it, made his counter-manifesto, that it might, in like manner, be circulated. From the press it received at least three able, energetic answers†; but, in the English House of Commons, Mr. Douglas made a detailed and methodical reply to the Irish Speaker; several other members of both Houses effected the same object; and all their speeches, being rendered public through the press, may justly be viewed only as authenticated pamphlets, less intended to produce effect where they were uttered, than where they might be read.

Thus, while a determination to promote the union was expressed in the British Parliament by great majorities, and the measure recommended from the throne,—while, in Ireland, the Viceroy, the House of Lords, and an almost equality in the House of Commons, were equally favourable,—it was to be expected that, during the adjournment, great efforts would be made by each party to acquire additional adherents. In this contest, the opponents were very unequally balanced. The anti-unionists had nothing to offer but opinions which might be controverted or changed;

Progress of
the measure.

* Copied from Plowden, vol. ii. p. 914.

† One by William Smith, Esq. intitled a “Review of the Speech of the Right Honourable John Foster;” another anonymous, called “Observations on that part of the Speaker’s Speech which relates to Trade;” the third was intitled “Observations on Mr. Foster’s Speech, by a Gentleman at the Bar.”

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Exertions of
the opponents.Of govern-
ment.

sentiments which might be doubted ; and promises which related only to their own future conduct, and which might be evaded or denied. The promoters of the union had the power of the army, the patronage of government, an ample power of affording present advantages, and an unlimited store from which promises might be made, or upon which expectations might be formed.

Several noblemen and gentlemen, including the Marquis of Downshire, the Earl of Charlemont, and Mr. William Brabazon Ponsonby, issued circular letters to the yeomanry and gentry, stating that they were authorized by many members of both Houses, thirty-eight of whom were representatives of counties, to intimate that petitions to Parliament, declaring the real sense of the freeholders, would, at that time, be highly expedient ; that such petitions should be earnestly promoted ; and it was reported that a stock-purse for defraying the expenses of opposition was provided. This appeal, not calculated in itself to produce much effect, exposed those who made it to the resentment of government ; and the Marquis of Downshire was removed from the Lord Lieutenancy of his county, deprived of the colonelcy of his regiment, and his name was erased from the list of privy counsellors*.

The exertions of government were much more effectual. Earl Cornwallis made a tour of the country, in which, besides the influence naturally attached to his situation, his manners, combining the frankness of a soldier with the graces of a courtier, conciliated many who might have been adverse, and fixed many who were indifferent. Beside other expectations and promises, it was generally understood that, from the public fund, a liberal compensation would be allowed to the proprietors of boroughs returning members to the House of Commons, and to those who had paid for seats in the present legislature. Some opponents being thus soothed, the feeling which had prevailed against union could no longer be said to exist. If the measure had not become generally popular, it had ceased,

* Flowden, vol. ii. 979.

to be generally abhorred.

In the British Parliament, which assembled at a period unusually early, the King, in his speech, said, he had communicated to the legislature of Ireland the resolutions of the last session; every day's experience confirmed his persuasion that signal benefits to both countries would result from the measure; and he trusted that, in the Irish Parliament, a disposition would be found corresponding with that of Great Britain.

In moving the address, the Marquis of Buckingham expressed his conviction that the popular sentiment in favour of an union was daily gaining ground; even the peasantry now looked forward to it with hopes of relief.

Before the meeting of Parliament in Ireland, several changes had taken place in the House of Commons: members who had opposed the union had accepted nominal offices, and their seats were filled with men who were expected to express opposite opinions. On the other hand, Mr. Grattan, no longer desirous of absenting himself, had taken a seat for the county of Wicklow.

Whatever may have been the expectations or the fears of either party, all who were not confidentially entrusted, were surprised when the Lord Lieutenant, in opening the session, made no mention of this prevailing topic.

Lord Loftus, who moved, and Colonel Crosbie, who seconded the address, observed equal caution; but the adverse party were too eager for the conflict to permit any delay.

Sir Lawrence Parsons led the attack. Having required that his Excellency's speech at the conclusion of the last session, recommending from the King an incorporating union, should be read, he observed that the minister had prevented them from giving an answer to his Majesty at that time, by a sudden prorogation, and now wished to effect the same point, by studiously omitting any mention of the subject in the Lord Lieutenant's speech. The reason was obvious: from the

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September 24.
British
Parliament.

Marquis of
Buckingham.

Changes in the
Irish Par-
liament.

Mr. Grattan
returned.

January 15.
Meeting of
Parliament.

Address
moved.

Sir Lawrence
Parsons.

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Moves an
amendment on
the address.Lord
Castlereagh.

time they had rejected that measure last session, he had employed every engine, and resorted to the most unwarrantable practices, to pervert the sentiments of Parliament, and did not wish that they should take it into consideration until his machinations were complete. It mattered not whether the representatives of Ireland were turned out of doors by the sword of the army, or the gold of the treasury—by a Cromwell, or a secretary ; in both cases, the treason against the constitution was the same. “A set of English and Scotch journey-men politicians,” he said, “met in a corner of London, and projected schemes for the settlement of this great nation, of which they know little or nothing ; “and they resolved to pull down its constitution altogether ;” and he moved an amendment, asserting the inseparable connexion of the two countries, and the desire that it should continue, the subjects enjoying a free constitution, and the blessings which they owed to the spirited exertions of an independent resident Parliament, the paternal kindness of his Majesty, and the liberality of the British Parliament in 1782.

Lord Castlereagh vindicated the conduct of the Lord Lieutenant ; the union was not now mentioned, because it was to form the subject of a distinct communication. It was withdrawn last year, under a persuasion that it was not completely understood ; but, convinced as he was of the many commercial and political advantages it would produce to Ireland, and of its tendency to increase the general strength and prosperity of the empire, and being fully satisfied that it was now approved of by a great majority of the people, he should think that he had betrayed his duty to his sovereign and his country, if he did not again submit the question to a cool and dispassionate consideration ; and he relied on the good sense of the House for a full and fair investigation, and a respectful treatment of the measure.

Mr. Hardy.

Several members reprobated, and some eulogized, the proposal of an union. Mr. Hardy condemned the corruption and intimidation, the wicked and unconstitutional means to which the government had resorted.

If the measure should be carried under all the present circumstances, it would be a robbery, and not a treaty; an act of constraint and violence, not of compact and volition; a conquest, not an union. An union formed upon such principles, and accomplished by such means, policy never could require, justice never could sanctify, wisdom never approve, patriotism never reconcile, time never cement, force never establish. It might be an union for a few days, a few months, perhaps for a few years; but it would be followed by ages of ill blood, generations of hostility, centuries of contest and desolation, and misery to that island to all eternity.

Dr. Browne, so frequently seen as an opponent of Dr. Browne. government, now declared that he had become more inclined to an union than he had been in the preceding session, because he thought it more necessary from intermediate circumstances. The disposition of the College in general was against it; but it was favoured by nearly half the governing part of the society. Union was not to be prevented by rebellion, nor by Orange systems: not by looking for republics, nor by holding up every man as a rebel who disapproved of particular measures; it should have been by regular obedience to the laws, and constitutional Parliamentary opposition.

Much enthusiastic declamation was employed. Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald said, "If you reject the amendment, you will, with that rejection, consign the future talents, genius, and virtues of the Irish nation to waste in the desert air, to die unknown. Have you children? Will you put out the light of Ireland? I know not, should you repent, where you will find that Promethean fire which can that light relumine."

Mr. Judkin Fitzgerald.

Mr. George Ponsonby, in a similar strain, exhorted Parliament not to consent to its own immolation. Until he should see the last man out of those doors, and they were closed upon him for ever, he would not believe that those who had lived with so much honour would die with such disgrace.

Mr. George Ponsonby.

Mr. Grattan entered the House, between Mr. Mr. Grattan. William Brabazon Ponsonby and Mr. Arthur Moore,

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just at the moment when Mr. Egan, a barrister of coarse manners and vulgar appearance, was speaking on the constitution of 1782. If this was an accident, it was remarkable ; if contrived, it was striking ; that just at that point in the debate, the man to whom that achievement was due, and to whom it had served as the basis of renown and opulence, should present himself to prevent its demolition. The effect on the House and the galleries was very powerful.

He began his attack on the proposed measure by referring to the adjustment of 1782, and the declarations against it which had been made by Mr. Pitt. He reviewed, at great length, the two questions of regency and war, on which the unionists placed their strongest reliance ; and then said he would suppose the country at the bar, and put this question—“ Will “ you fight for an union as you would for a constitution ? Will you fight for those Lords and Commons, “ who, in the last century, took away your trade, and “ in the present your constitution, as for that King, “ Lords and Commons, who restored both ?”

He then considered separately the prospects held out, and the probable real condition of various classes, should the union take place. The minister’s advocates said to the Catholic body, “ You were, before the “ union, as three to one ; you will be by the union as “ one to four.” Thus they founded their hopes of political power on the extinction of physical consequence, and made the inanity of their body and the non-entity of their country the pillar of their future ambition. Of the predicament in which the new members would be placed, he said, “ never was there “ a situation in which men would have so much temptation to act ill, and so little to act well. Subject to “ a great expense and consequent distresses, having no “ support from the voice of an Irish public, and no “ check, they would be in situation a sort of gentlemen “ of the empire ; that is to say, gentlemen at “ large ; unowned by one country, and unelected “ by the other ; suspended between both, false to “ both, and belonging to neither.” To the Protestant

church, perpetual security was promised; but a measure that would annihilate the Parliament by which that church was upheld, and disfranchise the people who supported that establishment, would rather tend to its disgrace and ruin. To the Catholic clergy salaries were promised. Those who had been strongly accused of disloyalty were to be rewarded for imputed treasons against the King, if they would commit real treasons against the people. A commutation of tithes formed another bribe. It had formerly been observed by some of the King's ministers, in opposition to a proposal of that kind, that it would tend to the overthrow of the church; but now, the premier was not unwilling to overturn the church, if he could at the same time overturn the constitution. Bribes were also offered to the mercantile body, and an abundance of capital was promised; but, first, a great part of the landed capital of the country would be taken away, by the necessary operations of an union.

" In all that is advanced," he said, " the minister does not argue, but foretell; now you cannot answer a prophet; you can only disbelieve him. The thing which he proposes to buy is what cannot be sold—liberty. For it he has nothing to give. Every thing of value which you possess, you obtained under a free constitution: if you resign this, you must not only be slaves, but idiots. His propositions are built upon nothing but your dishonour. He tells you (it is his main argument) that you are unfit to exercise a free constitution; and he affects to prove it by the experiment. Jacobinism grows, he says, out of the very state and condition of Ireland. I have heard of Parliament impeaching ministers; but here is a minister impeaching Parliament. He does more; he impeaches the Parliamentary constitution itself. To what then does the minister in fact object? that you have supported him, that you have concurred in his system: therefore he proposes to the people to abolish the Parliament, and to continue the minister. He does more; he proposes to you to substitute the British Parliament in your place, to destroy the body

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Mr. Corry.

Address
carried.16th.
Aggregate
meeting in
Dublin.

" that restored your liberties, and restore that body which destroyed them. Against such a proposition, were I expiring on the floor, I should beg to utter my last breath, and to record my dying testimony."

Mr. Corry answered this speech at much length and with great ability. At ten o'clock in the morning, the House divided, and the majority for ministers was forty-two*.

This defeat was extremely discouraging to the anti-unionists; but still the struggle was not to be abandoned. Within an hour or two after the division, an aggregate meeting of the freemen and freeholders of Dublin was convoked, at which it was voted that the constitution of 1782 was an inalienable right in them and their posterity; that their representatives in Parliament had no right to destroy it; their powers were limited in time and extent; but the rights of the people were imprescriptible and immortal. That the re-proposal of the measure of a legislative union with Great Britain to the same Parliament which, not a year since, rejected even its discussion with indignation, was insulting, and its consequences might be dreadful. That the means resorted to for the purpose of procuring a Parliamentary concurrence, and a delusive approbation of the people, were base and unconstitutional; and, those who supported the measure were called on to recollect, that while they supposed they could violate the constitution with impunity, the meeting would remember they had taken a solemn oath to maintain it. After some other vehement resolutions, they concluded by voting thanks to the virtuous minority of the British Parliament; to their own representatives; to Mr. Foster, who, on all occasions, had proved himself the steady friend of Ireland; and they declared their lively satisfaction at the return of their late able and virtuous representative, Mr. Grattan, to the senate. To him an address was voted; and the persons so distinguished by thanks and applauses returned suitable answers.

February 5.
Petitions.

Petitions against the measure, from the county of

• 138 to 96.

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Tipperary
petition.Military
interference.

Dublin, from Limerick, Wexford, Cavan, Longford, Tipperary, Galway, Meath, and Fermanagh, as also from the city of Limerick, and the town of Belfast, and several others, were successively presented. On producing that from Tipperary, Sir Lawrence Parsons complained of irregular military interference with certain petitioners by Mr. Derby the sheriff, and Major Rogers. The parties having assembled in the session-house on a Sunday, the sheriff commanded them to disperse; when preparing to depart, they saw Major Rogers advancing with four pieces of cannon and matches lighted, and upon being spoken to, he declared that he waited for only one word from the sheriff, that he might blow them to atoms! These were the dreadful measures, Sir Lawrence said, by which government endeavoured to force the union upon the people, by stifling their sentiments and dragooning them into submission.

Lord Castlereagh denied that, either in his official or Parliamentary capacity, he had ever heard a syllable of the matter; the honourable Baronet had assumed as fact, perhaps upon very slight authority, an outrage, which every man must condemn, if true; and then imputed the odium to government. It was one of the inflammatory tricks which had of late been frequently played off; finally, the parties accused were to be heard at the bar.

Lord Castlereagh then delivered the expected message from the Marquis of Cornwallis, communicating the resolutions of the British Parliament, and the desire of his Majesty. In his introductory speech, he stated that the unfavourable reception of the measure in the preceding year had been principally occasioned by ignorance of its nature and misrepresentation of its effects. In proportion as it was more deliberately and fully investigated, the opposition had become less general, and the clamours less violent. The great body of the landed property was friendly to the principle; the supporters in the two Houses of Parliament, standing in comparison with their opponents in the proportion of nearly three to one.

Lord
Castlereagh.The Lord
Lieutenant's
message.Lord
Castlereagh
describes the
outline of the
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Nineteen counties, whose superficial contents formed five sevenths of the island, had come forward in its support; not unanimously, for complete and perfect unanimity was not to be expected on any great political question; but it was decidedly approved by a very great proportion of the property in those counties; and most of the great commercial towns in the kingdom, except Dublin and Drogheda, had declared in its favour. He felt no surprise at seeing, in some counties, a hostile disposition, from the influence which was known to guide them; but he could not help observing, since the last debate, a political phenomenon, new to the country; a part of the minority withdrawing themselves from Parliament, and, not satisfied with exercising their deliberative powers within its walls, assembling in another place, and empowering certain persons to send letters missive through the country, calling upon fit persons to become their agents, in bringing the mass of the people to the bar, as advocates against the measure. Among other unwarrantable pretences used by these persons to deceive and distract the populace, they had, in one place in the north, given out that this union was a project of Mr. Pitt to lay a tax of five shillings on every wheel, and ten shillings on every loom; in another place, the tenantry were told that the union was to annul all their leases, and the support given to the measure by all the great landed interests was urged as an additional argument.

Declining to investigate the principle of the measure, which had already been so ably established by Mr. William Smith, in a speech delivered in the House, and committed to the press, he detailed the articles he meant to submit to consideration. The first three proposed the union of the two countries into one kingdom; provided for the continuance of the succession to the crown, as at present limited, and declared the propriety of a common legislature for both.

In support of these propositions, he shewed the inconvenience and uselessness of a separate, and probably discordant, legislation, and, having adverted to

Articles
detailed.

the Regency, cited also the instance of James the Second, who, after his abdication, had set himself up with the Irish Parliament in opposition to England ; a strong practical proof of the tendency of distinct legislatures to ultimate separation.

He next explained his resolutions respecting finance, maintaining that the intended arrangement would be a sacrifice of money made by Great Britain to her own loss, and the advantage of Ireland ; but pecuniary advantage was not given in compensation for the loss of the honour or interests of the country ; the offer was on the broad principle of a fair mutual agreement. He shewed, by financial statements, that, in case of an union, Ireland would be taxed considerably less than if she remained separate ; and should these expectations fail to be exactly verified, power would be given to the Imperial Parliament to revise them after twenty years ; and it was intended, out of the revenues of Ireland, to make provision for those laudable institutions which had annually experienced the bounty of Parliament ; such as the Protestant Charter Schools, the Dublin Society, and many others.

On the subject of commerce, his lordship said that the circumstances of the two countries did not admit of a complete incorporation of commercial interests ; because some Irish manufactures were not sufficiently advanced to proceed without protecting duties, and the heavier taxation borne by the British manufacturers presented great difficulties. It was proposed that articles exported to Great Britain should pay a duty equal to that imposed on the British subject for the same articles ; such an arrangement would greatly benefit the trade in sail-cloth, corn, coals, linen, and woollen.

The present church establishment, so long as it continued separate, could never hope to defend itself against the perpetual attacks made upon it on local grounds, and against the popular argument of physical force ; there was no possibility of giving it security but by a complete incorporation with that of Great Britain. It had been said, that the Popish clergy had been bribed to support this measure ; but, in fact, a

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sentation.

provision for them and the dissenting clergy had long been contemplated, before the question of union came into agitation.

As to representation, some thought nothing but a majority, or at least an equality, could secure the interests of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament; but their doctrine went to prove that separate Parliaments, maintaining perpetual hostility, could alone prove beneficial to Ireland. On this subject, the principle adopted in the case of Scotland would be adhered to—that, after incorporation, the separate interests became common, and that the proportion to be taken is in the ratio of the wealth and population of each country. The population of Ireland was called four millions, that of Great Britain ten millions; more than two to one. Two to one population, five and a half to one contribution, gives a medium of about five to one; so that to the British House of Commons of five hundred and fifty-eight, it was proposed to add one hundred Irish members. To the peers in the proportion of thirty-two; four spiritual, and twenty-eight temporal peers; their seats, not, like those of Scotch peers, determinable with each Parliament, but fixed for life. English commoners, who had accepted Irish titles, were to be permitted to continue sitting as commoners, on waiving their privilege as peers of Ireland. As to the representation of the commons; Scotland returned forty-five members; thirty for counties, fifteen for cities and boroughs; the Irish counties would remain as they were, returning sixty-four; and as one hundred and eight cities and boroughs now sent members to Parliament, two ways offered of reducing their number; either by classing several together, to return one member, or, which he should incline to prefer, by taking the privilege from the greater number of them. Dublin and Cork to return two each, as at present; the University one; and thirty-one other borough towns, to be estimated, as to wealth and population, by the amount of their assessments, to return one each. For the great number of boroughs to be thus disfranchised, it would be necessary to adopt a measure of compensation to those who should be in-

Compensation
for disfran-
chised bo-
roughs.

1800.

jured by the arrangement, which he trusted would set at rest for ever the great question of Parliamentary reform.

After a few more observations, turning principally on the character and talents of Mr. Pitt, his lordship moved his resolutions.

The debate was much more distinguished by passionate declamation, than by cogent reasoning or political facts. Mr. George Ponsonby treated as visionary all the supposed benefits to be derived from the union; and, in recapitulating its effects, said,

"your peerage is to be disgraced ; your commons purchased ; no additional advantage in commerce ; for twenty years a little saving in contribution ; but, if the cabinet of England think that we contribute more than we should, why not correct that extravagance now ? If anything should be conceded in the way of trade, why is it not conceded now ? are any of these benefits incompatible with our present state ? No ; but the minister wants to carry his union ; and no favour, however trifling, can be yielded to us, unless we are willing to purchase it with the existence of Parliament and the liberties of the country."

Mr. Dobbs predicted, that, in consequence of an union, Ireland must be enslaved and ruined. The twenty-eight peers and one hundred commoners, comprising the greatest landholders in Ireland, would necessarily reside in England, to the great detriment of their own country. This foul measure had been supported by means as foul ; and he challenged Lord Castlereagh to say, upon his honour, that the church establishment, the revenue establishment, the military establishment, and every dependent on government, had not been employed to procure subscribers, by threats and promises, to the few addresses that had been obtained ; corruption had been exercised in the donation of public money for votes, and for the vacating of seats by those who could not be prevailed on to vote. British and Irish peerages had been promised, and none who hold places under government could be free to vote as they pleased, without the fear of dismissal.

Mr. George
Ponsonby.

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Mr. Edge-
worth.

Beside a Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a Prime Serjeant, Commissioners in the revenue and the barrack boards, and even the Cursitor to the court of Chancery, had been dismissed, because they dared to do their duty to their country.

Mr. Edgeworth concluded a long and argumentative speech against the union, by saying, “ My present vote “ has been determined chiefly by one circumstance. “ The minister has avowed that seventy boroughs are “ saleable commodities, that he intends to purchase “ them with the public money, and he openly tells “ you that the price is fixed. When seventy boroughs, “ whose members are now amongst us, are to be pur- “ chased at fifteen thousand pounds a piece, it is “ impossible to collect the genuine sense of the nation “ within these walls. That influence exists instead of “ prerogative, we all admit ; but to tear the veil from “ the shocking idol of corruption, and command us “ to worship it in all its indecent and disgusting naked- “ ness, is a species of profligacy that takes away the “ zest of refinement from debauchery.”

Mr. Grattan.

Mr. Tighe and Mr. O’Donnell repeated and earnestly enforced similar topics ; and Mr. Grattan, at the close of a vehement harangue, said, “ The present “ question was not such as had formerly occupied their “ attention : not old Poynings, not peculation, not an “ embargo, not a Catholic bill, not a reform bill ; it was “ their being ; it was more, it was their life to come ; “ whether they would go to the tomb of Charlemont “ and the volunteers, and erase his epitaph ; or whether “ their children should go to their graves, saying— “ A venal, a military court attacked the liberties of “ the Irish, and here lie the bones of the honourable “ men who saved their country ? Such an epitaph was “ a nobility, which the king could not give to his slaves ; “ it was a glory, which a crown could not give to the “ king.”

Division.

Opposing to all this declamation, which was repeated by many members, only the tranquil efforts of legitimate reasoning, the supporters of government were, of course, heard to great disadvantage ; but the

division, called for at a late hour, gave them a majority of forty-three*.

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Members who had supported the union were insulted by the populace ; and, from the excited state of public feeling, it was considered necessary to mount a guard of cavalry, which paraded around the Parliament House during the subsequent discussions. As no serious mischief had actually occurred, much clamour was excited against this measure of precaution, which was represented as a military controul—an unconstitutional check on the freedom of debate. No one asserted that the military did, in any way, by act, intimation, or menace, endeavour to influence any person in or out of Parliament ; and it would much more readily be inferred that freedom would be restrained by a lawless, clamorous, intemperate collection of the rabble, than by a body subjected to the orders of persons who were responsible to the country for any irregularity that might be committed.

1800.

Heat of the
people.

Guards
stationed.

In the House of Lords, the measure was introduced by the Earl of Clare, in a speech of extraordinary clearness and eloquence. After the brilliant and ample discussion of the subject in both countries, he observed, no new light could be expected from him. But recollecting the criminal and unexampled efforts which had been made to bear down the measure by noise, and faction, and intrigue, if not by recommendations of open rebellion, he should condemn himself for a gross dereliction of duty, if he forebore to submit it to their lordships' most serious consideration, in all its various and important views and bearings ; more especially as he felt a strong conviction that nothing but union could save the kingdom from annihilation, and eventually uphold the stability of the British empire. He was satisfied in his judgment and conscience, that the existence of her independent Parliament had gradually led Ireland to her recent complicated and bitter calamities ; and he had more than once, while a member of the other House, without reserve, stated his opinion that the rapid growth of faction, and the pre-

10th.
Debate in the
Lords.

The Earl of
Clare.

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1800.

cipitate folly and passion of men, who from time to time were suffered to take a commanding lead in the councils of that assembly, must reduce the country to the alternative of separation or union.

His lordship then made a luminous recital of the history of Ireland, from the origin of her connexion with Great Britain, tracing minutely the possession of property, the frequency of rebellions, and their effects, the restraints on Popery, and the relaxations effected during the present reign. He disclaimed the finality of the arrangement in 1782, and forcibly depicted the conduct of the party called Patriots, with respect to the regency. Parliament at that period had established a broad precedent for separation. If their proceedings could be supposed at all valid, Ireland was, for some weeks, in a state of actual separation from Great Britain ; the authority of the British crown was not acknowledged. If Ireland had a choice of her regency during a fortuitous calamity, that choice might fall hereafter on a French or an Irish Consul ; which, considering the further extravagancies of the House of Commons in 1789, was by no means an impossible event. Parliament had then stinted the supplies and the mutiny bill to two months. In 1783, when the British ministers who had recently been removed had a decided majority in the House of Commons, was any man found in the British Parliament to make a proposition to withhold or stint the supplies ? No. In the warmth of political animosity, the Commons of Great Britain felt their paramount duty to the nation. In Ireland, the peace and honour of the kingdom were sacrificed, without feeling or remorse, to vindictive ambition and rapacity. And it was not an improbable event, that a bill for repealing the acts of annexation and recognition, making a distinct settlement of the Irish crown on the house of Hanover, might come up to that House in a future Parliament, attended by a stinted bill of supply, and a stinted mutiny bill ?

“ By that coalition of vice and folly,” he said, “ which has long undermined the happiness, and at “ this hour loudly threatens the existence, of the

“ country, it is gravely inculcated—let the British
“ ministers leave us to ourselves, and we are very well
“ as we are. Very well as we are ! Gracious God ! of
“ what materials must the heart of that man be com-
“ posed, who knows the state of the country, and
“ will coldly tell us we are very well as we are ? we
“ have not three years of redemption from bankruptcy
“ or intolerable taxation, nor one hour’s security
“ against the renewal of exterminating civil war.
“ Very well as we are ! Look to your statute book ;
“ session after session have you been compelled to enact
“ new laws of unexampled rigour, to repress the
“ horrible excesses of the mass of your people ; and
“ the fury of murder, and pillage, and desolation, have
“ so outrun all legislative exertion, that you have been
“ at length driven to the hard necessity of breaking
“ down the pale of municipal law, and putting your
“ country under military government.”

After dilating on other topics arising from this assertion, his lordship entered upon an exposure of the financial state of the country, and reviewed some of the objections made to the union : the inappropriate time ; the injury to commerce ; the probability that the nobility and gentry would be driven from their own country ; and the consequent impoverishment of the metropolis. “ During the late recess,” he said, “ some persons of high rank and consequence became emissaries of sedition, and canvassed popular clamour by the most shameless impositions on ignorance and credulity.” And of these falsities he cited many specimens. He also read the circular letter and prepared petition which had been disseminated through the country, asking the two noble lords who had thus put them forward, by what authority they had issued their letter missive to every corner of the kingdom, commanding the people to subscribe an instrument fraught with foul and virulent misrepresentation ? But this was not all ; if loud and confident report was to have credit, a consular exchequer had been opened for foul and undisguised bribery. Subscriptions were

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openly solicited in the streets of the metropolis, to form a fund for defeating the Union.

His lordship quoted, from Bishop Burnet's History, a passage on the opposition excited against the Union with Scotland, as a perfect description of the Whigs of Ireland, in 1789, and at this day. "And it is "with cordial sincerity," he concluded, "and a full "conviction that it will give to this, my native country, "lasting peace and security for her religion, her laws, "her liberty, and her property, an increase of strength, "riches and trade, and the final extinction of national "jealousy and animosity, that I now propose to this "grave assembly, for their adoption, an entire and "perfect union of the kingdom of Ireland with Great Britain."

Explanation
of Lords
Charlemont
and Down-
shire.

Resolutions
carried.

Mr. Grattan's
answer to
Lord Clare's
speech.

The resolutions were rather feebly debated. The Earl of Charlemont and the Marquis of Downshire vindicated their conduct in sending the letters and petitions alluded to; but the Marquis denied any contribution to, or even knowledge of, an anti-union subscription. On a division on the first resolution, the majority in its favour was forty-nine*.

If the Lord Chancellor's speech was not adequately answered in the debate; when it was produced as a pamphlet, the task was undertaken by Mr. Grattan. In treating on the adjustment of 1782, Lord Clare had adverted to the description given by that gentleman, now called the father of it, in his valedictory address to his constituents of the metropolis. He termed the greater part of the Irish boroughs creations by the house of Stuart, for the avowed purpose of modelling and subverting the Parliamentary constitution: they were more than abuses; they were gross and monstrous violations, wicked innovations, and fatal usurpations, by kings whose family lost their kingdom for crimes less deadly to freedom. In their Star-chamber tyranny, in their court of High Commission, in their ship money, or in their dispensing power, they did not commit an act so diabolical in intention, so mortal in

principle, or so radically subversive of the fundamental rights of the realm, as the fabrication of a court of Parliament, the exclusion of a constitutional Commons, and the subversion, not of the fundamental laws, but of the constitutional lawgivers. This fabric of boroughs, like a regal pandemonium, constituted a regal House of Commons. "Is it not a little singular," Lord Clare enquired, "that this gentleman has accepted a gift of fifty thousand pounds from this same regal pandemonium? and is it not to be hoped that, if his benefactors have merited one tenth of his maledictions, he will have the justice to bring back the gift, principal and interest, into the exchequer?"

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In his answer, Mr. Grattan laboured to prove that the Lord Chancellor was incorrect in history, unwise in policy, a calumniator, and the enemy of his country. Nearly one third was the common-place of Irish history: much of abridgment, much of misrepresentation, no new discovery or remark; what was long known before by many men, by many women, and by many children; the compendium of the studies of your childhood he repeats to you for the amusement of your age, without any novelty, save that of misrepresentation. In support of this thesis, many counter-assertions were made; and the noble Earl was called upon (and the author would not notice any other writer) to support twelve distinct assertions which he controverted. But he nowhere denied the combinations, the misrepresentations, and the mal-practices which were charged against the opposers of the union. Lord Clare did not accept the challenge to make himself a party in a paper war*.

As the House of Commons was already engaged in discussing the resolutions, an adjournment for fourteen days, when their lordships were to be summoned, was voted.

24th.
The Lords
adjourn.

In the debates on the articles of union in the House of Commons, more than usual heat and intemperance were displayed; but if the rancour of party produced any

14th.
Acrimonious
debates in the
lower House.

* See "Answer to a pamphlet entitled the Speech of the Earl of Clare;" printed for Moore, Dublin, 1800.

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1800.

Duel between
Mr. Corry and
Mr. Grattan.February 20
to March 22.
Further de-
bates.

March 13.

Union agreed
to.

March 22.

27.

Revised by the
Lords,

thing new in expressions of obloquy and reproach, the subject in debate was utterly exhausted; and no argument was offered which had not been urged, repeated, questioned, or repelled on former occasions.

In the first debate, personal acrimony, most indecorously displayed on both sides, produced a duel between Mr. Corry, the chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Grattan. It was fought in the outskirts of Dublin, in the presence of a large number of the populace. Mr. Corry was slightly wounded; but it is believed that, had his antagonist fallen, the survivor would have been sacrificed to the fury of the bystanders*.

Similar debates took place on the introduction of the several articles of the proposed union; but, in all the divisions, ministers had majorities, varying from forty-eight to six. The principal stand made by the opposing party was on the proposition that the owners of boroughs should receive a compensation for their loss of patronage. Mr. Plunkett and Mr. Goold termed this a rewarding of the profligate invaders of the rights of the people, and expressed their astonishment at the shameless inconsistency and absurdity of those who could assert the omnipotence of Parliament, when the members had once been chosen by the people, yet avowed that the majority were not the fair representatives of the nation, but merely the creatures of borough proprietors. Sir John Parnell moved an address to the King to convoke a new Parliament before the union should be adopted; but, after a debate protracted till four o'clock in the morning, the decision was in the negative†. The resolutions were all agreed to, and the first of January following was fixed as the day of union.

A message was transmitted to the House of Lords, announcing the agreement of the Commons to the articles; and on the fifth day they were returned, having been adopted with some alterations. Little

* Such was the opinion current at the time, and it is expressed by Mr. Plowden, vol. iii. p. 1033, n.

† 150 to 104.

occurred in the debates, save a recurrence to old assertions, and an expression of contradictory opinions. The Commons agreed to the alterations, which were merely verbal; and the resolutions were transmitted to the British Parliament for consideration.

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1800.

and adopted

Protests.

Three protests were entered on the journals of the House of Lords, all conceived in strong and vigorous terms. The first, comprised in ten articles, and signed by twenty-four peers, advanced general objections, arising out of the suddenness of the measure, its perpetual binding if once agreed to, its effect in destroying the independence of Ireland, the inadequate representation assigned to her in the United Parliament, and, above all, because no scheme of national adjustment could be honourable, satisfactory, or permanent, which was not considered with mature deliberation, prosecuted by fair and temperate means, and founded on the uninfluenced sense of Parliament, no one of which essential requisites existed in the present project. The second protest was signed by twenty peers, of whom eighteen had subscribed the first; two were new. Beside a general disapprobation of the measure, they particularly disclaimed the financial portions of the resolutions, and energetically called on their latest posterity to acquit them of having been in any wise instrumental to their degradation, and the ruin of their country. The third protest, signed by the same number, and nearly the same individuals, was contained in eleven articles, and, on all grounds of general and local policy, deprecated the measure, and pointed out modes of corruption by which assent to it had been obtained and opposition averted. The names of the Duke of Leinster and the Bishops of Down and Waterford appear on all the protests*.

A message from the King was presented to both Houses, expressing his sincere satisfaction at the resolutions with which it was accompanied, and his recommendation to take such further steps as would tend to the speedy and complete execution of a work so happily begun.

April 2.
Message from
the King to the
British Parlia-
ment.

* Annual Register, vol. xlii. pp. 265, *267, *269.

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1800.

21st.
Debates
in the Lords.
Lord Holland.Lord
Grenville.House of
Commons.
Mr. Jones.

Mr. Pitt.

Both Houses proceeded, on the same day, to take this most important subject into consideration. Lord Holland opposed the proposal for the House to go into a committee, but merely recapitulated the accustomed topics. He admitted the propriety of improving the position of the sister kingdom, but did not consider the union adequate to the occasion. Speculative prospects of distant advantages were but visionary and delusive at best, and by no means to be set against the possession of invaluable rights, splendid honours, and the glory of independence.

These observations were answered by Lord Grenville; no other peer delivered an opinion, and the division was conspicuously favourable to the measure.*

In the lower House, Mr. Jones ineffectually objected to going into a committee; and Mr. Pitt, in a luminous speech, first answered the general objections (which he confessed he had hoped, after the decision of the last session, he should never have heard again), and then separately examined and enforced each of the articles before the House. In terms for ever memorable, he recorded his renunciation of his early opinions on Parliamentary reform. "If any thing," he said, "could "in my mind counterbalance the advantages that must "result from the union, it would be the necessity of "disturbing the representation of England: but that "necessity fortunately does not exist. In stating this, "I have not forgotten what I have myself formerly "said and sincerely felt upon this subject; but I know "that all opinions must inevitably be subservient to "times and circumstances; and that man who talks "of his consistency merely because he holds the same "opinion for ten or fifteen years, when the circum- "stances under which it was originally formed are "totally changed, is a slave to the most idle vanity. "Seeing all that I have seen since the period to which "I allude; considering how little chance there is of "that species of reform to which alone I looked, and "which is as different from the modern schemes of "reform, as the latter are from the constitution; seeing

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" that where the greatest changes have taken place,
 " the most dreadful consequences have ensued, and
 " which have not been confined to that country where
 " the change was exercised, but have spread their
 " malignant influence almost in every quarter of the
 " globe, and shaken the fabric of every government;
 " seeing that, in this general shock, the constitution of
 " Great Britain has alone remained pure and un-
 " touched in its vital principles; when I see that it
 " has resisted all the efforts of Jacobinism sheltering
 " itself under the pretence of a love of liberty; when
 " I see that it has supported itself against the open
 " attacks of its enemies, and against more dangerous
 " reforms of its professed friends; that it has defeated
 " the unwearied machinations of France, and the no
 " less persevering efforts of Jacobins in England; and
 " that, during the whole of the contest, it has uni-
 " formily maintained the confidence of the people:—
 " I say, when I consider all these circumstances, I
 " should be ashamed of myself, if any former opinions
 " of mine could now induce me to think that the form
 " of representation which, in such times as the present,
 " has been found amply sufficient to protect the
 " interests and secure the happiness of the people,
 " should be idly and wantonly disturbed, from any love
 " of experiment, or any predilection for theory. Upon
 " this subject, I think it right to state the *inmost*
 " thoughts of my mind; I think it right to declare
 " my most decided opinion, that, even if the times
 " were proper for experiments, any, even the slightest
 " change in such a constitution, must be considered as
 " an evil."

Mr. Grey re-stated the arguments already advanced against the union, and moved, as an amendment, an address, praying his Majesty to direct his ministers to suspend all proceedings on the subject, until the sentiments of the people of Ireland could be ascertained. This amendment was supported by Dr. Laurence, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Tierney, and some other members; opposed by Mr. George Johnstone, in a maiden speech of considerable ability, by Mr. Nicholls,

Mr. Grey
moves an
amendment.

Other mem-
bers.

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CXV.1800.
Amendment
negatived.2nd.
Apportion-
ment of
taxation.Mr. Bankes's
amendment.

Dr. Laurence.

25th.
Number of
represen-
tatives

Mr. Grey.

His motion.

who was not generally an adherent of ministers, Lord Carysfort, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt in reply; and negatived by a majority which seemed to extinguish all hope of successful resistance.* The first three resolutions were agreed to without opposition, three more being postponed.

To the seventh, relating to the apportionment of taxation, Dr. Laurence offered some objections, in which he was aided by Mr. Bankes, who proposed, as an amendment, that the contributions to be paid by each nation should be fixed by its own representatives.

It was the first time, the learned civilian observed, in the history of any legislative body, that it was proposed to confide the imposition of taxes to men who would not feel them: one hundred men who were perfect strangers would tax Great Britain; and Ireland would be taxed by five hundred and fifty-eight with whom she was in no way connected. It would have been a still greater novelty to see a legislative assembly divided into two bodies, each acting for a separate portion of the same dominion: the amendment was little debated, and the resolution carried.

When that which fixed the number of members to be returned for Ireland came under discussion, Mr. Grey made an elaborate speech on the subject of representation in general. He objected to the augmentation of the number of members, and suggested that forty of the most decayed boroughs should be struck off, which would lead to a vacancy of eighty-eight members; and pointed out some other regulations, by which the proportion of representatives should be preserved, and moved an instruction to the committee, to take into consideration the most effectual means of providing for, and securing, the independence of Parliament.

Mr. Tierney seconded the motion; Lord Hawkesbury answered the arguments of Mr. Grey; a debate was continued, chiefly on the subject of close boroughs, the means which they afforded of extending the influence of the crown, and their congeniality with the

real spirit of the constitution. Sir William Young moved the previous question; no division took place on that point, but the main proposition was approved by a great majority*; the other parts of the resolutions respecting representation were debated, but passed without division.

Many petitions having been presented against the resolution which allowed the exportation of British wool to Ireland, Mr. Law and Mr. Plumer were heard as counsel, and, witnesses having been examined, Mr. Pitt barely moved the sixth resolution, that the impression made by the evidence might be ascertained.

Mr. Peel, while he stated the great injury the cotton manufactory must sustain, professed his readiness to waive all objections, and hoped the woollen manufacturers would be equally disposed to sacrifice some portion of particular profit to the general good. Mr. Wilberforce, freely admitting the candour and sincerity of the last speaker's liberal proposal, maintained that there was no parity in the two cases, and, in a long argument, supported the cause of the petitioners. The House divided, and the resolution was carried†.

When the report of the committee was brought up, and the second reading proposed, Dr. Laurence, taking the lead in opposition, revived the general objections, and pathetically deprecated the union. It could be productive of no advantage to this country; but would spread discontent, distraction, and division throughout Ireland. He heartily prayed that it might not pass: but if it should unfortunately be adopted, he would as heartily pray, that that Being, who called order out of confusion, harmony out of discord, and light out of darkness, who from jarring elements created the fair fabric of the universe, would avert the evils which it was likely to bring down upon the British empire, and turn to its prosperity what was calculated for its ruin. The House divided; the resolutions were agreed to‡, and a committee was ap-

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1800.
Sir William
Young.
Previous ques-
tion moved.
Resolu-tions
carried.
28th
29th.
Counsel heard
on the expor-
tation of wool.
May 1st.
Resolution
moved.

Mr. Peel.

Mr. Wilber-
force.

2nd.
Dr. Laurence.

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pointed to prepare an address, to be presented to the Lords at a conference.

1800.
Conference.
April 25 to
May 7.
House of
Lords.
Lord Holland.

In the upper House, the several resolutions were opposed, on the same grounds as had been taken in the House of Commons. Lord Holland was the distinguished leader; and he was principally supported by Lord Mulgrave, who, on the clause which gave permanent privilege to the peers of Ireland, being members of the House of Commons, moved an amendment, which was negative on a division*.

May 8.
Lord
Grenville
moves address.

Opposition.

Protest.

Bill passed.

Proceedings in
Ireland.

Bill for regu-
lating elec-
tions.

After the conference, the address was moved by Lord Grenville. In the debate, three peers out of four who had filled the situation of Lord Lieutenant applauded the union; Lord Fitzwilliam alone expressing dissent. The Earl of Darnley, in an impressive and argumentative speech, agreed in the general approbation of the measure, but objected to the power which was reserved to the Crown of creating Irish peers; on a division, only seven Lords formed the minority†, and only two of them, Lord Holland and Lord King, signed a protest.

A bill, which merely embodied the resolutions, speedily passed both Houses, and occasioned little debate in either.

In Ireland, when the resolutions adopted by the British Parliament had been transmitted, Lord Castle-reagh brought in a preparatory bill, for regulating the election of the representatives of Ireland in the Imperial Parliament. He stated, as the leading principles, on which the selection of cities and boroughs had been adjusted, a regard to property, and the consideration of political, commercial, and local knowledge; and mentioned the produce of certain taxes as a fair criterion of wealth and population. On these grounds, he named thirty-one, each to return one member, which, with four for Dublin and Cork, one for the University, and sixty-four representatives of counties, would form the soundest collection of individuals that could be charged with the concerns of a nation. The motion was opposed, as tending to pledge

* 48 to 12.

† The numbers were 75 to 7.

the House prematurely ; but it was carried by a majority of fifty-five, and finally passed. It ordained that the sitting members for the cities of Dublin and Cork, and those for the thirty-two counties, were to be elected by drawing names from a glass ; the first-drawn men for each city or town to be the delegated individuals. A rotation was established for the episcopal peers, and the form of electing the lay lords was also provided.

The resolutions returned from England were referred to a private committee ; and the bringing up of the report occasioned an angry, heated debate, more distinguished by personality of reflection than soundness of argument. When the bill had passed through the committee, Lord Corry, less with a hope of success than with a desire to perpetuate the record of his sentiments, moved a long address to the Crown, which is attributed to the pen of Mr. Grattan*. It was supported by many warm speeches, which were answered in a corresponding tone, and finally rejected†.

With little more resistance, the bill passed the two Houses. The Duke of Leinster and eighteen other peers signed a long protest, and two separate protests were entered on the journals, one signed by Lord Bellamont, the other by Lord Glandore.

A bill exactly similar, presented by Mr. Pitt, passed through the House of Commons without division, or any appearance of debate. Its transit through the House of Lords was equally easy‡.

At the close of the session, the Speaker, in addressing the Crown, mentioned, with ardent hope and assured confidence of blessing to the country, the bill for establishing the union : and his Majesty, in answer, congratulated Parliament on the accomplishment of that great measure, which he should ever consider as the happiest event of his reign ; being persuaded that nothing could so effectually contribute to extend to

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May 20.
1600.

May 21.
Debate on the
resolutions
from England.

June 5.

Lords.
13th.
Protests.

20th to 24th.
Bill passed in
England.
July 5.

July 29.
Speaker's ad-
dress to the
King.

The King's
answer.

* Plowden, vol. ii. p. 1066 ; and the address at length is in the same volume, Appendix CX. p. 333.

† 135 to 77.

‡ No notice is to be found of it in the Parliamentary History : the Journals furnish only the dates.

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1800.

August 1.
Lord Lieu-
tenant's
speech.Conduct of the
Roman
Catholics.

Their hopes.

his Irish subjects the full participation of the blessings derived from the British constitution, and to establish, on the most solid foundation, the strength, prosperity, and power of the whole empire.

The Lord Lieutenant terminated this session, the last of an Irish Parliament, by expressing sentiments and hopes similar to those of their Sovereign.

Such was the end of this fervid and embittered struggle. During its progress, the conduct of the Irish Catholics was the subject of observation, not unmixed with astonishment. As a general body, they took no share in the discussion ; there were meetings at which the union was approved and even highly eulogized, and others at which it was condemned ; but no general resolution emanated from the body. It is said that, from hatred of the Orangemen, they were rather disposed to favour the measure*. A more churlish and unpatriotic motive is assigned, “that, “as they were not fully admitted to the enjoyment “of the constitution, it was unimportant to them to “preserve its independence ; and thus,” it is said, “they preferred their claims, to their country†.”

Undoubtedly the Catholics expected, and had reason to hope, that, in an United Parliament, their claims would be more favourably considered than they had hitherto been in the separate legislature of their own country. Negotiations with their prelates had preceded the introduction of the measure ; and some intercourse had taken place, which, although it did not amount to a promise or pledge, was calculated to warrant the belief of the Roman Catholics, that what they termed their emancipation would result from the union.

Consistently with the views of Mr. Pitt, the Marquis Cornwallis had much communication with the leaders of the Roman Catholics, and particularly with Dr. Troy, the nominal Archbishop of Dublin; and, on a proposal to afford pecuniary allowance to their

* Plowden, vol. ii. p. 979 ; and it is to be recollectcd that this author was himself a Roman Catholic.

† Barrington, vol. i. p. 162 ; but this author writes with too much heat and evident partiality to warrant reliance on his opinions.

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priesthood, a meeting of ten prelates, consisting of the four metropolitan Archbishops and six senior Bishops, was held, at the period when the majority of the House of Commons was adverse to the union*. They passed a series of resolutions, by which government was to be invested with the power of refusing its sanction to the election of any prelate; and the parish priests, on a certificate of their having taken the oath of allegiance, were to be recommended to government. On these conditions, subject to the sanction of the Holy See, the Prelates again assembled, and, on the ninth day after their last deliberation, appointed a committee to complete the business. This free and uninfluenced act of these Bishops, shews the extent to which a negotiation with the Irish government had proceeded, and the buoyant hopes which were entertained by the Roman Catholics†. Still, although no public movement denoted their opinions, it was felt that the Roman Catholic nobility, gentry, and clergy, did not favour the proposed measure.

The city of Dublin would suffer greater commercial loss, and a greater defalcation of political importance than any other part of the kingdom; and there, a meeting, called at the Royal Exchange, passed violent resolutions, terming the union a foul and fatal project, and repeating, in a condensed form, all the condemnations of it which had been uttered in Parliament.

Mr. O'Connell, the mover of these resolutions, introduced them by a vehement speech, in which he pronounced it as the sentiment, not only of all present, but of the Catholic people of Ireland, that, if their opposition to this injurious, insulting, and hated measure were to draw upon them the revival of the penal laws, they would boldly meet a proscription and oppression, which would be the testimonies of their virtue, and sooner throw themselves once more on the mercy of their Protestant brethren, than give assent to the political murder of their country. The Catholics of Ireland would never accept of any advantages as

City of Dublin.

January 13.
Meeting.

Mr. O'Connell.

* January 17, 18, and 19, 1799.

† Historical Memoirs of the Catholics, by C. Butler, Esq. vol. ii. p. 149.

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a sect, which would debase and destroy them as a people*.

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But the members of Parliament who opposed the union were not sufficiently combined under one head to make resistance on the subject of the Catholics effectual. Some were willing to concede the whole extent of their claims ; but so many were adverse to all concession, that each division of the party apprehended the severance of the other, if their sentiments were clearly stated or powerfully advanced†.

Conduct of the
Marquis
Cornwallis and
Mr. Pitt.

The Marquis Cornwallis professed himself a sincere friend to the Catholics ; and there is no reason to doubt, that, in every thing he said, he was perfectly upright and candid. His conduct in all the transactions of his life gives assurance of it ; and he possessed too many titles to public estimation, to diminish their effect by any act which should be tainted with dishonesty or duplicity‡. Nor is there any other reason to doubt that Mr. Pitt was equally sincere in his intentions to afford the members of the Romish communion every relief they desired, consistently with the safety of the Protestant establishment. It is said that the state of religion, or rather of infidelity, in France, gave him hopes of uniting the Roman Catholics with the Protestants, especially in facilitating the union. France had not only severed herself from the Roman See, but had discarded the Christian religion altogether, opprobriously naming the day which all Christians venerate, the birth of our Saviour, *le jour du chien*§. Certainly the Catholics of Ireland had not shewn themselves partizans of the enemy in their invasion, or attempts at invasion ; and probably those who considered the matter with attention, felt proper abhorrence at such profaneness ; but the circumstance was too slight for the foundation of a political system. If the abjuration of Christianity, the pollution of altars, the banishment, drownings, and other murders of the priesthood,

* Plowden, vol. ii p. 980. † Barrington, vol. ii. p. 331.

‡ It would hardly be necessary to make this observation, but for the calumnies of Sir Jonah Barrington, an author who does not disdain to mingle with his invectives, gross ribaldry and personal caricature.

§ Quintidi, 5 Nivose. On the Catholic Question, by A. Dalrymple, Esq. p. 1.

would not produce the effect required, it could not be expected that any great sentiment would be excited by a piece of profane ribaldry, not generally known, and but little heeded among the absurdities with which that silly production, the republican calendar, is crowded.

In viewing the debates in the British Parliament, it will be found that ministers, however pressed, never distinctly avowed any intention, beyond thorough good-will, and an earnest desire to do all that justice required. Mr. Pitt's observations are short and studiously general. He merely said, that the prosperity of the church of Ireland never could be permanent, unless it were a part of the union to leave, as a guard, a power to the united Parliament to make some provision as a fence, beyond any act of their own that could then be agreed on. It might be proper to leave to Parliament an opportunity of considering what might be fit to be done for his Majesty's Catholic subjects, without seeking, at present, any rule to govern the Protestant establishment, or to make any provision on that head. Mr. Grey and other members, in the course of the discussion, adverted to the same topics; but Mr. Dundas, although he spoke after them, made no addition to the observations of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

At length, Lord Holland made a distinct motion, that it should be an instruction to the committee on the articles of union, to take into consideration the statutes thirtieth of Charles the Second and first of William and Mary, by which Papists were excluded from sitting in Parliament. The Marquis of Lansdowne observed, that, with respect to what had been absurdly called Catholic emancipation, the matter was merely fanciful, this country having nothing to concede, as they had already restored the Catholics to the free exercise of their franchises; and what little remained he hoped would be done liberally; but perhaps the union did not go far enough; the Catholics should be set at rest; and there was another grievance that called loudly for redress. The whole produce of the tithes of

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Conduct of
ministers in
England.

April 21.

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Motion by
Lord Holland.

Marquis of
Lansdowne.

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Ireland did not amount to more than £200,000. "In "God's name," he said, "abolish them, and lay the "burthen on the landlord, or any where but on the "poor occupant! let the clergy have as much more "as you will, but in some other way. The lower "orders of occupants in Ireland had nothing but their "paltry bed of potatoes; and they were harassed, by "proctor after proctor, to pay tithes even for that. "The true interest of Ireland requires that the land- "lord and the tenant should come together, and that the "middle man should be wholly done away." A large portion of the debate was expended in personal explanation; but no minister said a word that could be deemed a promise or a pledge; the motion was disposed of without a division, by proceeding to the order of the day; and thus the bill passed, without any provision or determination on this very interesting and important matter.

Subsequent events rendered it quite certain that some of the ministers had taken a clear view and formed decisive resolutions; but, in all probability, it never had been discussed in the cabinet, for fear, probably, of those diversities of opinion which, had the matter been pressed, would altogether have prevented the accomplishment of the union. Thus was left a field, on which it might, with certainty, be anticipated that future political conflicts would be maintained, and a subject unsettled, from which furious discords might surely be expected.

*Observations
on Mr. Fox's
absence.*

It is matter of surprise and regret, that, in the debates of two years, so amply recorded, the name of Mr. Fox never appears. His resolution to secede from Parliament was known; but his perseverance in it, at such a crisis, cannot be vindicated. Mr. Grattan too had seceded, under circumstances very different from those which Mr. Fox had ever experienced—an avowed disapprobation on the part of his constituents: yet, when he thought his aid was required, he became again a candidate, and again appeared in the House, to maintain what he considered the honour and dignity of his country. There is no doubt that Mr. Fox would have

opposed the union ; and there is little probability that his resistance would have been successful : but his absence, during these two ardent sessions, left his party much like that in Ireland, without a leader whom all would confidently follow. It is not the part of a patriot to withhold his services from his country, because he is not permitted to guide its counsels ; nor did Mr. Fox duly consult his own dignity and fame when he allowed discussions to take place, and future benefits to be indicated, without any display of that wisdom and eloquence which would have prevented evil and promoted good, which might have exposed the fallacies of conjecture, and reduced to their just value the illusions of hope.

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTEEN.

1800.

Proposal for a naval armistice.—Note of Baron Thugut.—Note of M. Otto.—Proposals of France.—Answers.—Counter project.—Disapproved by the French.—Their proposal.—Further correspondence.—Conference with Mr. Hammond.—Negotiation fails.—Siege and capture of Malta.—State of the French army—Of their opponents.—Treaty of El Arish.—Ratification refused.—Conduct of Kléber.—Defeat of the Grand Vizier.—Judicious proceedings of Kléber—His murder.—Fate of the assassin.—Menou succeeds to the command.—Attack on Ferrol—On Cadiz.—Other expeditions.—Naval exploits.—Misfortunes—Capture of Goree—and Curaçao.—Armistice in Germany prolonged.—and in Italy—Progress of the French in Italy.—They seize Leghorn.—Efforts in Germany.—Campaign of Hohenlinden.—Armistice of Steyer.—Conference at Luneville.—Meeting of Parliament.—Scarcity in England.—Clamour against forestallers.—Mobs and Riots.—At Cold-bath Fields.—In London.—Debates on the subject.—Cause assigned.—Addresses voted.—Committees formed.—Reports.—Debates.—Attack on Mr. Wilberforce.—Motion for removal of ministers.—Debates on peace.—Mr. Jones on the evacuation of Egypt.—Mr. Sheridan's motion.—Answered.—Mr. Tierney's motion.—Measures of security.—Habeas Corpus suspension.—Mr. Nicholls's motion.—Population.—End of the Session.

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WHEN the attempt at a separate treaty with Austria had failed, and while the necessity of including Great Britain in any negotiation for a general peace

was maintained, Bonaparte essayed the experiment, more desirable than hopeful, of effecting with this country a naval armistice; or, more probably, he expected, by the illusion of a renewed display of a pacific disposition, to give strength and encouragement to those in England who maintained that his former offer was improperly rejected.

A foundation for this effort was laid in a note from Baron Thugut to Talleyrand, stating that Lord Minto, the British ambassador at Vienna, had announced that his sovereign was ready to concur in any negotiations for a general pacification, so soon as the French government should disclose a disposition to treat with his Britannic Majesty. In pursuance of instructions dispatched to him, M. Otto, agent in London for the exchange of prisoners, addressed to Lord Grenville a note, apologizing for the unusual method of opening a communication, but requiring further explanations on Lord Minto's intimation. As it was impossible for France to remain under a suspension of arms with Austria, and a continuation of hostilities with England, he proposed a general armistice between the armies and fleets of the two countries, adopting, with respect to the places besieged and blockaded, measures analogous to those which had taken place in Germany relative to Ulm, Philipsburg, and Ingoldstadt.

A correspondence of more than six weeks' duration ensued, the particulars of which it is not necessary to trace with minuteness. In the course of it, M. Otto declared, on the part of his government, that the suspension of arms between the Emperor and the Republic, by which, in the hope of a speedy peace, France had sacrificed the immense advantages secured to her by victory, would terminate in a few days. The intervention of England rendered the question of peace so complicated, that the French government could not further prolong the armistice, unless England would render it common to the three powers. The terms proposed were, that, to Malta, Alexandria, and Belleisle, all vessels, neutral or foreign, should have free access to furnish provisions; and that the squa-

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Proposal for a
naval arm-
istice.Note of Baron
Thugut.

August 11.

Note of
M. Otto.
24.Proposals of
France.

September 4.

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7th.
Answers.Counter
projet.Disapproved
by the French.
16th.Their Propo-
sals.

drons blockading Brest, Cadiz, Toulon and Flushing, should return into their own harbours, or at least keep out of sight of the land.

Lord Grenville replied, that the spirit of this document was unhappily but little consonant with the appearances of a conciliatory disposition. Some assertions, however, advanced in the *projet* were answered; because, if they were passed over, it might be conceived that they were admitted. A *contre-projet* was then referred to, in which, after liberal stipulations respecting prizes, it was proposed that Malta and the maritime ports and towns in Egypt should be placed on the same footing with the places in Germany occupied by Austrian troops; nothing to be admitted by sea which could afford additional means of defence, and provisions only for fourteen days at a time permitted, in proportion to an ascertained consumption. The blockade of Brest, Toulon, and other ports of France, to be discontinued; but none of the ships of war to be removed, before the renewal of hostilities, to any other station. This paper having been transmitted to Paris, M. Otto communicated to Lord Grenville the disapprobation of the First Consul, and the grounds on which the claims contained in the *projet* were still insisted on, and offering two proposals for election to the British government: either that an armistice should be agreed to, independent of events on the Continent, and relative only to a separate negotiation; or that his Majesty should continue to make common cause with the Emperor, but consent that the maritime truce should give to France benefits equal to those secured to Austria by that of the Continent.

The advantages to the Emperor were stated to be, that, by the armistice, he acquired the means of reorganizing his armies, of converting into men, arms, and ammunition of every kind, the subsidies received from England, and of fortifying and re-victualling the places of the second and third line, which were in a bad state in consequence of the rapid and unforeseen advance of the French. Six months of repose would allow the Austrians to recover from the impression of

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ascendancy acquired by their conquerors, and oblige them to regain their well-earned contingent superiority. The state and exertions of Naples were also referred to ; time would be consumed in a joint negotiation ; the French republic ought, under all circumstances, to expect from the naval armistice the facilities necessary for her communications with the islands of France and Réunion, and her West Indian colonies ; and although she should make use of it to send a few thousand additional men to Egypt, did not the places belonging to the Emperor daily acquire in like manner fresh strength on the Continent ? From the general aspect of this correspondence, and from the almost derisory tone of the passage last cited, no hope of a satisfactory termination could be entertained. It continued for some time ; modifications were proposed, and a new projet was delivered, in which, among other things, it was proposed that Malta should be furnished with provisions for fifteen days at a time, at the rate of ten thousand rations per diem, and that six French frigates should have liberty of sailing from Toulon, unloading at Alexandria, and returning without being searched ; the blockade of Brest, Toulon, and every other French port, to be raised ; no ship of the line of two or three decks to go out ; but frigates, sloops, and other small vessels of war, might freely sail and navigate ; and no land forces in the pay of England were to disembark in Italy. In answer to some observations made by M. Otto, respecting the mutuality of the Continental and proposed naval armistice, Lord Grenville shewed, by reference to dates, their utter want of foundation ; since, in three days after the first communication from M. Otto, the French generals had given notice of the resumption of hostilities, orders for which must necessarily have been issued in Paris before the approach of the French agent to the British government. Some personal, but private communications had taken place between M. Otto and Captain George ; but, as a more accredited medium was earnestly desired, Mr. Hammond, the under Secretary of State, was commissioned to see M. Otto, with strong

Further
correspond-
ence.

21.

23

Conference
with Mr.
Hammond.

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24th.

October 8.

9th.
Negotiation
fails.Siege and
capture of
Malta.

and well-digested instructions as to the points he was to insist upon, although it was announced that the last projet shewed that toward an accommodation little progress had hitherto been made. The conference produced no beneficial result; in the course of it, the French minister asserted, and frequently repeated, the determination of his government, if the naval armistice were not concluded, to pursue their course of victory in Germany and Italy, while the inevitable conquest of Naples and Sicily would ensure to them all the facilities of obtaining by force those objects, relative to Egypt and Malta, which they had expected to acquire through the proposed measure. After the exchange of a few more notes, M. Otto wrote, that although several important events had completely changed the basis on which the proposed armistice was to have been established, and had put an end to the negotiation, he had to state that the First Consul was disposed to receive any overtures for a separate treaty of peace. Lord Grenville, in reply, said that his Majesty, always retaining the sincere desire for the restoration of general tranquillity, must renew his former declaration of an invariable resolution to execute with punctuality and good faith his engagements with his allies, and must therefore decline entering into any measures tending to separate his interests from theirs, while they continued to make common cause with him in the war*.

Probably the most important of the events to which M. Otto alluded in his last note, was the capture of Malta, which had recently taken place. The possession of this celebrated island by the French was not more marked by treachery in its beginning, than by subsequent rapacity and cruelty. The impressment of their soldiers and sailors to serve in the Egyptian expedition; the plunder of the treasury; the suppression of all pensions and incomes granted to merit, age, or infirmity; the rapacious seizure of all property, from landed estates down to the pledges in the Mont de Piété; the quartering of troops in private

* For this correspondence at length, see Annual Register, vol. xlvi. pp. *274. to *318. Also same volume, p. 199; Gourgaud, vol. ii. p. 4; Capefigue, tome ii. p. 324.

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houses ; and the supplications for mere necessities of life proceeding from the wives and children of those who had been forced away, and of those who, by the privation of their ordinary means of employment, were reduced to misery ; formed a scene of agonizing distress, strongly contrasted with the security, ease, and comfort the people had enjoyed under their ancient rulers, and engendered a general spirit of dissatisfaction : but when to these were added the desecration of their religious establishments, the spoliation and tendering to sale of ornaments which they regarded almost with adoration, their feelings could no longer be restrained, and a general insurrection compelled General Vaubois, with his feeble army, increased to five thousand by the addition of a portion of the crews which escaped from Aboukir, to shut himself up in the city of Valetta. A blockade by sea and a siege by land were formed, and perseveringly maintained, by a Portuguese fleet, which was speedily joined by some ships under Lord Nelson ; and the French were deprived of all means of information from without. For a moment, an illusory hope was inspired by the appearance of an armament from France, with a reinforcement of three thousand men, and large supplies of provisions and stores ; but as it was entering the canal of Malta, it was intercepted by Lord Nelson, and, after a short engagement, in which Admiral Péree, commanding the *Genereux*, was slain, obliged to surrender : only three corvettes returned to Toulon. Still, with an honourable firmness which forms the most effectual censure on the perfidious baseness of Hompesch, through which they had obtained it, the garrison maintained their position. The Portuguese demanded a surrender, threatening, in case of refusal, to bombard the city ; Lord Nelson offered that the whole garrison should be conveyed to France, without being considered prisoners of war ; but the menace and the promise were alike ineffectual. A protracted siege of two years produced few events worthy of commemoration ; fruitless assaults and ineffectual sallies were the principal features ; the French never failed in bravery, nor in cruelty ; but

February.

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September.

5.

Egypt.

the progress of destitution, which was alone to be relied on for producing a surrender, effectually, though gradually, wrought its effects. No supplies could be received from without; the money obtained by exaction, plunder, and sacrilege, was speedily consumed; and the want of necessaries extended to meat, poultry, fish, and even fuel. The price of every article of sustenance advanced; and when, at the end of the first year, the pay of the troops could no longer be issued, nine shillings sterling was the price of a rabbit, eight-pence of an egg, and one shilling and sevenpence of a rat; while the people lamented the order prohibiting the slaughter of asses and mules for food, their labour being required for indispensable services. This state of things may account for the crafty demand of Otto for daily rations for ten thousand men, when death had reduced the French forces considerably below half that number. As a last effort to apprise his government of his situation, General Vaubois dispatched from Malta, where she had taken refuge, the ship *Guillaume Tell*, the last of Brueys's fleet; but she too fell into the hands of Nelson. At length, further resistance became impossible: it was shewn, at a council of war, that the flour in the store-houses must be exhausted in less than a week; and proposals for capitulation were prepared. General Graham and Commodore Martin held a conference with General Vaubois and Admiral Villeneuve; their terms were acceded to, with a few exceptions; two articles only were refused, and to some others some restrictive conditions were added; but in no part of the transaction did the victors display the least sign of harshness, vindictiveness, or illiberal triumph. Floriana, fort Tigné, and fort Ricasoli, were immediately placed in their hands; and, the next day, the whole British squadron anchored in the port*.

In the attempted negotiation, Egypt was a principal object with the French government. On his abrupt departure from that country, Bonaparte left with

* De Boisgelin's *Malta*, vol. ii. pt. 3, p. 109 to 156. The capitulation is in the Appendix, p. 241. Annual Register, vol. xlii. pp. *118, *123.

General Kléber, his appointed successor, detailed instructions for his conduct. These were very minute, and breathed throughout a spirit of cajolery and perfidy. It appears, by an estimate taken at the period, that the necessities of the army were extreme. Independently of the arrears due to them, which amounted to eleven millions (£458, 333), they were in want of the general means of field warfare, from cannon down to gun-flints ; tools and implements of all kinds ; the attempts to establish a foundry and manufactory of gun-powder had been unsuccessful ; the men were in want of clothing, and subjected to dysentery, ophthalmia, and other diseases, by which, and the course of war, their numbers were reduced to one half; while there was no money left in the military chest ; the resources of the country had been so exhausted by the early exactions of Bonaparte, that a new pecuniary requisition would probably have occasioned a general insurrection*.

Bonaparte further directed, that if Kléber did not hear from France by May, with a supply of muskets, sabres, pistols, and ball ; and if the plague should again ravage the troops to the extent of fifteen hundred men, he should not hazard another campaign, but conclude a peace with the Porte, even if the evacuation of Egypt were a primary stipulation ; but he was to bear in mind the importance of the colony, which, on the dissolution of the Turkish government, must fall into the hands of some European power, and the necessity of enabling France to regain it at the first opportunity.

* Such is the account of his situation given by Kléber himself at the time. Intercepted Correspondence, part 3; Letters 2 to 9. Bonaparte described the situation of affairs very differently. "The army of Egypt," he said, "might have maintained, nay, perpetuated itself in Egypt, without any assistance from France. There were military stores and ammunition enough for several campaigns. Champy and Conté had formed powder-mills ; the army had establishments sufficient to organize a force of eighty thousand men, and could obtain as many recruits as might be wanted, among the young Copts, the Greeks, Syrians, and Negroes of Darfur and Sennar." Memoirs dictated by Bonaparte to the Count de Montholon at St. Helena, vol. i. p. 73. See also, in the same volume, p. 90, Kléber's letter to the Directory, with Bonaparte's observations on every paragraph. On these contradictory assertions, it may be observed, that those of Kléber had been published many years, without an attempt at refutation, before those of Bonaparte were made, and these were advanced controversially, in observations on the publication of Baron Jomini.

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Of their
Opponents.

Far from discovering in his situation any grounds for sanguine hope, Kléber saw formidable bands of enemies collecting on every side. The Mamelouks were dispersed, but not destroyed; Mourad Bey was in Upper Egypt, and Ibrahim Bey at Gaza, both in considerable strength; and the Grand Vizier, at the head of the principal forces of the Turkish empire, amounting, it was reported, to eighty thousand men, aided by British officers and favoured by the command which Sir Sidney Smith retained in the Red Sea, had arrived at Damascus, effected a junction with Djezzer Pacha under the walls of Acre, sent forward thirty thousand men to Gaza, and taken El Arish, described by Bonaparte as one of the keys of Egypt. This exploit was distinguished by a profuse shedding of blood, in skirmishes or partial fights; but if the French were able to shew that the loss sustained by their opponents was numerically greater than their own, still they found, that while their forces were always diminishing, the opposed ranks were always immediately filled up, and seemed to increase after every conflict.

Treaty of
El Arish.

January 24.

Under existing circumstances, Kléber renewed the proposals of pacification which Bonaparte had attempted. On his arrival at Damascus, Sir Sidney Smith had apprized him that no separate negotiation with the Porte would be allowed, but that the Russian agent and himself must be parties with the Grand Vizier to any arrangement. A conference was held on board the British Admiral's ship, *Le Tigre*, followed by others in the Turkish camp at El Arish. Without the formal assent either of England or Russia, a treaty was concluded, by virtue of which the French were to leave the country, retaining their arms, baggage, and property, and to be conveyed to France in vessels provided by the Turkish government; periods were fixed for the evacuation of Cairo and other ports held by the French; and all prisoners on either side, whether in Egypt or in Europe, were to be released. If England had been a mere hired auxiliary power, such terms could hardly have been deemed tolerable; it could not well be supposed that the masters of the ocean would

quietly permit a hostile army, with all its means of operation, to be conveyed, with their sanction, to shores where their efforts would be most injurious to their cause and that of their allies. Without hesitation, Lord Keith refused to ratify the compact to which Great Britain was not a party ; the terms he proposed were, that the French should lay down their arms, surrender themselves prisoners of war, not to return to Europe until exchanged, and should also give up all the ships and stores in Alexandria. This intelligence was immediately communicated by Sir Sidney Smith to General Kléber, who, on the faith of the treaty, had already permitted the departure of Generals Desaix and Davoust, and evacuated the posts of Katieh, Salahieh, and Belbeis, and was on the point of withdrawing from Cairo ; he had already published a valedictory address to the natives, in which he daringly asserted, that the French had maintained and protected the people in the enjoyment of their religion, their laws, their customs, and their property ; nor did they leave among them the remembrance of any violence.

Rejecting, with becoming indignation, the terms by which it was proposed that a numerous army should submit, tamely and without a conflict, to a capitulation as humiliating as could have been expected if they had been overwhelmed by defeat and disaster, Kléber published Lord Keith's letter for the information of his followers, adding the laconic and spirited invocation, " Soldiers, we answer such insolences only by victories : prepare to fight."

No authentic information had reached the Grand Vizier of the altered state of affairs ; and, notwithstanding an obscure intimation from Kléber, he continued to advance, but with a total neglect of order and discipline, and unprovided with artillery. At midnight, the French General mustered ten thousand men at the gates of Cairo. The Turkish army amounted to eighty thousand ; but so little was their skill, that the portion of it commanded by the Grand Vizier, after a carnage rather than a conflict, was driven to flight on the plains of Heliopolis, from which the battle takes its

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1800.

Ratification
refused.Conduct of
Kléber.Defeat of the
Grand Vizier.
March 20.

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27.

name* ; while, near Belbeis, the same fate attended another corps of Turks and Mamelouks under Nazif Pacha, who had been appointed, by the Porte, Governor General of Egypt ; and both bodies left to the victors their camp and military equipage. Nazif Pacha found means, with some of the shattered remains of his army, to reach Cairo, while it was left by the French. Encouraged by this appearance of support, the people refuted the allegations of Kléber in his farewell proclamation, by an indiscriminate massacre of all the inhabitants of the French quarter. They had proceeded on false intelligence that Kléber had been totally defeated, but speedily found him besieging the city, which, with such unexpected skill and industry, they had prepared for defence, that it was enabled to resist during a whole month. Boulacq and Suez had in like manner risen against their oppressors ; but, after a resistance less permanent, were obliged to yield : some other places were also subdued ; and thus the French were again masters of Lower Egypt. A contribution of twelve millions (£500,000), half in money, the residue in military equipments and clothing, was imposed on Cairo ; Boulacq and the other towns were to be assessed according to the wealth of the inhabitants.

Judicious proceedings of
Kléber.

Kléber employed himself, with great diligence and much appearance of success, in reforming abuses, regulating the finances, and mitigating the oppressions under which the people had laboured. According to the advice of Bonaparte, he enrolled a considerable body of native troops, who were drilled and disciplined in the European manner ; and he improved the country and increased the security of the capital, by constructing roads and establishing flying bridges over some branches of the Nile. Offers to treat with him were made by the Capitan Pacha, and by Lord Elgin, the

* Little military glory was acquired by this success, although it was much vaunted and made the subject of fetes and celebrations. Bonaparte describes it in these terms : "The rabble, which called itself the Grand Vixier's army, was chased beyond the Desert without making any resistance. The French army had not one hundred men killed and wounded, but killed fifteen thousand of the enemy, and took their tents, baggage, and artillery."—Monthonon, vol. i. p. 116.

British Ambassador at Constantinople ; but both were refused, as the General hoped that the rejection of the treaty of El Arish, and its consequences, would create jealousies between England and the Porte, enable him to effect a separate arrangement with the latter power, and prevent their co-operation against him. His untimely fall by the hand of an assassin terminated his course of usefulness and enterprize, and totally changed the position of French affairs in Egypt. He had reviewed in the morning a newly raised legion of native Greeks ; and, having enjoyed a cheerful breakfast at the house of Dumas, walked into the garden, accompanied only by an architect, named Protain. Suddenly a man leaped forth from a place of concealment, and stabbed the General with a dagger ; he then attacked Protain, giving him several wounds, and inflicted on his principal victim, when he was laid senseless, several other wounds, as if doubting the effects of the first. At the moment of his being attacked, the General had called to a soldier of the corps of guides who was passing the spot ; an alarm was given, the generale was beaten, the house and grounds were surrounded, to prevent escape, and, after an anxious suspense of two hours, the assassin was discovered and dragged from his place of concealment, and the instrument of his crime was found near the spot. Protain, who was not mortally wounded, described, and, when he was produced, recognized the murderer. When examined, he declared his name to be Souleyman El Alepo, and his age twenty-four, but firmly denied all knowledge of the transaction, or that he even knew the person of his victim. His firmness did not relax under the torture of the bastinado ; but treachery obtained from him a confession, or at least afforded ground for a story, which, whether true or fictitious, passed current on the occasion. A Mamelouk chief, employed for the purpose, promised that, if he would make a full confession, he should not only be exempt from punishment, but receive liberty and rewards. Thus allured, he is reported to have said that the Grand Vizier, after his late defeat, had urged it as a duty, and the

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His murder.

June 14.

Fate of the
assassin.

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certain means of salvation, for a good Mussulman, by any means, to destroy the French commander, and added the prospect of honours and rewards at the hands of the Grand Signor. These incitements were pressed upon the youthful Souleyman, a zealot in religion, and of the warmest filial affection : his father was arrested and imprisoned for a pretended debt to Ibrahim Pacha ; and Achmet, a disgraced Aga of the Janissaries, by working on both these motives, decided him to perpetrate the deed. By him he was furnished with introductions to four cheiks in Cairo. They declined joining in his plot, but did not denounce it ; and he remained three weeks fortifying his mind by perpetual acts of devotion, until the day for accomplishing his purpose arrived, when he pursued the General in every step he took, until he found the opportunity to strike the fatal blow. Having made these disclosures, the wretched criminal demanded the performance of the promised conditions, but soon found that he had placed confidence where good faith did not exist ; three of the four cheiks whom he had named were seized, the fourth having prudently made his escape. By the sentence of a military commission, summoned by the French, the three cheiks were beheaded, for not having disclosed the secret which had been confided to them ; and the fanatical murderer, after having his hand burnt off, was impaled alive, and his body left to be devoured by birds of prey. All this was perpetrated in presence of the French army, who testified satisfaction at an execution which might have appalled the hearts of savages.

Menou succeeds to the command.

On the death of Kléber, the chief command devolved, by seniority, on General Menou, one of the nobles who, in the Constituent Assembly, had disgraced themselves and ruined their order by joining the Tiers-état. He had made himself conspicuous in La Vendée by his incapacity ; and when he was employed in Egypt, not the remotest thought could be entertained that he would arrive at the chief command ; the event was produced only by the absence of Bonaparte, Berthier, Desaix, and Davoust, and the extraordinary

murder of Kléber. This atrocious act has never been satisfactorily accounted for. The Grand Vizier, by a sensible proclamation, disavowed and disproved the inculpations cast on him by Souleyman's supposed confession ; he had no personal ill-will toward Kléber ; and the cause of his country could not be promoted by the destruction of an individual commander, while the French could be at no loss in supplying his place. Insinuations were not wanting, that Menou, allured by the prospect of his own advancement, had occasioned this dreadful catastrophe ; but this surmise, although aided by Menou's conduct through life, and particularly by his renouncing his religion, name, and attire, possessing Mahomedanism, wearing a Turkish dress, and calling himself Abdallah, rests upon no sure foundation. In quitting this subject, and, for the present, the scene of it, a curious coincidence occurs : Kléber at Cairo, and Desaix at Marengo, met a violent death on the same day, and, it is even said, at the same hour*.

Beside the services which they were rendering in Egypt, the British arms were actively, if not always successfully, employed in other quarters. An army of twenty thousand men, at first under Sir Charles Stuart, but, on his resignation, led by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, had been collected at Minorca. It was intended that, by entering and occupying the maritime Alps, and so closing up the communication between France and Italy, they should form a powerful diversion in favour of Austria ; and it was expected that the royalists in the south of France, encouraged by this force, would rise against the existing government ; but when the triumphs of the French rendered these objects unattainable, fifteen thousand men, after a long delay, were embarked, under Sir James Pulteney, to make an attack on Ferrol. This expedition had been ordered by government, on information respecting the state of the place and its means of defence, which were found

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Attack on
Ferrol.

August.

* These facts are taken partly from the Annual Register, vol. xlvi. p. 211, et seqq. Montholon and the authorities already referred to ; the histories in general, particularly Desaoids ; and the Collections of the State Papers.

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to be extremely incorrect. Eleven thousand troops landed without opposition, and, after two slight skirmishes, gained possession of some heights which overlook the town. From this place they could see that which on one side was deemed terror and confusion, and on the other merely anxious preparation for a resolute defence ; but, on his own observation, and by the advice of a council of officers, the General re-imbarked his forces without any further attempt, except the destruction of the outworks and advanced batteries. Such a retreat produced much dissatisfaction, and drew down severe observations, both on those who planned and those who conducted the expedition. Many statements, grossly exaggerated, or totally unfounded, were diffused through the press and in every other form. The substance of the charge, and the complete answer to it, occurred in the House of Commons, on a motion by Mr. Sturt* for an inquiry into the causes of the failure, which it was said had brought nothing but disgrace upon the country. The landing of so large a force was unnecessary ; if intended only to inspect the place, two thousand or even two hundred men would have been fully sufficient. When the heights were gained, an officer at the head of the department of engineers congratulated the General, assuring him that in a few hours he would be master of the place. The fifty-second regiment wished to have taken possession of Grana, which would have been done, but that their colonel was wounded. Had Fort Philip been taken, the work would have been accomplished ; but the troops lay idle upon their arms. Great difference of opinion prevailed among the officers, on the orders to re-imbarke ; the naval officers said they could have taken most of the forts without aid from the military ; and the sailors, who had been promised the acquisition of laurels, and saw so rich a prize as thirty-four sail of the line, beside frigates and richly-laden merchant vessels, within their grasp, almost broke out into a mutiny. In answer, Sir James Pulteney stated, that, on inspection of the place, he was convinced of the

* February 19, 1801.

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impropriety of hazarding an attack ; the works were such as to defy a coup-de-main. The town was covered on three sides by the sea, the fourth was regularly fortified in masonry recently constructed, and in the best order. Its garrison was so ample, that, besides the force necessary for manning the works, a surplus body of eighteen hundred men could be spared for other operations ; an attack could not be attempted by day ; and, as the whole country was alarmed and in motion, every hour would bring in a great accession of strength. The landing of the troops was not effected till five in the morning ; and between that and night-fall, the works would have been amply furnished with cannon. That these were not vain illusions, or ill-founded conjectures, was proved by the accounts subsequently published by the Spaniards and by the French. Both individually and collectively, the general officers were consulted ; one only had not sufficiently made up his mind on the subject, and he was afterward satisfied that an attack must have failed ; and the chief officer of engineers thought that an escalade in the night might possibly succeed, but the risk was very great, especially as the enemy had double the number of men necessary for the works. A coup-de-main not being deemed practicable, no one proposed a regular siege ; and as to the supposed offer of the naval officers, no such proposition was ever communicated to the General, or probably ever made ; that, as well as the eagerness to surrender had the town been summoned, was a mere fiction*.

Another attempt against the Spaniards, made by the same army, was attended with no better success. In pursuance of commands from England, Sir Ralph Abercrombie proceeded to Cadiz, for the purpose of destroying the fleet and burning the arsenal ; if, the exploit being effected, he could be sure of bringing off the army. When the fleet had arrived off the port, correct information was received respecting the anchorage, and the impossibility, during the prevalence

October 6.
On Cadiz.

* Histories; Annual Register, vol. xlvi. p. 226; Parliamentary History, vol. xxxv. p. 978; and Sir James Pulteney's Speech, separately published.

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of a south-west wind, of maintaining a communication between the fleet and the army on shore. An attempt at landing was made; but the confusion which prevailed among the boats, and other untoward circumstances, obliged them first to postpone the disembarkation, and finally to abandon the enterprize. The failure was mortifying to the gallant spirits employed; but, had they succeeded, a worse peril awaited them than they had yet foreseen; the plague, or yellow fever, raged with dreadful violence, carrying off, in the city and its neighbourhood, many hundreds in a day. The brave veteran and his army were ordered to Egypt, to contest with the French the possession of that country*.

Other
expeditions.

June 4.

June.

July 7.
Naval exploits.

April 5.

Misfortunes.

March 16.

Some less important affairs, in which the British army and navy were engaged, distinguished the warfare of the year. On the south-west coast of Quiberon, Sir Edward Pellew landed a body of troops, who destroyed the forts and burned the shipping; and similar attacks were made on the Quimper river, and on Bornœuf Bay. A spirited attempt was made by Captain Leman, with fourteen fire-vessels, to take or destroy four frigates, lying in Dunkirk Roads. One, La Desirée, of forty guns, was captured; the others escaped, though not without considerable damage. In the Mediterranean, Rear Admiral Duckworth encountered a Spanish fleet of thirteen merchantmen, convoyed by three frigates, and, after a sharp skirmish, two frigates of thirty-six guns, El Carmen and La Florentia, and eleven merchantmen, fell into his hands. The prizes were very valuable, and the loss extremely detrimental to the Spaniards, as the lading consisted chiefly of quicksilver, intended for working the mines at Lima. Some other naval achievements, such as the recapture of the Hermione, and the taking of Le Cerbère, afforded additional proofs of the skill and daring intrepidity of the British navy. Against these successes were to be placed calamities produced by the elements and the misdirected fury of a ship's crew. The Queen Charlotte, of one hundred and twenty guns,

* Life of Sir John Moore, vol. i. p. 258; where a minute account is given from the letters and journals of the General himself.

Earl Howe's flag-ship on the glorious first of June, engaged in reconnoitring the isle of Cabrera, between twenty and thirty miles from Leghorn, caught fire by accident, and, notwithstanding the strenuous and manly exertions of the crew, blew up ; and, of eight hundred and thirty-seven men, only one hundred and fifty-eight were saved. The Repulse, of sixty-four guns, cruising in the Channel, before the port of Brest, was driven by tempest on a rock near Ushant, and wrecked ; ten of the crew perished ; the rest were treated with great humanity by the French, but detained as prisoners ; and a mutinous portion of the crew of the Danaë overpowered the remainder, and carried her into Brest. Sir Charles Hamilton gained easy possession of the island of Goree. Having been informed that three French frigates were at anchor under the fort, he repaired thither with a competent squadron ; but, on his arrival, they were not found. The marines were landed, and Guillemin, the French commander, considering resistance unavailing, surrendered on honourable terms. The island of Curaçao, belonging to the Batavian, but groaning under the protection of the French republic, claimed that of Great Britain. Fifteen hundred Frenchmen held possession of the western part, but could offer no effectual resistance to the declared will of the inhabitants, aided by a British squadron under Captain Frederick Watkins ; a capitulation was agreed on, by virtue of which the territory was placed under the protection of Great Britain ; and the vessels in the harbour, among which eleven were French, seven Spanish, and three British prizes, together with a considerable property belonging to the Spaniards, were obtained.

If these transactions were little calculated to affect the general state of affairs in Europe, others occurred toward the close of the year sufficient to render it for ever memorable. Incensed at the rejection of the treaty entered into by Count St. Julien, and the refusal of a passport to Duroc, Bonaparte directed that notice should be given of the renewal of hostilities in Italy and in Germany. The Emperor, unprepared for a

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March 16.

March.

April 4.
Capture of
Goree.September 13.
And Curaçao.Armistice in
Germany pro-
longed.

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September 20.

And in Italy.
29.

Progress of the
French in
Italy.

October 10,
15, 16.
They seize
Leghorn.

18.

proceeding so sudden and decisive, obtained a prolongation of the armistice for forty-five days, at the high price of ceding to the French the fortresses of Ulm, Philippsburgh, and Ingoldstadt, the very keys of Germany. Hostilities had been in progress in Italy, but were suspended by a similar treaty, concluded at Castiglione. In the interval thus dearly purchased, the Emperor was assiduously employed in augmenting his forces and securing his defences; and France was no less intently engaged in replenishing the ranks of her armies, and bringing to perfection other treaties and plans.

Probably a hope was entertained at Vienna, that, when the armistice should expire, the advanced state of the season would prevent the French from making any vigorous forward movement; but the republicans, not restrained by such considerations, pressed their preparations with incessant and unabated vigour. In those parts of Italy which were not under the dominion of the Emperor, hostilities had never been altogether intermitted. The levies en masse of the Pope and the Grand Duke of Tuscany spread themselves into Romagna and opened communications with Ferrara; a requisition was sent to General Sommariva to make them disarm, which being refused, General Dupont entered the country, defeated them, and occupied Florence; while General Clement seized Leghorn; where, as usual, they confiscated all English ships and property, which yielded a great booty. The French prevailed in all quarters: Arezzo, making some resistance, was taken by assault by General Monnier; the greater part of the inhabitants perished; the town was a scene of conflagration; the citadel was razed to the ground; the entire dominions of the Grand Duke were delivered up to plunder and carnage, and those of the Pope to universal anarchy. It had been one of Bonaparte's motives for granting the extension of the armistice, that he might obtain time to quell these insurrections, and to restrain others in Naples, Piedmont, and other parts, which, if they could not be formidable to a regular army, would yet

diminish its strength, by rendering it necessary to employ detachments in watching them*.

The levies in the Austrian territories were vigorously aided by the patriotic spirit of the people; but the evil genius of the Aulic Council spread its baleful influence in all parts. The Archduke Charles, who consented to become the General-in-chief of the army in Germany, was not employed there; he was engaged in Bohemia, marshalling the new levies. General Kray was removed, and his place supplied by the Archduke John; a brave and patriotic prince, but not sufficient in age or experience to encounter the great talents of his opponents. The Emperor had, for a time, appeared at the head of his army, only to cede Ulm and the other two great fortresses as the price of a short delay. The councils at Vienna had undergone an essential change by the substitution of Count Cobentzl, who was supposed favourable to the cause of France, for Thugut, whose contrary principles were perfectly ascertained†.

At the conclusion of the armistice, hostilities were renewed. The French troops were in excellent condition, and powerful in number, well clothed, armed, and supplied; and, in addition to their more established force, fifteen thousand men were collected at Dijon, as an army of reserve. Undeterred by the risks of the approaching season, Bonaparte resolved to push forward to Vienna. Brune passed the Mincio, and Moreau the Isser. Some engagements in both quarters took place, particularly one at Ampfingen, where the Archduke, by a skilful operation, obtained flattering advantages over General Grenier, but neglected to pursue them; and finally, the great and ever to be renowned battle of Hohenlinden gave a complete ascendancy to France. In this conflict, maintained for ten hours in a heavy snow-storm, the Austrians obtained, for a time, some advantage; but the skill of Moreau, aided by several other Generals of high reputation, and supported by the valour of his troops, surmounted

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Efforts in
Germany.

November 28.
Campaign of
Hohenlinden.

December 1.

3.

* Alison, vol. iv. p. 375. Gourgaud, vol. ii. p. 18.

† Gourgaud, vol. ii. p. 12.

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Armistice
of Steyer.
20.

all opposition, and accomplished exactly the plans which he had formed. The Austrians lost eighty pieces of artillery, ten thousand prisoners, of whom two were General Officers, and six thousand men left dead on the field; while that of the French did not exceed three thousand killed and wounded*. By a masterly manœuvre, he effected the passage of the Inn and the Salza, his troops encountering the greatest fatigues from long marches and severe fighting, and braving the sufferings occasioned by the rigour of the season. Dejected by their constant defeats, and worn down by toil, the Austrians no longer showed any martial spirit. The presence of their justly favourite general, the Archduke Charles, who joined them in this extremity, failed to reanimate them. They were, in fact, no longer an army, but a confused mass of men, incapable of discipline, control, or mutual reliance. The brave Prince was determined to hazard every thing by a battle under the walls of Vienna, should such a measure become necessary; but doubt and fear prevailed in all around him; his rear-guard, under Prince Schwartzenberg, was defeated at Kremsmunster, with the loss of twelve hundred men; and he found himself obliged to send a messenger to Moreau, at Steyer, to solicit an armistice, which, after some hesitation, was granted. On the Maine, a French and Dutch army, under Augereau, had achieved considerable successes, experienced some checks, and were exposed to some danger, when the progress of hostility was terminated by the armistice. Thus the republican army, in a short campaign of little more than three weeks, in the middle of winter, and in the most severe weather, marched ninety leagues; crossed three considerable rivers in presence of the enemy; made twenty thousand prisoners; killed, wounded, or dispersed as many; captured one hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, four hundred caissons, and four thousand carriages; and never halted till its advanced guard, arrested by an

* The details of this battle are given in the Annual Register. vol. xlvi. p. 205; Dictionnaire des Batailles, art. Hohenlinden; Gourgaud, vol. ii. p. 27; and Alison, vol. iv. p. 382.

armistice, was within twenty leagues of Vienna*. In acceding to the proposed armistice, the French, with much appearance of reason, assumed credit for great moderation, and declared that one of their principal motives was the reliance they placed on the integrity of the Archduke Charles, and the assurance that the Emperor wished to make peace, whatever might be the determination of his allies; they also reserved to themselves abundant means of exacting favourable conditions of peace, or, should such be the result, of resuming hostilities with advantage†.

Peace was the cry of the French army, and the undisguised wish of the people. Bonaparte, ill at ease, in consequence of some recent attempts, affecting his power and his life, and apprehensive that the Emperor Paul, with whom, for the present, he was on friendly terms, might, according to the moods of his ungovernable temper, take a course which would frustrate his most sanguine hopes, was earnest in expressing the same desire; all parties looked with anxious eagerness to the proceeding at Luneville, where plenipotentiaries from Austria and France were engaged in considering seriously and sincerely the conditions of a permanent pacification†.

While these events were in progress, the Parliament of Great Britain was, for the last time, assembled. His Majesty assigned as a reason for convoking them at an unusually early period, the difficulties with which the poorer classes of the people had to struggle, from the high price of provisions; and he adverted to the disturbances which had taken place in some parts of the kingdom, through the criminal excitements of the malicious and disaffected.

These observations were but too well founded. The harvest of the present, although not so bad as that of the preceding year, was lamentably defective; prices were greatly advanced, and the people were taught the lesson, which they are always too ready to learn, that they who, in the course of their trade,

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Conferences
at Luneville.

November 11
Meeting of
Parliament.

Scarcity in
England.

Clamour
against fore-
stallers.

* From Alison, vol. iv. p. 401. See also Gourgaud, vol. ii. p. 29, et seqq.

† State papers, Annual Register, vol. xliii. p. *302.

‡ Gourgaud, vol. ii. p. 10.

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July 2.

possessed themselves of large stores of grain, were forestallers and monopolizers, who, for their individual advantage, caused the general misery of the people. These opinions were not confined to the lower classes, or to the mere disseminators of sedition ; for, after the trial of an eminent corn-factor, on an obsolete law, supposed to be repealed, for purchasing grain by sample and selling it again in the same market at an enhanced price, the jury, who found him guilty, were applauded by Lord Kenyon, the learned judge who presided, as having, by their verdict, conferred on their country almost the greatest benefit ever conferred by any jury. The law laid down on the occasion was afterward discussed in full court ; and the judges being equally divided in opinion, no final proceedings took place against the defendant.

Mobs and
riots.

In many parts of the country, ferocious attacks on the persons and property of farmers, mealmen, bakers, and other persons trading in corn, took place. The Duke of Portland wrote official letters to the town clerk of Nottingham, and to the Lord Lieutenant of the county of Oxford, deprecating the false opinions circulated as to the cause of the existing scarcity. The metropolis was also the scene of great agitation. General politics were mingled with the popular cause of complaint, and tumults excited, which, but for great vigour and judgment shewn in repressing them, would have brought back the dreadful and disgraceful events which, in preceding times, had stained our annals. The felons, confined in the prison in Coldbath Fields, raising a cry of murder and starving, were supported by a mob of about six thousand persons collected on the outside, who threatened to force the doors and break down the walls. The insurgents within were quelled by the civil force ; those without were restrained by the ready and spirited interference of the volunteers, who assembled under arms from various adjacent parishes, and on several other occasions dispersed collections of evil-disposed persons, prepared to invade markets, magazines, and shops containing grain, flour, and other articles of food.

Sept. 10.
29.At Coldbath
Fields.
August 18.

An attempt, more combined and dangerous, was threatened in the city of London, where two copies of an inflammatory bill, not printed, but written, were posted on the monument. It promised that bread should be sold at sixpence the quartern, if the people would assemble at the corn-market on a given day; and, addressing them as fellow countrymen, asked, "How long will ye quietly and cowardly suffer yourselves to be thus imposed upon and half-starved by a set of mercenary slaves and government hirelings? Can you still suffer them to proceed in their extensive monopolies, while your families are crying for bread? No! let them exist not a day longer; we are the sovereignty; rise then from your lethargy." A mob, collected under this instigation, assailed the dealers who assembled in Mark Lane, directing their malice particularly against the Quakers, and destroyed the windows and furniture of several individuals, selected either through malice or misapprehension, particularly of Mr. Rusby, against whom the verdict had lately been pronounced. The Lord Mayor, Alderman Harvey Combe, conducted himself with equal firmness and prudence, and was well supported by the other magistrates of the city. He called around him the police and the volunteers, addressed the rioters in person, on the folly as well as the wickedness of their proceeding, and, beside giving prudent directions to the peaceable and well-disposed to assure their own personal safety, should measures of force be unavoidable, published, as the decided opinion of the Court of Aldermen, that, but for the riotous proceedings which had taken place, the price of wheat would have been considerably reduced. Thus temperately and prudently resisted, the sedition was suppressed. The Lord Mayor's conduct was the more eminently laudable, as he was a conspicuous leader in the party opposed to government; his good example checked the efforts of the malignant; so that, when a handbill was afterward published, inviting every journeyman, artizan, mechanic, and labourer to meet, on a Sunday, on Kennington Common, for the pretended purpose of

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September 14.
In London.

16. 17.

November 9.

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10th.

11th.
Debates on
the subject.Cause
assigned.

petitioning the King and Parliament, a mischief similar to that produced by like means through Lord George Gordon was prevented, by a timely assemblage of police and volunteers, and a cautionary publication of advice to all who might otherwise have been seduced. Far from losing the lowest tribute of popularity by his conduct, the Lord Mayor, going to attend the inauguration of his successor, was hailed with universal acclamations, and drawn through the city from Black-friars bridge to Guildhall by the populace*.

In the debates on the address, the portion of the King's speech referring to this matter occasioned many observations. The existence of scarcity was assumed on one side, as a fact too evident to be doubted. A great and unfortunate change had taken place; England, from being an exporting, had become an importing country; and, from the urgency of the crisis, as well as from the false reports and erroneous opinions which had been circulated, Parliament was called upon to make every proper enquiry, and adopt every practicable measure for present relief and future benefit. It had been said that the legislature should let trade take its course, and not interfere with that which always prospered most when left entirely to the management of those who were ultimately interested in its success. It might be so, had the legislature been always indifferent on the subject; but where much had been done, something must be necessary to render it effectual; where medicine had been administered, it must frequently be continued. The existing scarcity was attributed, by the speakers on the ministerial side, entirely to the succession of bad seasons, which, at the close of an unproductive year, had left the land in a state unfit for sowing, and had forced into market before the due time, the crop of the present year.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Robson denied the existence of scarcity, but attributed the belief in it to a publication of the Bath Agricultural Society, the proclamation, and the letters of the Duke of Portland. In this opinion he met with no supporters; but much

* Annual Register, vol. xlvi. pp. *46, *55, *68, *192, *195.

discussion arose on the suggestion that the war was a great cause of the existing calamity. At a meeting of the freeholders of Middlesex, this proposition had been voted ; and it was maintained that scarcity and war were almost necessary companions ; war tended to diminish the quantity produced, and to increase its price. Could it be denied, that, while three hundred thousand men were employed in the army and navy, there must of necessity be a great waste. Every man employed in such service caused the consumption of perhaps five times as much provision as was used in time of peace. The men under Sir Ralph Abercrombie were fed with animal food and wheaten bread ; in the cottages which they inhabited before the war, they had neither : if Irishmen, their food consisted of potatoes and butter-milk ; if Scotchmen, of oatmeal and herrings. Would any man, who knew that Malta was victualled from Leadenhall market, doubt that the waste caused by the war had been immense ? Viewing the navy, the transport, and the victualling departments, adding the probable expenditure and waste in barracks for the cavalry, regulars, and volunteers, and in general throughout the domestic departments of our warlike system, no man would deny that war was a cause of dearness and scarcity. Thousands who, instead of living on vegetable diet, must now be fed with beef and mutton, consumed the produce of five times as much land as would have been required in their former condition. Mr. Pitt treated these observations as an attempt to combine two distinct grounds of prejudice, blending two subjects, each in itself liable to much misconception, and in its nature demanding a cool examination. None would make such an attempt who wished only to communicate information, and to suggest remedies ; a future day would afford opportunity for a more full discussion.

On the subject of the riots there was no difference of opinion ; they were decried as the result of wickedness and folly ; nor did the notion of a maximum, which was adverted to in the debates, meet with any favour. As a temporary remedy, an adherence to the

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system of economy in consumption already in force was recommended, and for permanent benefit, an improved system of agriculture, and the inclosure of waste lands were particularly enforced, as was the necessity for an increased importation of corn from abroad. Experience, Mr. Pitt observed, had sufficiently shewn the efficacy of this resource; authentic documents proved that a greater quantity had been obtained in the last than in any preceding year; and we possessed means of obtaining a still more ample supply. Bounties must be granted; but, as formerly, so guarded, that the expence should never be imposed, except when the necessity existed. The produce on the Continent of Europe and in America had been unusually abundant, and the wealth of this country must command a supply sufficient to relieve our difficulties. Investigation ought to be pursued, and remedies suggested; but it must be a course unsafe in the attempt, and unworthy of a statesman, to abandon the system which practice had explained and experience confirmed, for the visionary advantages of a crude, untried theory. No man who duly considered the causes from which the prosperity of the country had arisen, and understood the foundation on which it stood, could think that, to redress any mischief, supposed in times of peculiar scarcity and distress to have arisen from monopoly, it would be right to strike at the freedom of trade, and the application of industry and capital. The present question required only an expression of readiness to concur in the measures necessary to promote importation and economy.

Addresses
voted.

Without adverting, for the present, to other topics contained in the King's speech, it may suffice here to say that the address was voted in both Houses. In the Lords, an amendment proposed by Lord Holland was rejected*. In the Lower House, no division took place.

Committees, formed in both Houses, to consider on the present high price of provisions, pursued their enquiries with great diligence; that of the House of

Committees
formed.
November 12
to December
15.

Commons producing six, and that of the other House two, reports. They treated on the causes of deficiency, and, as the means of averting its evil effects, recommended many of the measures intimated in the debates on the address; limited and qualified bounties on the importation of rice and several species of grain, economy in the consumption, modes of distributing necessary food among the poor, and regulations for affording satisfactory information on the quantities produced; the state of markets; and the manufacture and sale of bread made of mixed materials, and not always of the finest wheat. Very slight discussions arose on the several propositions advanced; but much heat and personality pervaded some of the debates*. Resenting some observations which he conceived him to have made on his political associations, Mr. Grey made a vehement attack on Mr. Wilberforce; and Mr. Tierney moved that the words used by Mr. Wilberforce, "of a strange, uncouth, unnatural union "between persons who could have no common end or "object in view," and some expression about "a cloven "foot," should be taken down. The Speaker satisfied him that he was irregular; but still the altercation was pursued with so much intemperance, that it was found necessary to enforce the standing order for the exclusion of strangers; the residue was never published: but Mr. Tierney finally withdrew his motion.

In the debates on the address, recurring to an accustomed topic, Lord Holland and the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Grey, strongly urged the removal of ministers. Their argument took this form: the scarcity is owing to the war; the ministers created and persevere in the war, and therefore the scarcity cannot be relieved unless the ministers are dismissed. On this opinion, Mr. Jones founded a motion for an address, earnestly imploring that his Majesty, taking into consideration the sufferings of his loyal and affectionate people, would no longer listen to the

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CXVI.1800.
Reports.

Debates.

Attack on Mr.
Wilberforce.
November 26.Motion for
removal of
ministers.

December 4.

* On the extent and causes of the deficiency of grain, see "The Question of Scarcity fairly stated," by Arthur Young; who also points out many of the remedial measures which were adopted.

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councils of his present ministers, who, by their profusion and extravagance, had brought their country to the brink of famine and ruin, and who, by their incapacity, had shown themselves unequal to conduct the war with effect, or enter into negotiations of peace with honour. To a speech replete with scurrilous abuse, and distinguished by shallow pedantry and ill-selected quotations by which this measure was recommended, none of the ministers, nor any of their friends, deigned to make any answer; and the motion, unsupported by any conspicuous member of opposition, but shortly enforced by Mr. Nicholls and Mr. Robson, was negatived*.

Debates on
peace.

In his speech, at the opening of the session, the King said that his desire for the speedy restoration of peace remained unaltered, and no obstacle nor delay on his part would be interposed to impede or procrastinate that desirable end, consistently with the honour of the country and the true interests of the people. Should the disposition of the enemy continue to render this desired object unattainable, he was confident that Parliament would persevere in affording the same loyal and steady support which he had experienced through the whole of this important contest, and which had, under the blessing of Divine Providence, enabled him, during a period of such unexampled difficulty and calamity to all the surrounding nations, to maintain unimpaired the security and honour of his kingdoms. In the debate on the address, the observations on this portion of the speech were chiefly applied to the question, how far the war occasioned scarcity of grain? some general observations only were made on the advantages acquired or the losses sustained by the country. On the following day, the late correspondence on the naval armistice was presented; but, as no motion was made for taking it into consideration, Mr. Jones moved that the letter mentioned in one by General Kléber, from Lord Keith to the Kaimakan of the Sublime Porte, should be laid on the table. It was easy to shew that it was hardly possible for

13th.

Mr. Jones on
the evacuation
of Egypt.

18.

1800.

government to undertake for the production of such a letter, even if General Kléber's representation of it were true ; that it was of no consequence in itself, and was already accessible to every one by its publication in newspapers. The object of the motion was to throw blame on government for having prevented the evacuation of Egypt, which Mr. Jones said was now firmly in the possession of the French, and might be of great detriment to us, and a colony sufficient to compensate the French for all they had lost in the West Indies. The letter he referred to was the stumbling-block to peace ; it was issued in an evil hour, and ought to have had the superscription from the sublime Milton—“ Woe to the inhabitants of the earth ! ” It was a new war-whoop to the bleeding world ; it had gone forth to recommence the work of bloodshed. It had put Bonaparte in firm possession of Egypt ; so firm, that the French, Copts, and Mamelouks, under Abdallah Menou, were marching into Syria sixty thousand strong. Our territorial possessions in India were endangered : Egypt was the darling child of Bonaparte, the corner stone of his power. By the glaring incapacity of ministers, a new field was open to the gigantic pride and ambition of that great and wonderful man. Proud as he now sat on the throne of France, proud as he ruled there, this had increased the projects and fired the leviathan-like ambition of that phenomenon. He saw new fields of conquest and of glory ; he burned with the anticipation of the newly acquired territorial possessions in India ; he panted to sit (in the language of the sublime Milton) “ High on the throne of Ormus or of Ind,” and to rule, ere long, the kingdom of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

This effort of inflated verbosity could produce little effect ; but the aim of other speakers was to throw censure on ministers for not having confirmed the treaty made by the Grand Vizier, and sanctioned by Sir Sidney Smith. The argument was answered by a reference to the state of Europe at the time. The letter alluded to must have been written before government knew that the convention had been signed by

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any British officer, and therefore could state no new fact. As soon as it was known in England that the French General had the faith of a British officer pledged to him, and was disposed to act upon it, instructions were sent out to have the convention executed, though the officer in question had, in fact, no authority to sign it. Before the order for renouncing the treaty was dispatched, the presence of Sir Sidney Smith in Egypt was not known, nor was it supposed that he would enter into a treaty. For obvious reasons, large powers must be given to a commander-in-chief; but they did not extend to any officer of inferior station, however great his talents. Sir Sidney was, at first, no party to this treaty; he sincerely desired it to take place; it was concluded on board his ship, and he was a witness to the transaction; but he never affected to do it on the part of this country. The order was, to signify to our officer that we should not regard the treaty between the Turks and the French, wherever it tended to affect our state and condition in the Mediterranean. What legitimate power had the Ottoman Porte and a French General to dispose of our interest in that sea? As to the imputed breach of faith, Mr. Perceval observed, that, when apprized of some idea of a treaty between the Turks and the French, while the state of affairs rendered it inexpedient for this country to accede, government sent orders to naval commanders not to take any part, nor to respect the French fleets and vessels in consequence of it. Lord Keith communicated these orders, not only to the Turks, but also to the French, on the same day; but the English did nothing to break the treaty; they committed no act of hostility. The French, on receiving this communication, chose to break it themselves; and if there was any breach of faith, it was on their side.

Mr. Jones, finding the motion he had made incapable of being sustained, changed it for one more general in its form; but, on a division, it was rejected*.

Advancing more directly to the papers on the naval

December 1.

* 80 to 12.

armistice, Mr. Sheridan commenced a detailed and ample review of all the circumstances of the war, and the conduct of each of the allied powers. Instead of entering into the subject at large ; instead of pointing out with minuteness where ministers had been guilty of insincerity, where of prevarication, where of weakness, where of hypocrisy ; he proposed to prove, from the past conduct of our allies and their present views, that we ought to disentangle ourselves from all Continental connexions as soon as possible, and enter into a separate negotiation for a separate peace. For this purpose, he laid down two propositions, establishing upon them two conclusions : first, that, from the commencement of the confederacy, there had existed, in the different states who composed it, a mercenary spirit, a sole view to private aggrandisement, with the grossest and most shameful insincerity. By these its object had been defeated ; they still existed in their full force ; and there was no prospect of their being attained. It would hence follow, that it was our interest and our duty to withdraw from the confederacy ; to avoid the obstacles which it threw in the way of peace, and no longer pledge ourselves to continue to make war till those states which we called our allies should be completely exhausted. His next proposition was, that, in all the negotiations for peace which ministers had carried on, they never sincerely desired, and never sincerely lamented, the want of success.

In a long and brilliant speech, Mr. Sheridan supported this theory. Ministers, under pretence of destroying Jacobinism, had stolen the French West India islands ; the variance between their professions and their practice was by turns the subject of derision, of censure, and of reprobation to our allies. Our example had infused a spirit of insincerity and a desire of aggrandisement among all the confederates ; this was shewn by the capture of Valenciennes, Quesnoy, and other fortresses, in French Flanders, and the attempt to render Dunkirk a British possession. He had never been a friend to magnanimous Paul, and was now less so than ever ; but still the measures pursued

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Mr. Sheridan's
motion.

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toward him with respect to Malta could not be justified. He reviewed at great length the whole conduct of the Emperor of Germany, dwelling particularly on the treaty entered into by St. Julien, which left no doubt that the Emperor had deceived our ministers; that he had been treating with Bonaparte for a separate peace; and that he had once more been guilty of a gross breach of faith toward his ally. To prove that ministers had never been sincere in a desire of peace, he noticed, first, the negotiation at Lisle, on the failure of which ministers had openly exulted. Afterward, an offer came from Bonaparte of the most moderate kind, which was contemptuously rejected. Ministers took new ground, and boldly demanded experience and the evidence of facts, and insisted on the restoration of the Bourbons. Here the true cause of the war broke out, and fiction was, for a time, laid aside. It was allowed that Bonaparte was sincere; he was decried in every figure of speech and every epithet of abuse; he was called cruel, profligate, unprincipled, atheistical, an adventurer, an usurper, a renegado, the child and champion of Jacobinism; but, when it was asked whether he was inclined to peace, it was answered, "yes; most sincerely, peace is necessary to him; " but should we allow him to obtain it, and thus to " establish his power? Should we prolong the reign " of this unprincipled adventurer, of this cruel usurper, " of this atheistical renegado? should we confer a " favour upon Jacobinism, by conferring a favour upon " its child and its champion?" Adverting, at last, to the negotiation contained in the papers, he maintained that the subsidy to the Emperor was only a pretext to cover an unwillingness to conclude the war, by feigning fidelity to an ally. He admitted that an accession to the proposed maritime truce would have been most unjustifiable, but gave no credit to ministers for rejecting it; and severely censured the refusal to permit the French to evacuate Egypt on the terms contained in the treaty of El Arish. He meant, by his motion, to afford one step toward negotiation, considering the war itself to have been most unsuccessful, and to min-

isters most disgraceful. He proposed an address from the House, stating that, as the result of a serious consideration of the papers, and the experience of the past conduct of his Majesty's allies, it was their hearty desire that he would omit no proper opportunity of entering into a separate negotiation, and would not sanction any new engagements by which it would be precluded.

These arguments were supported by Mr. Grey, and without much difficulty answered by Mr. Windham and Mr. Dundas; they importred that, because we were in a situation of great public danger, requiring the utmost exertion to preserve us from destruction, we were to detach ourselves from all assistance, and that the exertions against a powerful enemy should be made by each party separately, and not jointly. To avoid alliances, lest we should not have the full command of all our own strength, was as if persons who were attacked, but protected by a garrison, were to dismantle the fortification, throw down the wall, and remove every thing about them, because then they could fight in the open field, perfectly free and unrestrained. The conduct of our allies, even in breach of faith, was too strongly stated; for, although some of them had manifested a weakness, and too much attachment to their own supposed interest, yet the cause of Europe was benefited by the war, even in the points in which the confederates had most failed. By this war, we had maintained our station as an independent country, blessed with happiness, with commercial prosperity, an abundance of wealth, until the present hour unknown to any part of the world, with a free constitution, entire, untainted with republican law or Jacobinical morality. Had the counsel of the opposition party been followed, we should now be in the same situation with Tuscany, Switzerland, Spain, or Holland. Detailed answers were given to the complaints on the late and the preceding negotiations, and the sense of the House was shewn by the majority against the motion*. Rejected.

* 156 to 35.

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1800.
November 27.
Mr. Tierney's
motion.

Measures of
security.

December 18
to 23.

December 11.
Habeas Corpus
suspension.

Most of the arguments used in this debate had been expended three days before, when Mr. Tierney moved that the House should resolve itself into a committee on the state of the nation; on which occasion, the military and naval exploits of the country, and all matters relating to finance, credit, and expenditure, were detailed, to shew that the cost of the war had been greater than the value of our acquisitions, and that no one of the great objects for which it had professedly been pursued had been accomplished. The fate of the motion was strikingly like that already mentioned, the division against it being four to one*.

Some measures of precaution for security of the state against insidious designs or traitorous combinations were sustained without much discussion. The act for preventing the seduction of men serving in the army and navy was continued for seven years, the extended term being but slightly resisted; and, in a similar manner, the alien act was prevented from expiring.

As the act for suspending the Habeas Corpus would terminate on the first of February, and it would not be possible, between the sitting of the Imperial Parliament and that day, to renew it, the Attorney General brought in a bill to enlarge it for a short time, that the whole legislature might have the means of considering whether or not it was necessary. In all its stages this bill was opposed with the usual argument, that it was a renunciation of the constitution; and the fact that only twenty-five persons were actually in confinement by its operation was used by ministers as a proof of their moderation, and relied on by their opponents as a demonstration that the measure was unnecessary. In the course of its progress, a petition was presented from Paul Thomas Le Maitre, who had been arrested on what was called the pop-gun plot, and had since been imprisoned three years on another charge. His petition was so libellous on individuals, and so full of indecent reflections on government, that it was dismissed by the House†. Other

* 157 to 37.

† 59 to 8.

divisions took place in several stages, in which the opponents of the bill never produced more than thirteen votes, and in the House of Lords, where they numbered only three.

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Mr. Nicholls sought to obtain from the House a declaration that it was a high crime and misdemeanor for any lord of Parliament, or lord lieutenant of any county, to concern themselves in elections of members. He introduced his motion with a long speech, in which he quoted Bracton, in latin; the statute of Edward the First, in Norman French; the advertisement of Horne Tooke, in modern English; and told the story of Briareus, in his own. Without any lengthened remark, or any resistance, the House passed to the order of the day.

December 12.
Mr. Nicholls's
motion.

Early in the session, Mr. Abbott brought in a bill, which passed both Houses with undivided assent, for ascertaining the population of Great Britain; a measure, the delay of which occasioned some surprise, but the effect of which was found to be eminently useful.

Population.

When the day arrived after which the Parliament of Great Britain could sit no longer, the King terminated the session, thanking them for their exertions for the public good, and laying before them a proclamation for assembling that of the United Kingdom on the twenty-second day of the following month.

December 31.
End of the
session.

CHAP. ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTEEN.

1800—1801.

State of France.—Parties.—Royalists—Jacobins.—Attempt to assassinate Bonaparte.—Machine infernale.—Bonaparte's aims at supreme power.—Treaties.—America.—Progress of the French in Italy.—Armistice of Treviso.—Treaty of Luneville.—Abuse of England.—A northern confederacy intimated.—Its progress.—Disputes with Sweden.—Russia. Alteration in the Emperor.—Denmark.—Dispute on search. Squadron sent to Copenhagen.—The Freya.—Arrangement.—Irregular proceeding toward a Swedish vessel.—Proceedings of the Emperor Paul.—Conduct of Bonaparte. Russian embargo.—British property sequestered.—British subjects made prisoners.—Treaty of armed neutrality concluded.—Expulsion of Louis the Eighteenth.—He is received at Warsaw.—Paul's projects on India.—Embargo laid in England.

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1800.

State of
France.

AT the beginning of a new century, when the government and royal title of Great Britain were to undergo a great change, the aspect of affairs on the Continent was, in every respect, discouraging and cheerless.

France had renounced the system of wild and destructive fury which had distinguished the earlier years of her revolution, and had shaken off the mean and gripping oppression of low intriguers and selfish adventurers which had disgraced the later period; but no progress was made to the attainment of real liberty. The sovereign people, or, in other words, the present

mob, no longer issued arbitrary decrees, and punished the violation of them, even before they existed, with death or confiscation ; but, under the semblance of an improved social establishment, the despotism of an individual, acting by means of a devoted army, and informed by the observation of pensioned spies, held the persons, the property, the expression, either by word or writing, of the opinion of individuals, in complete and abject slavery. Compared with what had been since the commencement of the revolution, the state of the country was greatly improved ; but, measured by the hopes which had been excited, and the promises which had been made of general freedom and happiness, it was miserably defective. Proudly elevated by military glory, dictating terms, prescribing constitutions, and disposing of territories with respect to foreign nations, France could secure nothing for herself, but a splendid superiority, which made her hated abroad, and a rugged military ascendancy, which must make her miserable at home. The good was present, tangible, and of daily enjoyment ; the evil was, in the present, partially inflicted, and the future was, of course, apprehended or conjectured, doubtful, and not immediately felt.

Although Bonaparte was evidently the only ruler of the country, reigned in effect without the aid of his joint Consuls, and might, by a mere expression of his will, have dispensed with them, and omitted to convoke the legislative bodies, he knew too well the disadvantages resulting from violence and precipitation, to incur them, and awaited the progress of events and the effects of time to produce the fruits which would gratify his ambition. He found, that, although among the middle classes of society his popularity was unbounded, there was a party, firm, but not numerous or prominent, attached to the exiled King ; and another, more active, alert, and daring, who adhered to the Jacobin cause, rejected all modifications as encroachments, and plotted new revolutions and massacres. Some of the most enthusiastic members of this association excited each other to an act of assassination,

Parties.

Royalists.

Jacobins.

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October 8.
Attempt to
assassinate
Bonaparte.Machine
infernale.

December 24.

by declaiming on the accustomed topic of an usurping Cæsar and an avenging Brutus: they were distinguished by the police under the name of Enragés, or madmen. Among them were some who, in every respect traitors, maintained constant intercourse with Fouché, and with a secret police instituted by the First Consul himself. The fluctuating counsels of the conspirators were all disclosed, and, having purchased pistols, blunderbusses, and daggers, with money secretly supplied by the police, they had determined to assassinate Bonaparte as he was coming out of the Opera House, but were themselves arrested and brought to punishment; two, named Aréna and Ceracchi, were executed, and several others transported*.

Among the means of destruction found in the search which this affair occasioned, was one contrived, by the explosion of gunpowder, to spread death and devastation in every direction: it was said to have been invented by Frederick Jambelle, for the protection of Antwerp, when besieged by the Duke of Parma, toward the close of the sixteenth century, and received the name of Infernale. Nearly three months after the disclosure of the first conspiracy, another was put in operation, conducted with extreme secrecy and precaution. The day having been ascertained when the First Consul was to visit the Opera, a cart, loaded with a tub, similar to those used by water-carriers, but really containing a machine infernale, was placed at the corner of a street by which his carriage must necessarily pass. At a given signal the machine was fired, and by an explosion, resembling a convulsion of nature, damaged forty-six of the adjacent houses, threw down twenty-five feet of the Consul Le Brun's garden-wall, and blew to a great height in the air the horse and cart; killed about twenty persons, and wounded nearly fifty; but Bonaparte escaped. Unconscious of any meditated evil, and stimulated only by his master's eagerness to be early at the performance of Haydn's Creation, the

* Capefigue, tome ii. c. 16. Mémoires de Bourrienne, tome iv. pp. 191 to 196.

coachman had driven with extraordinary speed, and passed the point of danger barely in time to frustrate the plan: the carriage was damaged by the shock; and in that of Madame Bonaparte, which followed at a small distance, the spring blinds and the windows were broken to pieces, and the Chief Consul's sister was slightly wounded by the pieces of glass. Reports were circulated of the undisturbed calmness evinced by Bonaparte on the occasion. In a man used to war, and ever bold and daring in battle, such a display would not have been wonderful; but, on the contrary, it is asserted, even by his confidential secretary, that his tranquillity was merely affected*: and another writer states that he was not tranquil, as it was reported; his features displayed agitation, and he cast eager and uneasy looks in every direction†. The oratorio was hurried over; and, as the explosion had been heard in all parts of Paris, the approaches to the Tuileries were crowded with public functionaries and others, anxious to learn every particular, to present their sentiments of joy on this providential event, and to watch the demeanor of Bonaparte. He did not, at this time, exhibit the equanimity of a hero: rejecting the opinion expressed by some, and afterward confidently maintained, that the whole matter was contrived by the royalists, he railed, with a fury not to be described, against the Jacobins, who, he said, were the sole authors of the plot; there were in it neither nobles, priests, nor Chouans, but only Septembrizers, scoundrels covered with filth, who were in open revolt, in permanent conspiracy, in formed battalion, against every successive government. France must be purged of these disgusting dregs; if they could not be restrained, they must be crushed; there was no pity for such wretches. In vain did some of the counsellors of state, and Fouché in particular, remonstrate that nothing was yet proved against any one; the First Consul remained firm in his opinion, and the minister of police incurred peril of disgrace, when his present advocacy was referred to his former transac-

* Bourrienne, tome iv. p. 199.

† Capefigue, tome ii. p. 376.

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1800.

1801.
January 10.Bonaparte's
aims at su-
preme power.

Treaties.

1800.
September 3.
America.

tions at Lyons and on the Loire. He did not increase his danger by inflexibility, but drew up a report in exact conformity with the views of his master. The criminal tribunal of the Seine pronounced sentence of death on two more of the conspirators in September; and the senate passed a decree for the transportation or imprisonment of one hundred and thirty-three individuals, including with Jacobins, royalists and other descriptions, without accusation, defence, or trial*.

Steadfast and undeviating in his pursuit of supreme power, Bonaparte essayed the public mind by a pamphlet, written, it is said, by his brother Lucien, and revised and corrected by himself, under the title of a Parallel between him, Monk, and Cromwell, to prove that the happiness of France would be best established by an hereditary rule, conferred on him, and descending to his next of kin. This essay, by itself, did not seem to advance his projects; but the resentment it created was dispelled by acts of popularity, flattery, and conciliation†.

While Bonaparte was thus establishing and extending his own personal importance, the interests of the nation were promoted by advantageous compacts and new alliances. The differences with America were terminated by a treaty concluded at Paris, on the principle that free ships make free goods, contraband excepted. Passports from any place from whence any vessel should have sailed, with certificates ascertaining cargoes, were to be sufficient guarantees, on both sides, to merchant vessels against all insults. It was agreed that the citizens of the two nations

* Chiefly from Bourrienne, *ubi supra*. He was an eye-witness and confidential depository of the facts and conversations he relates, and not disposed to vilify or calumniate his master. I do not deny that I have related these circumstances with feelings of gratification, in comparing the dignified bearing of our own Sovereign with that of the great Hero of the age, and the temperate, mild, and benevolent administration of justice, in the case of Hadfield, with that which took place in France. For ample particulars, see Capefigue, tome ii. p. 388; Montgaillard *Révue chronologique*, p. 343; La Vallée, *Histoire des Factions*, &c. tome iii. p. 300; and, for the full details, extracted from the Moniteur, Goldsmith's Recueil, &c. tome i. p. 83, pp. 94 to 129, and p. 154; also Procès célèbres de la Révolution, tome i. pp. 149 to the end.

† Among these may be reckoned the transfer, with great pomp, of the bones of Marshal Turenne to the church of the Invalides. These remains of an immortal hero, dear to the French nation, had, during the times of revolutionary savageness, been drawn with indignity from their resting place at St. Denis: the honour now shewn to them was highly gratifying to the people.

might navigate and trade in perfect freedom and security, with their merchandize and ships, in the country and ports of the enemies of either, unless they should be actually besieged, blockaded, or invested. The only articles forming contraband during the war, were understood to be gun-powder, and, in general, all kinds of arms and implements for the equipment of troops. These articles, when destined for an enemy's port, were exposed to confiscation ; but the ship with which they were freighted, as well as the rest of the cargo, were to be regarded as free. It was stipulated, that all things on board belonging to the citizens of one of the contracting parties should be reckoned free, although the cargo, or part of it, should belong to an enemy, contraband goods always excepted. Ships of war and privateers were to keep out of cannon shot of each other on the sea, and send their boats to the merchant vessels they should meet. It was expressly agreed, that the neutral should not be obliged to go on board the visiting vessel, to produce his papers, or to give any information whatever. Differences arising out of the construction of several treaties from February 1778 to November 1788, and with respect to indemnities, were referred to future negotiation.

After the great victory of Hohenlinden, progressive successes on the side of Italy attended the French under General Brune. Passing the Adige, he occupied Verona and Vicenza, and then, crossing the Brenta, granted an armistice at Treviso, on condition that Peschiera, Verona, Legnano, Ferrari, and Ancona, should be surrendered to him ; that Mantua should remain blockaded, and the Tagliamento become the line of demarcation between the two armies. The Emperor, no longer able to maintain his engagements with England, concluded a separate treaty at Luneville, by which all the cessions stipulated in that of Campo Formio were granted, and further, that the French Republic should possess in full sovereignty the countries situated on the left bank of the Rhine, which had formed a portion of the Germanic empire ; the Thalweg of that river to form the line of boundary,

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1800.

1801.
January
to 16th Feb.
Progress of the
French in
Italy.
Armistice of
Treviso.

Treaty of
Luneville.

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from the spot where it emerged from the Helvetic to that where it entered the Batavian territory. The French, formally renouncing all possessions on the right bank of the Rhine, agreed to restore to their ancient proprietors, Dusseldorf, Philipsburg, Cassel, Kehl, and Brisack, but under the express condition that they should remain in the same state as at the moment of restitution; that is to say, perfect ruins; for such, although given to the French merely as deposits, they had been rendered by order of Moreau. The reasoning on which this proceeding was justified was this—“deposit implies possession, and possession confers the right of doing what we please with that which we possess*.” Stipulations were inserted for the indemnity of states affected by the treaty; the independence of the Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian Republics was acknowledged by particular articles expressly; the treaty in general was extended to them, and the privilege reserved for them to adopt such forms of government as they should think proper. However arrogant, harsh, and selfish the French may have shewn themselves in framing the terms of this treaty, the people of Germany received it with unbounded joy. The irregularity committed by the Emperor in making stipulations, not for himself alone, but for the whole Germanic empire, was vindicated by him on the ground of necessity; and by the different states, with some protestations, it was thankfully ratified. In effect, under every appearance of disadvantage and humiliation, Austria had abundant reasons for rejoicing. Laying aside the consideration of impending peril, and the dejection of the people, inevitably resulting from a long and unsuccessful war, a few years of repose alone were wanting to enable that solid and powerful monarchy, possessing twenty-six millions six hundred thousand inhabitants, with a revenue largely exceeding her expenditure, to resume a commanding position in the affairs of Europe†.

* Homme d'Etat, tome viii. p. 44.

† Homme d'Etat, tome viii. pp. 44 to 60. The treaty is in the Annual Register, vol. xliv p. *260 and seqq. Goldsmith, tome i. p. 144.

1801.

Abuse of
England.Another
confederacy
intimated.

In the message of the Consuls to the legislative body, the tribunate and the conservative senate, the abuse of the English government, so palatable to the nation, was not forgotten. On all recent occasions, that topic had been introduced: Pitt's guineas had armed the assassins in September; the malignant genius of England had suggested the machine infernale; and now all Europe knew that the British minister had endeavoured to frustrate the negotiations at Luneville. "The British government," the Consuls observed, "raises pretensions contrary to the dignity and the rights of all nations. The whole commerce of Asia, and of immense colonies, does not satisfy its ambition. All the seas must be submitted to the exclusive sovereignty of England. It arms against Russia, Denmark, and Sweden; because Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, have secured, by treaties of guaranty, their sovereignty, and the independence of their flags. The powers of the north, unjustly attacked, have a right to reckon upon France. The French government will avenge with them a common injury to all nations."

Similar expressions marked Bonaparte's reply to the addresses of the legislative bodies. "France," he observed, "will not reap all the blessings of peace till she shall have a peace with England; but a sort of delirium has seized on that government, which now holds nothing sacred. Its conduct is unjust, not only toward the French people, but to all the powers of the Continent; and when governments are not just, their authority is but short-lived. All the powers of the Continent will unite in compelling England to return to the road of moderation, justice, and reason."

These expressions pointed to a combination, artfully brought about and judiciously combined, for inflicting a deadly injury on this country. Unable, with all her dependents and allies, to shew an appearance of conflicting power with her hated opponent on the ocean, deprived of all colonial and commercial resources, France successfully arranged a new confederacy with

Its progress.

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1801.

Disputes with Sweden.

the northern powers, similar to the armed neutrality in the American war. The jealousy and pride of the northern nations were appealed to by verbose and unfounded declamations against the whole system on which the naval and commercial power of England had been established, from the Navigation Act to the present time. From the various necessities and extensive enterprises of France during the war, a strict system of blockade and search had been established by the British government, the exercise of which gave rise, particularly in the last preceding years, to disputes with the northern powers. In 1798, Sweden had appointed several frigates to convoy three fleets of merchant vessels to ports in the Mediterranean, in consequence, it was said, of disputes subsisting with the piratical states of Africa, but in reality to supply the enemy with naval stores. The first of these fleets, laden principally with pitch, tar, iron, and timber, commodities of no use in settling a dispute with pirates, convoyed by Count Wrangell, was met in the north seas by Commodore Lawford, who, acting with due caution, would adopt no measure implying force, until he received express instructions from the board of Admiralty. Count Wrangell announced his directions, in case the merchant ships should be attacked, to oppose violence against violence, but at length consented to go with his convoy into a British port, and abide the decision of the two Courts. Unwilling to provoke new hostilities, or to acknowledge rights hitherto unconceded, Great Britain agreed to purchase the doubtful commodities. In the mean time, another Swedish convoy was brought in, a great portion of which contained no questionable article, and permission was given for them to depart; but as it was necessary now to bring the question to some decision, to ascertain whether neutral powers could have a right to exempt ships under their convoy from visitation or search, both fleets were detained, their papers demanded, and proceedings instituted.

Russia.

At the period when these transactions occurred, there was no appearance of disagreement between

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Alteration in
the Emperor.

Great Britain and the Emperor Paul ; on the contrary, toward the end of 1799, a treaty of alliance was formed between Russia and Sweden, which did not contain the slightest intimation of the formation of an armed neutrality. The misfortunes which befell the Russian armies in Switzerland and Holland, infused into the mind of Paul a great distaste to the alliance he had so strenuously supported ; he would not permit his forces to act in the ensuing campaign ; but still no symptoms of hostility were for the present apparent ; he saw, without remonstrance, Napper Tandy given up by the senate of Hamburgh, and even caused the expulsion of some Frenchmen of suspicious character from that territory. Soon, however, his mind underwent a total change.

Disputes with Denmark relative to the right of ^{Denmark.} search had arisen, and caused more violent resistance than had been shewn by Sweden. Near the Straits of Gibraltar, in December 1799, Captain Van Dockum commanding a Danish frigate, in opposing the attempt made by two English frigates, fired on the boat of the one, and seized that of the other. This transaction occasioned an animated correspondence between Mr. Merry, the chargé des affaires at Copenhagen, and Count Bernstorff, the Danish minister, in which the principles to be maintained on both sides were fully explained. The Dane insisted, that as the right of search was not natural, but merely conventional, its effects could not be arbitrarily extended beyond what was agreed to, without violence and injustice. But no maritime independent power had ever acknowledged the right of permitting neutral ships to be searched when escorted by ships of war, nor could they do so without exposing their flag to degradation, and forfeiting an essential portion of their own rights. This doctrine, he said, was now acknowledged in a number of treaties concluded between the most respectable Courts in Europe. When the papers of ships were in strict order, no further examination could be legally enforced. By escorting with its armed vessels, the commercial ships of its subjects, a neutral state afforded to the

Dispute on
search.

April.

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1801.

August 21.

Squadron sent
to Copenhagen.

belligerent powers the most authentic and positive pledge of the regularity of their cargoes ; nor could it, under such circumstances, without incurring dishonour and disgrace, admit of the least suspicion. From these and similar reasonings, the Danish minister inferred that Captain Van Dockum, by repulsing a violence which he had no right to expect, had done no more than his duty ; and that it was on the part of the English frigates that the violation of the rights of a neutral sovereign, and of a power friendly to his Britannic Majesty, had been committed. On this point, Lord Whitworth, who had been dispatched to Elsineur to enforce the demand of satisfaction, observed, that if the principle contended for were once admitted, that a Danish frigate might guarantee from all search six merchant ships, it would follow naturally, that the same or any other power might, by the smallest ship of war, extend the same protection to all the commerce of the enemy in all parts of the world : it would only be necessary to find, in the whole circle of the universe, a single neutral state, however inconsiderable, well disposed enough toward our enemies to lend them its flag, to cover all their commerce, without running the least risk ; for, when examination can no longer take place, fraud fears no discovery. Not trusting to the force of arguments alone, the British government sent Admiral Dickson with a squadron of men of war, bombs, and gun-vessels, who, after remaining for a short period before Copenhagen, removed to the road of Elsineur, and so disposed his force as to preserve a direct line of communication and correspondence, and at the same time to exhibit a menacing appearance to the Danish capital.

July 24.
The Freya.

While this affair was in progress, a Danish frigate, the Freya, Captain Krabbe, convoying some merchantmen, refused to permit a search ; a short conflict ensued, in which several men were killed and wounded on both sides, and finally the frigate and her convoy were carried into the Downs ; but the Captain was not put under restraint, as would have been the case with a declared enemy taken in war. Finally, Lord

August 29.
Arrangement.

1801.

Whitworth and Count Bernstorff executed a convention, in consequence of which, the question on the right of searching neutral ships sailing under convoy was to be referred to a future discussion; the Freya and her convoy released, and the frigate repaired in British ports; and the King of Denmark was to order no more convoys till ulterior explanations should have produced a definitive treaty.

As the principle sought to be established in the American war had been explicitly excluded from numerous treaties concluded with all the northern powers since that period*, the present arrangement may be considered unsatisfactory to the honour of Great Britain; but, before it is censured with unmeasured severity, the state of the country with respect to the northern powers should be considered. A fresh cause of dispute speedily arose with Sweden, in which it cannot be maintained that the conduct of a British commander was free from blame. The Minotaur and a frigate, blockading the ports of Barcelona, fell in with the Swedish Ketch Hoffnung, boarded and examined her papers, which were found to be quite satisfactory; yet the Hoffnung was taken possession of by British officers and men, who compelled the crew to keep silence, and having, by means of the neutral flag, gained a favourable position in the road, cut out two Spanish frigates, but not until the Spaniards had fired and killed a Swedish seaman. On this occasion, a correspondence took place between the governments of Spain and Sweden, exhorting the adoption of hostile measures toward England: complaints were also made of other transactions, deemed irregular, and of the tardy proceedings in our courts before restitution of vessels improperly captured could be obtained.

These disputes, although eminently worthy of consideration, would probably have led to no serious results, but for the total and violent revolution which had taken place in the sentiments and conduct of the Emperor of Russia. That unstable and self-willed

Irregular pro-
ceeding toward
a Swedish
vessel.

September 4.

Proceedings of
the Emperor
Paul.

* Sulpicius on the Northern Confederacy, p. 9. Memoirs of the Earl of Liverpool, p. 121.

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monarch, actuated by his own vehement passions, and instigated by counsellors devoted to the interests of France, had assumed toward this country the character of a fierce and implacable enemy. Considering himself entitled to Malta, of which, as Grand Master of the order, he claimed to be the lawful sovereign, and the expectation of which, if not by absolute promise, yet by tacit acquiescence, he was permitted to entertain, he had, during the siege, dispatched a fleet, with troops, for the purpose of taking possession; and, after the surrender, his armament remained for some time, awaiting orders, in the Canal of Constantinople. A French actress, tutored by the ministers of Bonaparte, and received by him as a paramour, filled his mind with accounts of the admiration and respect felt for him by the First Consul; of the regret he felt at seeing him so egregiously duped by English artifice; and of the immense advantages which would accrue to him from an alliance, of which Bonaparte was sincerely desirous. His angry feelings were stimulated by a contrivance of the French agents, who laid before him all the caricatures published in London in which his person was exposed to ridicule*. Under the impulse thus created, he issued a declaration, inviting Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia, to re-establish the armed league which had been formed in 1780. The motives might not have operated on a vigorous mind; but the intellect of Paul was not of that description: an imperfect education, and the restraints imposed on him during the life of his mother, prevented him from attaining a knowledge of the world adequate to the situation he would have to fill; and he was dazzled by the glory which surrounded the First Consul, and felt toward him as his father had toward Frederick the Great.

August 16.

Conduct of
Bonaparte.

With his usual penetration and judgment, Bonaparte turned these feelings to advantage. The British government having refused to exchange French prisoners for Russians captured in the expedition to the Helder, he sent them all home, equipped, for effect, in

* Memoirs of the Earl of Liverpool, p. 116. *Homme d'Etat*, tome viii. p. 74.

new Russian uniforms, as a mark of his respect for the Emperor. In their official paper, the French extolled the determination shewn by the northern powers, as the means of destroying the naval domination, which they represented as grievous and even intolerable. "Let the ports of the Continent," they said, "be shut against the English; let them be indignantly repelled from every part of the earth on that element where they have been solicitous of acting the tyrants; let them be denied, in every quarter, the means of repairing the ravages of tempests, and the decays of time; let there be an end to the imprudence of attacking them by sea with unequal strength; let them spend their force in keeping stations, and in carrying on fruitless blockades; let them be deprived of the opportunity of compelling, by the threat of punishment, the seamen of their enemies or their allies to serve on board their squadrons, and of converting their prisoners into recruits or victims; and let the powers of Europe have the courage to undergo for some months, some years if it be necessary, privation, in order to avoid the disgrace of being the tributaries of their commerce. It will then be seen that prosperity founded upon fleets and ships has never yet been permanent."

The misguided Emperor sent a splendid embassy, which was met at Brussels by General Clarke, and conducted to Paris. He also issued an order for an embargo on all British vessels; and speedily afterward, by a new proclamation, it was declared that, Russian subjects having complained that payment could not be obtained of large sums due from English merchants, the Emperor appointed a special board of commissioners, consisting of two Russians, two English, and two of other nations, with one member of the Imperial College of Commerce of Saint Petersburg. Every English subject resident in Russia, without exception even of mere visitors, was to deliver to these commissioners a statement of his books of account, and a schedule of his effects; and every Russian having any claim or demand on an Englishman, of whatever

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CXVII.1801.
September 27,November 19.
Russian
embargo.
29.
British
property
sequestered.

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1801.

30.
British
subjects made
prisoners.

nature or kind, or who might be in anywise indebted to him, was in like manner to send in an account. The commissioners were to dispose of all property thus sequestrated, and out of the general mass to make to all claimants a dividend, or payment in full. The commissioners were to decide by a majority; but, in cases where the interests of Russian commerce were involved, the opinion of the member of the College was to prevail over that of the majority, and there was to be no appeal, not even by petition. This truly barbarian decree was sustained by another, alleging that the crews of two English ships at Narva, on the arrival of a military force to put them under arrest, had made resistance, fired pistols, forced a Russian sailor into the water, and sailed away, and ordering that all the other British vessels in that harbour should be burnt. This command was not executed; but all the masters and sailors of English ships were made prisoners, marched in small parties into the interior, distributed in above a hundred different towns, from one hundred to one thousand miles distant from the capital, and a miserable allowance of five copacks (three halfpence) a day, with a small measure of rye-flour, and one of buck-wheat, was ordered for each individual; the aged and the captains were conveyed in the common carts of the country, the others were obliged to walk; and this was the treatment experienced by the crews of about three hundred ships; the British merchants at Saint Petersburg alleviated their wants by a subscription of forty thousand roubles (£5,000) which furnished them with clothing for protection against the dreadful winter of that region, and some cash for indispensable supplies; but the merchants themselves were also in a straitened condition; their ready money was not taken away, but their warehouses were sealed up, and all their property sequestered.

December 20.
Treaty of
armed
neutrality con-
cluded.

A compact for an armed neutrality was formed between Russia and Sweden, on the basis of that in 1780, with extensions and explanations destructive of the naval power, and hostile to the very existence of

1801.

Great Britain. The principles established were, that every ship should freely navigate from one harbour to another on the coasts of belligerent nations ; that the effects belonging to the subjects of belligerent powers in neutral ships, with the exception of contraband goods, should be free ; that harbours were to be considered as blockaded, only when they were so invested as to render it apparently hazardous to enter ; that when neutral ships should be detained, except on just and evident grounds, sentence should be pronounced without delay ; and, over and above the indemnity to which they should be intitled, complete satisfaction given for the insult committed against the flag of the sovereigns ; and lastly, that the declaration of officers in command of ships convoying merchant vessels, that they contained no contraband articles, should be sufficient, and no search permitted. Prussia shewed an undisguised participation in these principles ; and Denmark, after some period of indecision, declared her adherence to them. The consular government forbade all cruisers, bearing the French flag, from interrupting the commerce of Russia ; but commanded that all succour and relief should be afforded to ships of that country*. 31.

January 19.

Expulsion of
Louis the
Eighteenth.

In a manner disgraceful to his character, the Emperor of Russia, who had received and honoured the Viscount Caraman as the ambassador of him whom he acknowledged King of France, and styled his unfortunate friend, now brutally denied that unhappy prince an asylum in his dominions ; and his ministers, adding an insult, characterised by its low malignity, announced to him the order for his expulsion on the eighth anniversary of his brother's murder. The King

* In this narrative, I have chiefly followed the historical portion of Rivington's Annual Register, vol. xlvi. c. 2, written, or at least carefully revised, by a civilian of profound legal and extensive political information ; and the Memoirs of the Earl of Liverpool, chap. 3. Many facts and opinions respecting the origin and foundation of this dispute have also been derived from "a collection of public acts and papers relating to the principles of the armed neutrality." "The Earl of Liverpool's Discourse on the conduct of the Government of Great Britain," reprinted from the publication in 1758, with an able preface. Professor Schlegel's "Examination of the Sentence in the Case of the Swedish Convoy," with "Remarks on it, by Dr. Alexander Croke;" and "the Letters of Sulpicius on the Northern Confederacy."

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January 21.
He is received
at Warsaw.

Paul's projects
on India.

January 14.
Embargo laid
in England.

of Prussia, animated by sentiments more dignified and generous, yielded to the request of the Duchess of Angouleme an asylum for Louis in Warsaw*, where he was to reside as a private individual, under the title of Count De Lille, the Duchess bearing that of Countess De Meilleray. It was also known that Paul was collecting an army, with the intention of proceeding overland to attack the British possessions in India.

In just resentment of the cruel and arbitrary measures adopted by the Czar, and in protection of the rights and safety of his people, the King, by an order in council, forbade any ships belonging to his subjects to enter and clear out for any of the ports of Russia, Denmark, or Sweden; and that a general embargo, or stop, should be made of all ships and vessels of those countries, with all persons and effects on board; but the utmost care taken for the preservation of the cargoes, so that no damage or embezzlement should be sustained; and all British subjects were forbidden to pay any moneys to any of the people of those countries, or to accept or honour any bills drawn or held by them.

* Homme d'Etat, tome viii. p. 76.

CHAP. ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN.

1801.

First proceedings on the Union.—Alterations in the King's title.—Meeting of Parliament.—Mr. Addington, Speaker.—Session opened.—King's speech.—House of Lords.—Debate on the Address.—House of Commons.—Mention of the Roman Catholics.—Change of Ministry expected.—Conduct of Ministers—of the King.—His Communication with Lord Kenyon.—His Lordship's opinion.—Conduct of Mr. Pitt—of Mr. Dundas.—Mr. Pitt's letter to the King.—The King's answer.—Reply.—The King's forbearance—his determination—his difficulties.—He applies to Mr. Addington.—The change mentioned in Parliament.—Mr. Addington resigns the chair.—Succeeded by Sir John Mitford.—Thanks to Mr. Addington.—Observations in Parliament on the change.—Observations.—The King's illness—and recovery.—New Ministry.—State of Public Affairs abroad—at home.—Motion on the Ferrol expedition.—Mr. Jones on the Treaty of El Arish.—Second Motion.—Motions for Committees on the State of the Nation.—Mr. Pitt.—Observations on the new Ministers.—On the Northern Confederacy.—Mr. Pitt.—Mr. Fox.—Mr. Fox vindicates his non-attendance.

ON the day when the incorporate union between Great Britain and Ireland took place, a council was held, at which the Heir Apparent, the dukes of York, Clarence, and Kent, the most eminent dignitaries of the church, the law, and the peerage, together with

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January 1.
First proceed-
ings of the
Union.

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Alterations in
the King's
title.

the ministers of state, were sworn as members, and proclamations issued for making necessary alterations in the title of the sovereign, the national arms, and the book of Common Prayer. Of these changes, none occasioned observation, except the omission of France from the title of the sovereign, and the exclusion of the fleurs de lys from the national arms. It could not be forgotten that the French plenipotentiaries in the late attempted negotiations had demanded this concession, nor could it fail to strike the observer that the present opportunity was taken to avoid the necessity of contending the point whenever a fresh treaty should be begun: the voluntary abandonment of the title, as a matter of domestic regulation, did not incur the disgrace which would have attended a compulsory resignation as the condition of being admitted to propose terms of pacification. The sacrifice of a distinction so ancient and honourable could not be contemplated without pain by those who truly loved and sincerely felt for the honour of their country*; but, in the present state of the world, no minister could have ventured to propose the continuance of war, even for a single week, for the mere purpose of maintaining a title productive of no national benefit, and unattended with any real authority or influence. The honour and glory attending it could never be effaced, unless the victories and the counsels by which it was acquired could be torn from the volume of history†. The customary form of gratulatory announcement, by the firing of cannon, was observed in both capitals. The corporation of London, not without considerable opposition, voted an address, which was delivered to his Majesty on the throne.

Meeting of
Parliament.

A great alteration being made in the constitution of the legislature, now styled "the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," Lord Eldon, and several other eminent lawyers, thought

* See, on this subject, the spirited and patriotic observations of Dr. Laurence, in the debate on the negotiations in 1797; Parliamentary History, vol. xxxiii. p. 1021. Also Annual Register, vol. xliti. p. 38.

† A description of the new armorial bearings, copied from the proclamation, is in the Annual Register, vol. xliti. p. *2.

that a dissolution ought to take place ; but Mr. Pitt resolved to follow exactly the precedent of the union with Scotland*.

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January 22.
Mr. Addington
Speaker.

On the meeting of Parliament, Mr. Addington, not only without a dissentient voice, but with warm eulogies from members of the greatest respectability and experience, was replaced in the situation of Speaker, which he had so long adorned.

Session
opened.February 2.
King's speech.

Several days were consumed in which no business was transacted, except that of administering oaths to the new members, when at length the King opened the session. In his speech, he expressed anxiety and concern at the unfortunate course of events on the Continent, and the consequences which must be expected to result from it ; astonishment, as well as regret, must be excited at the efforts made by some powers to weaken the naval force of the British empire, which had opposed so powerful an obstacle to the ambition of France, instead of concentrating the means of mutual defence against their common and increasing danger. The Court of Petersburg having treated remonstrances with disrespect, and a convention being concluded with Denmark and Sweden, renewing former engagements to establish a code of maritime law, inconsistent with the rights, and hostile to the interests of this country, he had, while giving assurances of his disposition to renew his ancient relations with those powers, when it could be done with propriety, taken the earliest measures to repel their aggressions and support principles grounded on the long-established and recognized system of public law, essential to the maintenance of our naval strength. His Majesty also expressed satisfaction at the Union, and regret for the distress occasioned by the high price of provisions.

An address, moved by the Duke of Montrose, and seconded by the Earl of Lucan, was met by an amendment, proposed by Earl Fitzwilliam, seconded by the

House of
Lords.
Debate on the
Address.

* I have heard Lord Eldon state that such had been his opinion in debate in the House of Lords ; and I have seen a letter written by Mr. Pitt, declaring his resolution on the subject.

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Earl of Suffolk, and supported by the Earls of Darnley, Carnarvon, and Moira, while the cause of government was maintained by Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville, and Lord Eldon.

On the subject of the northern confederacy, a hope was expressed that the Emperor of Russia would see the wicked designs of his ministers : by treaties with England, it had been stipulated, that, in case of a rupture, merchants should remain unmolested for a year, and the principle of the confederacy was a contravention of the general law of nations, as well as of particular compacts. The right of searching neutral vessels originated in the rights of nature ; it was interwoven in that of self-defence, and could not be destroyed by any adverse convention. On the other side, no powerful attempt was made to controvert these doctrines ; but it was contended that the aggression of Russia was a matter totally distinct and separate from the northern confederacy ; that ministers by their rashness had thrown the powers of Sweden and Denmark into the arms of the Emperor Paul, and changed the situation of the country. Last year, the nation was surrounded by friends and allies, successfully pursuing one common cause against a common enemy, and the desirable object of an honourable peace was almost at command ; now, we were suddenly deserted by our friends and allies, and become the object of their enmity and hostility, and on the eve of an alarming war with all the world, without a friend or ally, and without the most distant hope of peace.

Few observations were made on the Union ; great benefits to Ireland were predicted as the certain consequence ; and the Duke of Athol, joining in these expectations, observed that, although he could not say his ancestors had supported that with Scotland, he was sure, if they were alive now, they would confess that they had been mistaken as to its operation.

In the course of his speech, when moving the address, the Duke of Montrose, while he admitted the difficulties of our situation, saw no cause for despondency. He did not expect to hear it said that

the French government was sincere in talking of a general peace; by attempting to draw the court of Vienna into a separate negotiation, and making the same overture to us, the First Consul had shewn the direct contrary. The generals of France, after every victory, held the language of peace, and congratulated the nation on the additional power it would afford them of making it. Their sincerity would soon be tried: England, while bound by treaty not to negotiate without Austria, gave an example of dignity and good faith in not acceding to such a measure: Austria had now, unhappily, been compelled to make a separate peace, and the moderation of France would be put to the proof; but it was not to be relied on. France, more powerful than at any former period, and certainly not less ambitious, rendered the situation of England arduous; and it required the utmost integrity and zeal to avoid being lulled into a fatal security, but to obtain peace on equal grounds, and not accept one dictated by an imperious enemy to a betrayed and divided people. No direct attempt was made to refute these observations; but ministers were severely reproached for the misemployment of military force, for the unsuccessful expeditions against Cadiz and Ferrol, and for the rejection of the treaty of El Arish. The amendment was negatived*.

In the House of Commons, the address was also carried by a great majority†. Mr. Grey moved the amendment, and made an ample and forcible speech; Mr. Pitt and the Solicitor General (Mr. Grant) were his principal opponents. The subject chiefly discussed was the combination of the northern powers, respecting whom the conduct of ministers was assailed with vehemence, and defended with ability: the arguments, however expanded or illustrated, were chiefly those employed in the other House; but Mr. Grey, speaking of the benefits expected from the Union, said, “ I should have augured more favourably of that measure had the speech from the throne contained a

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1801.

House of
Commons.

* 73 to 17.

† 245 to 63.

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1801.

Mention of the
Roman Catho-
lics.

" recommendation, as it was reported it would, to consider of taking off those disabilities to which the Catholics of Ireland are subject. The surest means of incorporating the two countries, and cementing their connexion, would be, to extend to all in common the blessings of the constitution. Mr. Cornwallis, who seconded the motion for an address, has alluded to what might be consistent with the security of the Protestant religion. When I consider, however, the construction which has often been put on these words, I feel some suspicion that those measures of liberality and justice toward the Catholics of Ireland, which were expected as the fruits of a legislative union, are yet far from being realized."

3rd.

To this intimation no answer was given; but, on the following day, when the report of the address was brought up, Mr. Jones, expressing a sincere wish that the union might conduce to the safety and happiness of the empire, said, he greatly doubted of such an effect, as he had heard that a division existed in the cabinet on the subject of the emancipation of the Catholics. Mr. Nicholls also regretted to understand that the Catholics were not to receive from the union the advantages of which they had been permitted to enjoy a prospect. He had supported the measure, trusting that it would be the means of giving to that numerous class of British subjects the equality of rights and privileges which had been denied them under a more contracted system of policy: from a hope that so great a benefit would be the result, he cast a veil over the enormities and corruption by which it had been accomplished; and in proportion to his warmth of expectation, was his disappointment to find that no prospect was held out of their emancipation.

Change of
ministry
expected.

5th.

These strong observations produced no explanatory answer from ministers or their friends; but it was obvious that they were not without foundation. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas ceased for a time to appear in the house; Mr. Sheridan, who had given notice of a motion relative to the late negotiation for peace with

France, proposed its postponement for a few days, on account of Mr. Dundas's ill health, stating, at the same time, that his intended motion would be followed by one, imputing to ministers great and criminal misconduct. With some apparent reluctance, Mr. Strutt consented also to postpone a motion of which he had given notice relative to the Ferrol expedition, Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Ryder asserting the necessary absence of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas, not from any accidental cause, but from circumstances which could not be stated, although they were almost notorious.

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9th.

In fact, the absence of the two ministers alluded to proceeded from a disunion which occasioned an entire dissolution of the ministry. To facilitate the Union, and particularly to prevent the opposition of the Roman Catholics as a body, Mr. Pitt and his colleagues, abstaining from positive pledges, had expressed to them a confident opinion that the result of the measure would be favourable to their claims*. As these claims amounted to a full and unrestrained participation in all offices and dignities of state; of seats on the Judge's bench and in Parliament, and to the command of armies and fleets; to every thing, indeed, except the crown; no promise or overture respecting them should have been made without the King's knowledge and full approbation; the withholding of any communication on such a subject from him, proved that ministers anticipated objections not easily to be surmounted; and, with more craft than propriety, relied rather on the effect to be produced by the fear of frustrating a measure once enacted, than on the fair results of conviction arising from reasoning. In every act of his reign, the King had evinced a disposition to remove every just cause of complaint from the Roman Catholic portion of his subjects; only twenty years had elapsed since the flames which desolated the metropolis were kindled by those who proclaimed (and they had their believers too) that he was himself a Papist; the professors of the Romish religion had always acknow-

Conduct of
ministers.

Of the King.

* Memoirs of Lord Liverpool, p. 128.

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His communica-
tion with
Lord Kenyon.

ledged his gracious protection and indulgence, his benevolence and liberality ; but there were bounds which conscience forbade him to overstep. When the extensive changes projected during the viceroyalty of Earl Fitzwilliam in Ireland were presented to his consideration, the just and pious sovereign paused before he would give them his sanction. The state of affairs at the time impelled him to accede to any proposition which would strengthen government, and disarm, in any degree, the fury of faction ; but he would not act on mere temporary expediency, or resolve on the impressions formed upon his own mind, without the judgment of honest and able advisers. For this aid, he sought, not from the clergy, whose views might have been suspected, and their persons calumniated ; not from those statesmen, who, being mixed up in party politics and connexions, might, even unconsciously, have furnished opinions rather conformable to their own views or those of their adherents, than to the real circumstances of the occasion ; but from a learned and enlightened individual, whose situation exempted him from the hopes and fears incident to political connexion ; whose independence, piety, loyalty, and integrity, placed him above all suspicion and all temptation ; from the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

To Lord Kenyon, his Majesty addressed a series of questions, written in his own hand*, referring to the coronation oath, to many existing statutes, and to the Journals, containing a clause proposed to be inserted in the act imposing that oath, giving some latitude to the sovereign in his observance of it, but rejected by Parliament ; requiring his lordship's opinion on them, and requesting that he would also obtain that of the Attorney General on this most serious subject. The queries proceeded on the ground, that as the coronation oath was understood to restrain the Crown from assenting to the repeal of the Act of Uniformity in favour of Protestant dissenters, it would

equally prohibit an assent to the repeal of the Act of Supremacy and the Test Act in favour of Roman Catholics. As, by the Act of Succession, a forfeiture of the crown was expressly enacted if the sovereign should hold communication with, or be reconciled to, the Church of Rome, might not the repeal of the Act of Supremacy and the establishing of the Romish religion in any of the hereditary dominions, amount to such a reconciliation? Would not the Lord Chancellor of England incur some risk in affixing the great seal to a bill giving the Pope a concurrent ecclesiastical jurisdiction with the King? And other queries referred to the articles of Union with Scotland, and to the arrangement effected with Ireland in 1782.

To this communication, the Lord Chief Justice speedily* returned a clear and satisfactory answer, in which the Attorney General concurred. On the Act of Union with Scotland, the opinion intimated by the King was confirmed; and the coronation oath, requiring the King to maintain the Protestant religion established by law, was declared to imply the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of the church, including the King's supremacy, the various orders of ministers, and the provision made by the State for the support of the clergy; the doctrine and discipline regulated by the Acts of Uniformity; and the liturgy as enacted by the Statute of Charles the Second. To overthrow any part of this establishment would militate against the coronation oath, and contravene an essential and fundamental part of the Act of Union. After some observations on the statutes passed from time to time for relief of certain orders of sectarists, it was said, that so long as the King's supremacy and the main fabric of the Act of Uniformity, the doctrine, discipline, and government of the Church of England, were preserved to it, as the national church, and the provision for its ministers kept as an appropriated fund, any ease given to sectarists would not militate against the coronation oath or the Act of Union, nor

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His Lordship's
opinion.

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Conduct of
Mr. Pitt.Of Mr. Dun-
das.January 31.
Mr. Pitt's
letter to the
King.

would they be broken by a repeal or alteration of the Test Act; but the Chancellor of Great Britain would incur great risk in affixing the great seal to a bill giving the Pope a concurrent ecclesiastical jurisdiction with the King. It would be contrary to the coronation oath, and subversive of a fundamental part of the Act of Union.

Most probably, Mr. Pitt was not unapprized of this correspondence; certainly he was well aware of the King's sentiments on the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam; but still he gave the hopes which lulled the Catholics, relying perhaps on the influence he possessed with the King, founded on his long and faithful services, and on the necessity which he trusted he could make apparent of conceding the required point when the Union was completed, and when the tranquillity so much to be desired in the existing emergency should be shewn as the price of compliance. In anticipation of intended measures, and of a certain resistance, Mr. Dundas, at the time of the Union, had conversed with the King, who, while he expressed a hope that government was not pledged to any measure in favour of the Catholics, repelled, in contemptuous terms, an attempt to reconcile him to a proceeding which he deemed inconsistent with his most solemn obligation*.

When, therefore, the Imperial Parliament was formed, and before the King's speech had been delivered, Mr. Pitt, sensible of approaching difficulties, addressed a letter to his Majesty, mentioning the

* This circumstance is recorded in the Life of Sir James Mackintosh, edited by his son, and published in 1836, p. 170. In narrating a conversation with Mr. Dundas, that statesman is represented to have said, "The King was prepared to oppose us on the Popery question. As early as the time of the Union, I had a conversation with him on the subject. 'I hope,' said the King, 'government is not pledged to any thing in favour of the Romanists' (that was his expression). 'No,' was my answer; 'but it will be matter for future consideration, whether, to render the measure more efficient, it will not be proper to embrace them in some liberal plan of policy.' 'What say you to my coronation oath?' asked the King. 'That can only apply to your Majesty, I conceive, in your executive capacity. It does not refer to you as part of the legislature.' 'None of your Scotch metaphysics, Mr. Dundas,' replied the King." Publicity had been given to the concluding expression of the King nearly nine years before the appearance of Mr. Mackintosh's work, in the Edinburgh Review, June 1827, vol. xlvi, p. 166, but with a less fair and candid statement of the whole conversation.

necessity he felt of submitting to him the result of the best consideration which his confidential servants could give to the important questions respecting the Catholics and Dissenters, which must naturally be agitated in consequence of the Union. The knowledge of his Majesty's general indisposition to any change of the laws on this subject would have made this a painful task ; and it was become much more so, by learning recently from some of his colleagues, and from other quarters, the extent to which his Majesty entertained, and had declared, that sentiment. He expressed, as the opinion of himself and his coadjutors, that the admission of the Catholics and Dissenters to offices, and of the Catholics to Parliament (from which latter the Dissenters were not now excluded), would, under certain conditions to be specified, be highly advisable, with a view to the tranquillity and improvement of Ireland, and to the general interests of the United Kingdom. He then proceeded to give reasons for thinking that this measure could not be injurious to the established church ; to shew the alteration effected in the time which had elapsed since the enactment of the restrictive laws, and the provisions with which the benefit might be accompanied for preventing future evil. Submitting his arguments on these points to His Majesty's consideration, he added, that if, in the result, his objections to the measure should not be removed, or sufficiently diminished to admit of its being brought forward with his full concurrence and with the whole weight of government, it must be, personally, Mr. Pitt's first wish to be released from a situation which he was conscious that, under such circumstances, he could not continue to fill but with the greatest disadvantage. At the same time, he hoped to be acquitted of presumption in adding, that if the chief difficulties of the present crisis should not then be surmounted, or very materially diminished, and if his Majesty should continue to think that his humble exertions could, in any degree, contribute to conducting them to a favourable issue, there was no personal difficulty to which he

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would not rather submit than withdraw himself, at such a moment, from his Majesty's service. He would even, if necessary, for a short further interval, oppose the agitation or discussion of the question, as far as he could consistently with the line to which he felt bound uniformly to adhere, of reserving to himself a full latitude on the principle itself, and objecting only to the time, and to the temper and circumstances of the moment.

February 1.
The King's
answer.

Answering this letter without delay, the King used these expressions : " I should not do justice to " the warm impulse of my heart, if I entered on the " subject most unpleasant to my mind without first " expressing, that the cordial affection I have for Mr. " Pitt, as well as high opinion of his talents and in- " tegrity, greatly add to my uneasiness on this occa- " sion ; but a sense of religious as well as political duty " has made me, from the moment I mounted the " throne, consider the oath that the wisdom of our " forefathers has enjoined the Kings of this realm to " take at their coronation, and enforced by the obliga- " tion of instantly following it, in the course of the " ceremony, with taking the sacrament, as a binding " religious obligation on me to maintain the funda- " mental maxims on which our constitution is placed, " namely, that the Church of England is the esta- " blished one ; and that those who hold employments " in the state must be members of it, and consequently " obliged, not only to take oaths against Popery, but " to receive the holy communion agreeably to the " rites of the Church of England. This principle of " duty must, therefore, prevent me from discussing " any proposition tending to destroy this ground-work " of our happy constitution, and much more so that " now mentioned by Mr. Pitt, which is no less than " the complete overthrow of the whole fabric." His Majesty also referred to his declaration made to the members of both Houses who brought to him the message respecting the Union, that his inclination to that measure was principally founded on a trust that the uniting the established churches of the two king-

doms would for ever shut the door to any further measures with respect to the Roman Catholics. In conclusion, he expressed, with equal warmth and condescension, his hope, that, during his life, Mr. Pitt's sense of duty would prevent his retiring from office.

Mr. Pitt, in reply, acknowledged how sincerely he was penetrated with the King's affecting expressions of kindness and goodness, but stated that the final decision which his Majesty had formed on the great subject in question (the motives to which he respected and honoured), and his own unalterable sense of the line which public duty required from him, must make him consider the moment as now arrived, when it must be his first wish to be released, as soon as possible, from his present situation.

In his first letter, the minister had requested that his Majesty would discountenance all attempts, in the interval preceding a final arrangement, to make use of his name, or influence the opinion of any individual or descriptions of men. The King answered that, for the advantage and comfort of continuing to have Mr. Pitt's advice and exertions in public affairs, he would certainly abstain from talking on this subject, which was the one nearest his heart. "I cannot help," he said, "if others pretend to guess at my opinions, "which I have never disguised; but if those who unfortunately differ with me will keep this subject at rest, I will, most correctly on my part, be silent also; this restraint I shall put on myself from affection for Mr. Pitt; but further I cannot go, for I cannot sacrifice my duty to any consideration." In his final communication, the King said, "I had flattered myself that, on the strong assurance I gave Mr. Pitt, of keeping perfectly silent on the subject whereon we entirely differ, provided on his part he kept off from any disquisition on it for the present, we both understood our present line of conduct; but as I unfortunately find Mr. Pitt does not draw the same conclusion, I must come to the unpleasant decision, as it will deprive me of his political ser-

The King's forbearance.

5th.
His determina-
nation.

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" vice, of acquainting him that, rather than forego
 " what I look on as my duty, I will, without unneces-
 " sary delay, attempt to make the most creditable
 " arrangement, and such as Mr. Pitt will think most
 " to the advantage of my service, as well as to the
 " security of the public (but he must not be surprised
 " if I cannot fix how soon that can possibly be done),
 " with as much expedition as so difficult a subject will
 " admit*."

His diffi-
culties.

To lose, at such a crisis of public affairs, the advice and assistance of men in whom he had so long confided, was a severe and astounding blow to the King; he could not, in a matter of conscience, surrender his construction of the effect and obligation of an oath to any other person, however highly considered; and the situation of political parties created great difficulties in forming an administration. To call in the aid of the habitual and inveterate opponents of ministers would not have changed the aspect of the great question which pressed on his mind; for that party was devoted to an extreme opinion on the subject, and would not have accepted office on terms consistent with the feelings of the sovereign. All the great and commanding ability by which the feelings and opinions of the public had so long been influenced was supposed to be vested in the conspicuous leaders of these two parties; and the King, unadvised by any, was reduced to the necessity of providing for the formation of a new cabinet. Looking in an unexpected direction, his Majesty entrusted this important task to Mr. Addington, so recently re-established as Speaker of the House of Commons, who acted under this gratifying distinction with a promptitude, firmness, and devotedness, which secured to him, for ever afterward, his gratitude and unabated affection.

He applies to
Mr Addington10th.
The change
mentioned in
Parliament.

On the day after Lord Hawkesbury had made his communication to the House of Commons, Lord Darnley offered a motion in the other House for an

* Letters from his late Majesty to the late Lord Kenyon, and Letters of the Right Honourable William Pitt, with his Majesty's Answers in 1801, published in 1827, by the Reverend Henry Phillpots, afterward Bishop of Exeter.

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inquiry into the conduct of the war, but was induced to postpone it for ten days by the Earl of Carlisle, who, at this early period, gave a specimen of the sort of opposition which the new government was to expect. The ministers to whom the motion would apply were retiring from office, on grounds which considerably increased the danger to which the country was exposed. In dissuading the noble lord from persisting in his motion, he was not influenced by any desire to give his countenance and support to the administration about to be formed. The present most alarming situation of the empire called for the ablest heads and hands to direct its affairs ; and could any expectation be rationally entertained of effecting our salvation by the exertions of such a ricketty administration as that which was about to undertake the helm of the state ? A hope was held out by the late administration that something would be done for the Catholics of Ireland. To that the national honour had been pledged ; and if that hope was now to be suddenly extinguished, what could ensue, but all the mischiefs to which men could be instigated by despair ?

Lord Grenville gave an account of the causes which led to his resignation. Some time ago, he said, Earl Spencer, the Earl of Chatham, and himself, with several of his Majesty's servants in the other House, thinking it expedient that the benefits of the Union should be rendered as extensive as possible by the removal of certain disabilities from a great portion of the people of Ireland, and that the measure could only be effectual by coming from the executive government, proposed it to those who directed his Majesty's councils : it was not deemed eligible ; they were unable to prevail ; their policy remained unaltered ; they considered themselves bound to retire ; and they only held their offices until successors should be nominated. " It is impossible," he added, " for me to abstain from expressing my gratitude for the indulgence, confidence, and support I have experienced during the long and eventful period that I have had a share in his Majesty's councils. I have had to serve a kind

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" and indulgent master ; he uniformly treated me with attention ; and his acceptance of my resignation was accompanied with the most flattering marks of regard. It is our consolation to reflect, that our vigorous line of conduct will be pursued by our successors. Though we may differ with them in some points, in most there is no difference ; and while they continue to act in a firm, resolute, and manly manner, they shall have our steady support." In these statements and sentiments, Lord Spencer expressed his cordial acquiescence.

10th.
Mr. Addington
resigns the
chair.

11th.
succeeded by
Sir John
Mitford.

16th.
Thanks to Mr.
Addington.

At the same period, the resignation of the chair by Mr. Addington was made known to the House of Commons ; and Sir William Pulteney observed that the conduct of the right honourable gentleman must have procured him many distinguished friends, and not one enemy. Sir John Mitford was proposed as his successor ; Mr. Sheridan suggested a wish to nominate Mr. Charles Dundas, who had not yet taken the oaths nor his seat, and, appealing to the spirit, rather than the letter of the statute which provided that no person holding an office or place of profit under the crown should be their speaker, asked, if any doubt could be entertained that the learned gentleman had a re-appointment to the office of Attorney General in his pocket, as it were, if the arrangement of his friends in his favour should miscarry ? He fully concurred in the praises which had been bestowed on Mr. Addington ; but when he was told that he would fill his new situation with all the wisdom and ability it would demand, in a time so critical and trying, he must pause ; he could not give his confidence until he had the proof of experience and facts. And he was the more called to be upon his guard, since it had been openly avowed that the new administration would act on the principles of their predecessors.

Thanks to Mr. Addington, for the manner in which he had fulfilled his duties as Speaker, were unanimously voted, on the motion of Colonel Fullarton, with expressions of approbation and respect from Lord Belgrave and Mr. M. A. Taylor, which Mr.

Pitt pronounced to be due to the most eminent talents that perhaps had ever adorned that high and honourable station.

While the new minister's seat was yet vacant, through the necessity for his re-election, the formation of the House into a Committee of supply being moved, Mr. Harrison observed on the circumstance that Mr. Pitt was no longer addressed as Chancellor of the Exchequer, although the financial statement proceeded from him. The enormous sum of twenty-eight millions was required, and the House should know who were to direct the energies of the country, and whether the supplies were likely to be employed on objects of true national utility, or wasted in fruitless expéditions. Similar topics, with doubts of the ability of the ministers who might be appointed, were expressed by other members. Mr. Pitt having assigned reasons for the resignation of himself and friends, Mr. Sheridan accused him of juggling and prevarication. Although not outvoted in that House or in the cabinet, he had retired, because the King refused to adopt his advice on a particular question. This surely was more than insinuating an odious charge against his Majesty. The question was, upon what grounds were the new administration to be supported; upon what declarations the public money to be granted? Was the war to be conducted with languor and inertness? Were the supplies to be squandered away as hitherto? To these questions an answer was demanded, but none was received: on the contrary, while the right honourable gentleman was preparing to go out of office, in a manner the most unconstitutional, leaving the country at war with the world, with scarcely a single ally, involved in a debt of three hundred millions, and widowed of two hundred thousand men, he did not blush to congratulate the House on its prosperity. He took great pride to himself for the assistance he was about to lend to his successors, asking triumphantly, whether our allies and the people would not look for the same degree of vigour and ability from them, standing on the same ground and fighting the same battle? He

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Observations
in Parliament
on the change.

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must certainly answer in the negative ; for when Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, and Earl Spencer, should be removed, there would certainly be a great defalcation from the vigour and abilities of the cabinet. When the crew of a vessel was preparing for action, it was usual to clear the decks, by throwing overboard the lumber ; but he never heard of such a manœuvre as that of throwing their great guns overboard. When an election committee was formed, the watch-word was, to shorten the business by knocking out the brains of the committee ; that is, by striking from the list, the names of lawyers and other gentlemen who might happen to know a little too much of the subject. In this sense, the right honourable gentleman had literally knocked out the brains of the administration ; and then, clapping a mask on the skeleton, cried, “ Here “ is as fine vigour and talent for you as any body may “ wish to see.” This empty skull, this skeleton administration, was the phantom that was to overawe our enemies, and to command the confidence of the House and the people. If it was promised that the new administration was to adopt the very reverse of the measures of their predecessors, then, indeed, might they aspire to the unbounded confidence and esteem of the nation ; but while more than a doubt was entertained of their principles and opinions, where was the inconvenience of withholding the supplies for a few days ?

On the other hand, Mr. Hiley Addington, from the opinion expressed by the House of his brother’s merits in another capacity, claimed that his future conduct should not be prejudged ; but that, until proofs to the contrary were produced, an expectation might be entertained that his actions would ensure the continuance of the favour he had already so liberally experienced. Mr. Nicholls, disclaiming the opinion of the Earl of Carlisle, that the ministry coming into office formed a weak and ricketty administration, was ready to place his confidence in them, until, by their declarations and acts, they should shew themselves unworthy of it ; and this he said while expressing entire disap-

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probation of the causes and conduct of the war, and urging the propriety and necessity of peace.

Mr. Pitt, who spoke three times in the course of the debate, treated the proposition to delay the supplies as the strangest ever made, especially in the dangerous position of the country, which was so strenuously urged by members of opposition. When he had formed the resolution to resign, he considered it his duty not to do so until he had taken means to fix the supplies for the year, and to state the plans which were in contemplation for the public service. He refuted the assertion that there were, at the moment, no persons publicly responsible for measures, and that ministers might screen themselves from inquiry by pretences of particular plans having been formed by a previous administration. Responsibility must of necessity rest on those under whose administration the supplies were expended. The measures likely to be pursued were those which the House had repeatedly sanctioned. Of the men, it was perhaps incompetent for him to speak, because the greater part of them could not yet be known, except by general rumour ; and, on the grounds already stated, he explained the resignation of himself and his friends.

On a review of this whole transaction, it appears Observations. that, whether the retiring ministers were right or wrong in their views respecting concessions to the Roman Catholics, their conduct toward the King was destitute of due frankness and respect. His inflexible firmness on points where religion or the sacred obligation of an oath was involved, was well known, and appears to have been at all times fully appreciated. If they considered the concessions necessary for the preservation of internal peace, or the promotion of the great and necessary measure of the Union, if the intimations made by the Marquis Cornwallis were to be deemed in any degree obligatory, it is most extraordinary that no disclosure was ever made to his Majesty. It was to be, as acknowledged by them all, a government measure, not to be advanced without his appro-

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bation ; but, with strong reasons to believe that such a sanction would not easily, if at all, be obtained, no notice that it would be demanded was ever given. Speaking on the tenth of February, Lord Grenville said that, some time ago, he, with several other ministers, proposed the measure to those who directed his Majesty's councils ; but it was not deemed eligible, and they were not able to prevail. Supposing that by the phrase, " those who direct his Majesty's councils," the noble lord referred only to that portion of the cabinet which still remained in office, and that the opinion had been adopted some time before (giving the most restricted application that can be imagined to the words " some time"), it cannot be considered that a disclosure made, not to those who directed his councils, but to the King himself, only ten days before that on which he was speaking, after Parliament had met, and when the speech from the throne was daily expected, was consistent either with duty or respect. At the time when his lordship made these assertions, the letters between the King and Mr. Pitt, the contents of which must have been known to Lord Grenville, were unpublished, and consequently his lordship's statements were secure from the refutation which those papers afford. On the whole, it appears as if the ministers, confiding in their own political strength, and the supposed inability of their sovereign to provide himself, on the moment, with new confidential advisers, delayed their communication to the latest possible time, that they might gain some advantage from surprise, and overcome hesitation by the imperious demand for immediate action. It is not to be supposed that these ministers, ever actuated by a regard for the welfare and honour of the realm, were instigated in this transaction by motives altogether selfish or personal : they believed, however erroneously, that the measure they patronized would tend to the general good ; they had pledged themselves, if not by direct promises, at least by declarations, from the effect of which they could not recede, and were bound in honour to fulfil their engagements

or to resign their offices ; they felt that they could not gain the voluntary assent of the sovereign to their plan ; and, to avoid the necessity of yielding up the reins of government to the only successors they could foresee, to men whose greatest efforts would be to counteract and cast odium on the system they had pursued, they sought rather to gain their point by surprise, and at once to satisfy all demands, and surmount all opposition.

At this period, the King was attacked by a severe cold, attended with symptoms of fever : the harassed state of his mind, tortured as it was by the untoward state of public affairs, and by some events of a private nature, no doubt aggravated the symptoms ; as want of rest, although the royal patient laboured under considerable drowsiness, prevailed to a great degree ; and the state of his intellect was such as to induce apprehensions of a renewal of that cause of affliction which had agitated the nation in 1788. Reigning as he did in the hearts of his people, the daily announcements issued by authority were eagerly perused, and great satisfaction was for a time imparted by the knowledge that he was not unable to sign papers requisite for the furtherance of public business ; but this tax on his powers was forbidden, and prayers for his recovery were offered up in all churches. At length the general anxiety was relieved by a declaration of his Majesty's entire recovery ; and the goodness of Providence in this instance was acknowledged by a general thanksgiving*.

During his Majesty's illness, some progress was made in the formation of a ministry ; and speedily after his recovery it was completed. Lord Hawkesbury was appointed Secretary of State for foreign affairs, instead of Lord Grenville ; Lord St. Vincent succeeded Earl Spencer, as first Lord of the Admiralty ; the Right Honourable Henry Addington was appointed First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor

* By a report, never contradicted, it was said, that his Majesty's recovery, so far as it depended on the restoration of repose, was to be attributed to the placing under his pillow a bag of hops, at the suggestion of Mr. Addington, who derived the remedy from his father.

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illness,

24th

March 11th.
and recovery.

New ministry.

February 20th.

21st.

March 17th.

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23rd.

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May 30th.

June 27th.

March 17th.

of the Exchequer, in lieu of Mr. Pitt; Mr. John Hiley Addington, the minister's brother, was made Secretary to the Treasury; the Earl of Hardwicke succeeded the Marquis Cornwallis in the Lord Lieutenantcy of Ireland; Lord Hobart was made Secretary of State for the war department, in lieu of Mr. Dundas; and the Right Honourable Charles Yorke, brother of the Earl of Hardwicke, received the post of Secretary at War, vacated by Mr. Windham; the Right Honourable Thomas Steele and Lord Glenbervie were nominated joint paymasters of the forces, the former retaining his office, the latter being substituted for Mr. Dudley Ryder; and Lord Auckland and Lord Charles Spencer, joint Postmaster-general, in the room of the Earls of Leicester and Chesterfield. In the law department, Lord Eldon reluctantly received, at the command of the King, and pursuant to an arrangement made when he became Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the seals, which were resigned by Lord Loughborough; Sir Richard Pepper Arden, raised to the peerage by the title of Baron Alvanley, obtained the Chief Justiceship thus vacated; and the office of Master of the Rolls, resigned by the new Judge, was given to Sir William Grant. Sir Edward Law became Attorney, and the Honourable Spencer Perceval Solicitor General. The board of commissioners for India affairs underwent a general change; and, finally, the Earl of Chatham accepted the post of Master of the Ordnance, resigned by the Marquis Cornwallis. On their retiring from office, Lord Grenville obtained, in addition to some other sources of emolument during his own life, a pension for that of his lady; Mr. Dundas was soon raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Viscount Melville; and the East India Company, by an unanimous vote, settled on him an annuity of two thousand pounds; Lord Loughborough was advanced in the order of peerage by being made Earl of Rosslyn, with a limitation of the title to his nephew, and obtained, what had not been granted on former occasions, a pension on his retirement*.

* See the Life of Lord Eldon, by Mr. Twiss, vol. iii. p. 138.

The long and conspicuous services of Mr. Pitt were not particularly considered on this occasion ; he obtained neither title nor pension, having only the place of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, which, many years before, had been conferred, almost forced upon him, by his sovereign. Lord Spencer received no mark of royal favour ; and Mr. Windham retired without title or provision of any kind*.

Had Mr. Addington, instead of a man of accurate judgment, liberal education, and correct views of men and measures, been characterized by an overweening self-confidence and grasping ambition, the circumstances under which he was called into office were calculated to occasion hesitation and distrust. The external affairs of the country presented, amid ample grounds for alarm and uneasiness, none from which confidence or consolation could be derived. Menaced and embarrassed by the confederacy of the northern powers, England had on the Continent only three allies, all equally unable to render any useful assistance : Naples, already kneeling at the feet of Bonaparte ; Portugal, threatened with joint invasion by France and Spain ; and the Porte, rather onerous to her friends† than formidable to her enemies.

At home, the pressure of scarcity, the many calamities incident to a state of hostility, and the desire of peace, the joint effect of lassitude and want of success, together with the other acts and resources of faction, had been amply employed in creating and fostering discontent. The new government, it is true, had the rare advantage of not being opposed, but, on all points, except one, vigorously supported, by their predecessors ; and the ancient opposition, unable to allege any positive acts of mal-administration, could only vent in sarcastic remarks and sinister predictions their effusions of anger, or their desire of office. Mr. Pitt had formed plans relating to war, finance, and domestic government, which were followed by his successors. He had introduced, when no longer Chan-

at home.

February 18.

• Annual Register, vol. xlivi. pp. 71 and 78.

† Homme d'Etat, tome viii. p. 106.

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Motion on the
Ferrol expe-
dition.

February 19th.

March 27th.
Mr. Jones, on
the treaty of
El Arish.June 2.
Second
motion.

cellor of the Exchequer, the measures of supply, which, except for the gratification of a few personalities, occasioned little discussion*.

Notwithstanding the change in the cabinet, motions were made for inquiry and investigation, tending only to censure the conduct of the late ministers. The first was by Mr. Sturt, for an inquiry into the failure of the expedition to Ferrol. Beside a vehement speech by the mover, the proposition was supported by Mr. Jekyll, Mr. Grey, and some other members, but without any great force of argument or novelty of information. Sir James Pulteney defended himself at length, and with much ability, relying on the facts which have already been adverted to in narrating the event : his conduct was defended by Mr. Dundas and Mr. Pitt, and the motion rejected†.

Returning, with insatiable appetency, to a topic on which he delighted to indulge, Mr. Jones renewed the motion he had made in the last short session for an inquiry into the causes of the breach of the convention of El Arish. His speech was a tissue of incorrect assertion, vapid bombast, and ridiculous affectation. Egypt, he said, would never be given up by Bonaparte. If it did not first drag him from obscurity, it brought his mighty, his vast talents into action ; cherished and nurtured and fostered his infant ambition ; and had given him a very clear identification with Alexander. Mr. Dundas, Lord Hawkesbury, and Mr. Pitt, took the almost unnecessary trouble to answer these absurdities : the motion was negatived ; but a resolution passed for the production of some supposed papers, which never appeared, or were never made use of.

Still undismayed, this persevering member made a new motion for an address to know by whose advice the instructions had been sent to Lord Keith which prevented him from consenting to the treaty, and con-

* At an advanced period of the session (June 17), Mr. Tierney and Mr. Addington produced each a series of resolutions ; those of the minister were adopted.

† 149 to 75.

taining a verbose statement of supposed consequences. Lord Hawkesbury refused, after the arguments had been so often refuted, again to enter on the subject; Mr. Windham undertook the unnecessary trouble of exposing them; Mr. Grey slightly sustained the motion; and Mr. Pitt rendered it useless by declaring, that if its purpose was to ascertain the advisers of the measure, he had no hesitation in avowing that it proceeded from himself and Mr. Dundas. Mr. Jones, venturing on a division, found himself in a miserable minority*.

These efforts were unimportant in their character and insignificant in their progress, when compared with motions made by the Earl of Darnley and Mr. Grey, in their respective Houses, for committees on the state of the nation. In support of them, the present alarming state of affairs was feelingly descanted on; the war was reviewed in its origin and in its whole progress; the gain of colonies was considered unimportant, when compared with the desertion of its original objects and the irresistible aggrandizement of the enemy; the rejection of overtures of peace; the contest with the northern powers; the internal condition of the country; the state of Ireland; the Catholic question; the retirement of the late, and the confidence to be reposed in the new, administration, were all descended on at length, and with considerable fervour.

Most of these subjects had been so completely exhausted in former debates, that the arguments now advanced shewed more the pertinacity of party than the power of producing novelty or a probable view of success. For the formation of committees, which would probably not have reached the end of their labours in less than two or three sessions, and which could hardly have come to any of the conclusions desired by the movers without contravening the decisions of Parliament during the last eight years, it was urged, that the mystery in which the retreat of ministers was involved, and the impossibility that the supposed pledge to the Catholics was the true motive, and the review

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of the conduct of a war in which three hundred millions had been expended in nine years, rendered it an indispensable duty. If ever inquiry was necessary, it was now, when the distress of the manufacturers was at its highest pitch, and when the people had scarcely any thing but paper to live upon ; not paper convertible into gold, but paper bearing a near relation to French assignats. It was said in answer, that the only effect of entertaining such a motion was to furnish a theatre for the introduction of every particular topic that could be urged, and to enable the mover to travel over all the scenes of public affairs, past, present, and to come ; to touch upon all possible subjects, and abstain from inquiry upon any. Each subject might demand its separate inquiry ; but the greatest absurdities must ensue upon a desultory debate, in which every possible question might be introduced.

This observation, made by Lord Loughborough, was precisely characteristic of the discussion in both Houses. The complaints of opposition, contrasted with their eulogies on the enemy, gave to their censures much appearance of self-gratulation, and to their predictions of evil to the country a great semblance of wishes for their fulfilment. All our failures were depicted in the very colours used in the French proclamations ; all the advantages gained turned into shadowy semblances of good, or evident substances of evil.

The charges brought by opposition could not, in the existing circumstances of the country, easily be answered : they received force from their accumulation ; while the defence to each being several, and repeated after the decisions of Parliament in long preceding sessions, however founded on truth and supported by fact, seemed feeble, and, if they extorted the acquiescence of reason, afforded no field for appeals to fancy or excitements to passion.

When Mr. Pitt and his friends retired from office, they had addressed to the Roman Catholics of Ireland a communication, stating their determination to have arisen from their inability to propose concessions to

them, with the circumstances necessary to carrying the measure with all its advantages, and admonishing them, as their future hopes must depend upon strengthening their cause by good conduct, prudently to consider their prospects as arising from the persons who now espoused their interests, and compare them with those which they could look to from any other quarter ; they might, with confidence, rely on the support of all those who were retiring, and of many who remained in office, when it could be given with a prospect of success. They were cautioned to take the most loyal, patient, and dutiful line of conduct, and not suffer themselves to be led into measures which could by any construction give a handle to the opposers of their wishes, either to misinterpret their principles, or to raise an argument for resisting their claims. These exhortations were reinforced by a note, declaring the accordant sentiments of the Marquis Cornwallis, styling himself a sincere friend to the Catholic claims.

In the debate, the term "emancipation" was objected to by Mr. Pitt ; and Mr. Fox agreed that it was not the expression best adapted to the case. By the benevolent conduct pursued toward them during the present reign, they were admitted, the Earl of Westmorland observed, to a participation in all the privileges of the constitution, and only excluded from holding about thirty offices of public trust, and from sitting in Parliament. But to remove these inconsiderable disabilities, it would be necessary to meddle with the Toleration Act, the Bill of Rights, the Act of Settlement, and probably the Act of Union with Scotland. But it was urged that inquiry was necessary, when that measure was rejected which was declared by the Marquis Cornwallis to be the only thing that could save Ireland from being deluged with blood, when an administration had gone out because they could not carry this measure, and another came in, rootedly hostile to it. If ministers had it in contemplation to retire, on the grounds which they now held forth, why were they never, even in the slightest degree, disclosed when the session commenced ? The

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paper already noticed was a most extraordinary publication : if not denied by Mr. Pitt, it must be considered as authentic ; that the measure could not have been projected by a majority of the cabinet was obvious, from a consideration of the composition of that body ; and it must have been personally objectionable to the King. It might be justifiable in ministers to retire on such a supposition ; but their minds ought to have been impressed with the strongest conviction of the necessity of the measure before they endeavoured to force it on the acceptance of a sovereign whose pure mind might have been influenced by scruples concerning its propriety. Why should they have been in such extreme haste to introduce the question ? The Catholics of Ireland neither desired nor expected an exertion so premature. They would have been contented to suspend their expectations till the country might have been extricated from some of the difficulties of its critical situation. After deceiving every description of persons in Ireland, and having here deceived the sovereign himself, they had the audacity, inverting a most salutary principle in the constitution, to publish that he is in the wrong, and they in the right ; almost directly stating, that the King may do wrong, but that the ministers cannot. The paper, if it were not high treason, bordered closely on that crime.

Mr. Pitt.

Without hesitation, Mr. Pitt avowed his sentiments and his participation in the act so bitterly censured. The few remaining benefits in which the Catholics had not yet participated might safely have been added to the many which had been so bounteously conferred on them in the present reign. To concede them before the Union would have been rash and destructive ; as a claim of right, the concession could not be maintained ; on the ground of liberality and political expediency alone, he should have thought it advisable and important. His proposed system was to relinquish things once intended as a security, but in some respects ineffectual, and liable to additional objections, when the Union afforded one more consistent and rational both in Church and State, sustaining the principle, but

varying the mode, which the wisdom of our ancestors had adopted to avert danger. After some observations on the inutility of a committee of the whole House on such a question, Mr. Pitt spoke of the paper on which so many remarks had been made. He knew that Lord Cornwallis, a character revered by all, and whose name would not be mentioned in this country with disrespect, did feel it right, as a matter of public duty, to state to persons most influential among the Catholics the motives which led to the late change, in order to prevent the danger which might arise from misrepresentations. It had been done by his own express desire, although, as he was not personally consulted, he did not hold himself answerable for the phrases in which it was composed. He also explicitly denied that any of those who had retired from office had so pledged themselves to the Catholics as to be under the necessity of resigning because they could not perform their pledge; nor had the Catholics considered themselves to have received any such pledge: there was indeed an expectation, but certainly no pledge.

Remarks on the retirement of the late ministers were accompanied with observations on the hopes to be formed of their successors. The opinion that they should not be prejudged, but that their conduct should be the test by which they should be tried, was treated with scorn. The country was not in a situation to try experiments. The change, upon the whole, was not for the worse, for no change could be so; but what could the public expect from men whose fundamental principle was adherence to that system of their predecessors which had brought this empire into its present circumstances; and who deviated from that system in nothing but their repugnance to their only measure that had any pretension to good policy. Earl Temple described the administration as “a thing of shreds and patches.”

Observations
on the new
ministers.

Mr. Ellison repelled the last expression as most unjust; Mr. Pitt spoke in warm terms of eulogy on the merits of Lord Hawkesbury; and Mr. Dundas

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On the
northern
confederacy.

expressed his high satisfaction at perceiving that the talents, the character, and the virtues of the present cabinet, had entitled them to the confidence of their sovereign. He would prove the sincerity of this feeling by giving them his most decided support in whatever way it could be useful to add to the strength of government ; a resolution which was doubly enforced by their determination to resist the attempts and influence of those whose principles and conduct were inimical to the stability of our happy constitution.

Much argument was expended on the subject of the northern confederacy. It was fit to inquire into the causes which, at such an advanced period of a long war, had occasioned such a formidable combination against us : it was a change without a parallel, and the consequences were beyond the reach of human foresight. All true and sound policy must be founded on justice ; and could our conduct toward the Swedes and the Danes rest upon that basis ? Could it be expected that free states would allow their fleets to be searched. When we were in a state of neutrality with Spain, and she, as always, at war with the Barbary states, should we have permitted a British man of war, carrying contraband articles to Algiers, to be searched by a Spanish frigate ? The Marquis of Lansdowne observed that, in 1782, when holding an official situation, he consulted civilians and common lawyers ; and his idea with regard to liberum mare resolved itself into this, that it had no connexion whatever with any question of law, but was altogether a question of power.

Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt vindicated his ministry against the charges of rashness, precipitancy, and impolicy ; they who made them spoke as if the blow was already struck, or had been inevitably decided on ; but, in fact, all hopes of pacification were not yet excluded. Earnestly wishing that the extremity of war might be avoided, they were prepared to commence it with vigour and energy, in defence of the dearest rights and interests of the country, or to settle the question on terms consistent with our honour and dignity. He was warranted by

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the adjudications of courts and the terms of treaties in maintaining that free bottoms do not make free goods ; that a port was blockaded when it was rendered unsafe to enter it ; and that a convoy does not preclude the right of search. Mr. Fox, when Secretary of State, had advised his Majesty to cede these rights in behalf of the Empress of Russia, for the purpose of purchasing her friendship, and preventing her from joining France. The cession proved the right, for we could not give what we did not possess. Even supposing it an act of sound policy to make that cession to Russia, at that time when our naval inferiority was too unfortunately conspicuous, when we were at war with France, Spain, and Holland, and when the addition of Russian hostility might have been a serious evil, did it follow that, at the present moment, when the fleets of all the northern states, combined with those of France, Spain, and Holland, would be unequal to a contest with our great and superior naval power, we were to sacrifice the maritime greatness of Britain at the shrine of Russia ? allow intire freedom to the trade of France ? permit her to receive naval stores undisturbed, and to rebuild and refit her navy ; voluntarily give up our maritime consequence, and expose ourselves to scorn, derision, and contempt ? Four nations had leagued to produce a new maritime code, in defiance of the established law of nations, and the most solemn treaties and engagements, which they endeavoured arbitrarily to force upon Europe ; what was this but the same Jacobin principle which proclaimed the rights of man, which produced the French revolution, which generated the wildest anarchy, and spread horror and devastation through that unfortunate country ? Whatever shape it might assume, it was a violation of public faith, a violation of the rights of England, and imperiously called upon Englishmen to resist it, even to the last shilling and the last drop of blood.

Mr. Fox readily acknowledged that, in 1782, he ^{Mr. Fox.} did offer to the Empress of Russia the recognition of

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the principle in question, for the purpose of inducing her to enter into a close alliance with this country. The measure was wise, timely, and judicious; but although officially proposed by him, it proceeded of course from the King's whole council, which consisted of some of the greatest names in the country, such as the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord John Cavendish, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Lord Keppel; and there was no want of eminent lawyers, for Lords Ashburton, Camden, and Thurlow, were members. He then reviewed the subject of contest under three heads: first, "that free bottoms make free goods," an axiom which he declared was not sanctioned either by the law of nations or common sense. The difficulty would be which to condemn as most monstrous, a neutral, pretending to the right of supplying one belligerent with all the means of mischief to another; or a belligerent, insisting upon a universal right of search in all cases, and making innocent commerce the sport of its whim, in express contempt of specific regulation. Between these extremes, the general interest of the commonwealth of nations would find the true medium. In the numberless treaties between the different states of Europe, the most general inference was for the general freedom of commerce; but every one of them contained exceptions and qualifications. Contraband of war was the mere creature of convention; the very articles declared contraband with one power being innocent commerce with another. The right of search, under sound and discreet limitations, was certainly a right of belligerents; but, pushed to extremity, it became, like many other rights, a gross wrong. As, on the one hand, it did not rest merely on unwritten law, so neither, on the other, was it a matter to be arbitrarily exercised. The thing, as well as the manner, was defined by strict stipulation. As to the claim of convoy, beyond all doubt, if the privilege were abused in protecting the trade of an enemy, that would be a fit subject of representation. The northern powers seemed to have been fully aware of

such a possible fraud; and every thing of this sort could be settled by remonstrance and reason.

Mr. Fox's re-appearance in his seat occasioned some observation; Mr. Pitt said, his attendance was, of late, so rare that he might almost be considered as a new member; and some others referred to the same subject. Mr. Fox, slightly noticing the designation of him as a new member, said, toward the conclusion of a long and energetic speech, "It is not for me to anticipate "the determination of the House this night. If I "see any reasonable grounds for thinking that my "regular appearance can be really beneficial to the "public, the public shall have that benefit: but if it "is demonstrable, after the seas of blood that have "been shed, and the hundreds of millions wasted; "after such sacrifice of treasure and reputation, after "the failure of all the professed objects of this war, "and after bringing immeasurable consequent woes "upon the country; after a series of military enter- "prises, some of which excited the contempt, others "the horror of Europe; after the loss of all, and the "ruin of many, of our allies; after seeing the enemy "aggrandised, beyond all example, by the very efforts "made to abase him; after having abused the match- "less glories of our navy, from the true end of all "justifiable warfare, a safe and honourable peace; "after seeing the ninth year of this direful contest ad- "vance us so little toward its close, that we found a "host of new enemies commencing a new war, preg- "nant with mischief, whether we are victorious or "vanquished; after all the infringements that have "been made upon the English constitution, and our "bitter experience that increasing the cause is not the "true remedy for discontent; after all that we have "seen in Ireland, and all that we feel in England: if "all these things go for nothing, and the division of "this night should manifest the same determined con- "fidence in that system which has produced all these "effects, whether administered by its first leaders, or "by their followers, raised from secondary into superior

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Mr. Fox vindi-
cates his non-
attendance.

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"offices—then, sensible of the utter inutility of my exertions, I shall certainly feel myself justified in exercising my own discretion as to the degree of regularity with which I shall attend."

In both Houses, the motions were refused*.

* Lords, 115 to 28. Commons, 291 to 105.

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND NINETEEN.

1801.

Correspondence with the Danish and Swedish Ambassadors.

—Mr. Fox's observations on Prussia.—Capture of the Triton.—Occupation of Ritzebuttel and Cuxhaven.—Seizure of Hanover.—The Danes occupy Hamburg.—Pacific efforts of ministers.—Loss of the Invincible.—Force of the enemy.—Progress of the expedition.—Correspondence at Cronenberg Castle.—The fleet passes the Sound.—Strength of Copenhagen.—Attack prepared.—Excellent spirit of the people. Battle of Copenhagen.—Nelson's letter.—Loss on both sides.—Final arrangement.—Sailing of the Swedish fleet.—Conduct of the Emperor Paul.—Conspiracy against him.—Murder of the Emperor.—He is succeeded by Alexander.—Proceedings in Parliament.—Mr. Horne Tooke.—His first speech—its effect.—Motion on his return.—Committee appointed.—Report.—Earl Temple's motion.—Mr. Addington—moves the order of the day.—Mr. Tooke.—Mr. Fox.—Further debate.—Mr. Addington changes his motion. Bill brought in.—Observations.—Laws on the residence of the clergy.—Mr. Whitbread.—Resolutions on scarcity.—Lord Suffolk's motion on paper-currency.—In-closures facilitated.—Ireland.—Motion by Lord Castlereagh.—Mr. Sheridan on martial law.—Bill for continuing it passes the Commons.—Opposed by Earl Fitzwilliam.—Earl of Clare.—Earl Moira.—Bill passed.—Protests.—Habeas Corpus suspended.—Committees formed.—Their reports.—Bill against seditious meetings.—Bill of indemnity.—Prorogation.

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1801.
Correspond-
ence with the
Danish and
Swedish Am-
bassadors.

January 15th.

16th.
17th.

Mr. Fox's ob-
servations on
Prussia.

Capture of the
Triton.

WHILE Parliament was engaged in discussing the dispute with the powers of the north, events had taken place which rendered further consideration unnecessary. Impelled by the united influence of France and Russia, Denmark and Sweden shewed a determination to exclude British commerce from the Continent. Lord Grenville, hoping to avert hostilities by reasonable explanations, addressed notes to Count von Wedel Jarlsberg, the Danish, and Baron von Ehrensward, the Swedish ambassador, stating that the renewal of the hostile confederacy, its arbitrary and injurious principles, and the omission of all communication to his Majesty that it was in agitation, until it had actually been executed, had rendered necessary the order for an embargo, but expressing a sincere desire to re-establish amicable relations. The answers contained only a reiteration of former complaints, and a protest against the embargo.

In the course of recent debates, Mr. Fox noticed the conduct observed toward Prussia, one of the most strenuous parties in the hostile league. If the genius of government were yet to be characterised, he said, the proceedings with respect to that power placed it in the most glaring colours. Not only all the wrong that might, in the opinion of many, clog the question, but that which was the very pith and marrow of the whole dispute, had, by the restoration of a capture in the Texel, been given up to the King of Prussia. Why? Because, safe from the attacks of the British navy, he had the means of injury in his turn. Instead of sparing the feeble and pulling down the proud, the minister bowed down to the mighty and trampled upon the weak. With Denmark, vulnerable at all points, he would not even confer without a British fleet; but every thing was made a peace-offering to Prussia. The transaction thus severely stigmatised arose toward the close of the preceding year; a Prussian vessel, called the Triton, laden with contraband articles, was captured at the entrance of the Texel, by a British cruiser, and carried into Cuxhaven. The King of Prussia, having immediately ordered a

division of his army to enter the Bailiwick of Ritzebuttel, and village of Cuxhaven, the alarmed senate of Hamburgh gave a sum of money to the British captors, and restored the vessel. Lord Carysfort, the British plenipotentiary at Berlin, remonstrating with the Prussian minister, was assured that the King entertained no views hostile to the interests of Great Britain; the occupation of Cuxhaven was for the maintenance of his authority as chief and protector of the neutrality of the north of Germany, and was conducted with the consent of the city of Hamburgh itself. Some further correspondence took place; but, in the end, the Prussians retained the port of Cuxhaven and the Bailiwick of Ritzebuttel; their leader, General Wedell, promising to the inhabitants the enjoyment of their rights, on condition of their behaving peaceably and quietly to his troops.

Influenced or compelled by France and Russia, Frederick William, in a declaration to the Royal and Electoral College of Hanover, recapitulated the pretended wrongs and unjust pretensions of England; adverted to the northern treaty to which he had acceded, the correspondence between the ministers of Great Britain and those of Sweden and Denmark, and the embargo; his remonstrances on the subject, and indication of the means by which a total rupture might be avoided. As it appeared, he said, from these and other events, that the court of London had no inclination to desist from her inadmissible demands, and accept the proposed means of amicable conciliation, he felt himself compelled to take the most efficacious measures in support of the convention, and to retaliate for the hostile proceedings against it; and, for that purpose, he would not only close the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, but likewise take possession of the states in Germany belonging to the King of England, as Elector of Brunswick-Lunenberg. He therefore demanded from the Electoral College and the Board of Generals the instant occupation of the electorate by his troops; the disarming and disbanding of Hanoverian corps, with the total submission of

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March 30th.

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the officers ; the possession of all fortresses, and the subsistence of his troops at the expense of the electoral territory. All communication with the King of England was prohibited, and the authorities made responsible to him for their administration and for the revenues. To promises of tranquillity and security, of little value in the oppressed and degraded state of the country, were subjoined menaces, much more important and influential, against the governor and general officers, should they attempt to impede his measures. The regency, of course, could answer this command only by an abject compliance.

March 24th.
The Danes
occupy Ham-
burgh.

28th.

Preparatory to this movement, the King of Prussia had declared to the envoy of Hamburg that it was intended to take military possession of a part of the territory of that state, but that its independence and commerce would be preserved. For a few days the citizens were permitted to enjoy this delusive hope ; but it was terminated by a manifesto from Prince Charles of Hesse, commanding a body of fifteen thousand troops, who, in the name of the King of Denmark, declared that the powers who had confederated together to secure the rights of neutral flags, finding the exclusion of English navigation and commerce from the Elbe the most effectual means of promoting their object, his Majesty, giving way to a crowd of imperious circumstances, had charged him to occupy, for a time, the imperial city of Hamburg, concluding with the usual professions of protection to those who should submit, and denunciations of severity against those who should manifest a contrary disposition. The senate, convoked for the purpose in the night, sent deputies to the Prince, gave up the military posts he required, issued a proclamation enjoining forbearance to the Danish troops, and laid an embargo on all British property, which was to be delivered up by those in whose possession it might be on their receiving a certain notice.

Pacific efforts
of ministers.

Every possible exertion had been made by the British ministers, before they retired from office, to avert the effects of this combination. Lord Carysfort

endeavoured to conciliate the Prussian government, but was repelled by Count Haugwitz, the devoted friend of France ; Mr. Vansittart, a highly respected member of the British Parliament, was sent as minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Copenhagen ; but the answers given to both amounted to a declaration, that nothing could satisfy the two courts but a revocation of the British embargo ; or, in other words, a total, unconditional submission. Prince Adolphus, afterward Duke of Cambridge, also made a visit to Berlin for some pacific purpose, but speedily returned to London. The exact object of his mission, or the course of his proceeding, is not exactly known ; but its results are supposed to have been beneficial to the interests of his royal parent. The occupation of Hamburg failed in the intended injury to British merchants, as they had removed all their tangible effects.

Before they quitted office, Mr. Pitt and his colleagues prepared a plan of hostile operation, which their successors followed. An armament was assembled at Yarmouth, and rapidly augmented to the amount of fifty-four sail, eighteen being of the line, and four frigates ; the residue, bomb vessels and gun boats. The crews were formed of the flower of the British navy, supported by several regiments of marines and riflemen. Nor was any difficulty experienced in forming this expedition ; British patriotism rose to the height required by the occasion, and every one belonging to the naval service solicited the honour of being permitted to share the dangers of the Baltic expedition*. The command, for reasons of professional etiquette, was consigned to Sir Hyde Parker ; and Lord Nelson, to the dissatisfaction of those who justly appreciated him, acted as his second. Bonaparte had flattered himself that a naval armament would never dare to venture into the Categat during the vernal equinox ; but the British government, anxious to anticipate the period when the breaking up of the ice should open the Russian ports, did not hesitate to send their fleet to sea, with the avowed intention of pre-

Armament
prepared.

* Homme d'Etat, tome viii. p. 117.

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1801.
March 12th.
Loss of the
Invincible.

Force of the
enemy.

Progress of the
expedition.

18th.

serving peace, if possible ; but with the no less firm resolution of obtaining it by force, if hostile measures were indispensable.

At the outset of the expedition, an accident occurred, which superstition would have deemed an unpropitious omen. The Invincible, of seventy-four guns, struck on the Hamondsbury, a ridge of sand, sixteen miles off Winterton in Norfolk, and foundered in deep water ; about four hundred persons perished, among whom was the pilot, through whose want of skill the calamity occurred, and only one hundred and ninety-five were saved. On board this ship were the cannon and ammunition for the gun-boats and the floating batteries.

Still the fleet proceeded. Nelson, whose presiding genius governed, although he was not nominally the first in command, overcame Sir Hyde Parker's apprehensions of ice-fields and dark nights, knowing that the hostile powers possessed navies, against which, if they could be united, the British force, however superior in valour and seamanship, could not hope to prevail. The Danes had twenty-three ships of the line, with thirty-one frigates and smaller vessels, beside gun boats ; and the Russians, eighty-two sail of the line, forty-seven of which were at Cronstadt, Revel, and St. Petersburg, and forty frigates ; but they were defective in officers and men, and inadequately equipped.

Fortunately, the winter had been remarkably mild, and the fleet reached their first rendezvous, at the entrance of the Categat, with less obstruction from the elements than could have been expected, although the crews were considerably annoyed by the snow, sleet, and chilling rain, incidental to those seas. Nelson, anxious by rapid and vigorous efforts to gain the great objects of the enterprise, witnessed with impatience the consultations and deliberations which took place in deciding on further proceedings. The approach of a hostile squadron had spread alarm and agitation throughout Copenhagen, but unmixed with unmanly fear or indolent prostration. Seeing the exertions which were made for defence, the Victor of the Nile

regretted every hour that contributed to their perfection, without producing to his side any possible benefit. Much time had already been consumed in consultation on the attacking the Danish capital, if necessary : two passages presented themselves ; the Great Belt and the Sound : the pilots, alarmed, it is said, by intelligence of the formidable preparations for defence, anxious for their own safety, and indifferent to other considerations, urgently recommended the former. Admiral Parker assented to their opinion ; and Nelson, although unconvinced, impatient of further delays, acquiesced. When the fleet got under weigh, the remonstrances of Sir Hyde's own Captain, Domett, now first apprised of the course intended, shewing the delays and dangers to which, from the state of the coast and their want of adequate information, their progress would be exposed, and the impossibility that the heavy ships should come over the grounds to attack Copenhagen, while light vessels would have no effect on the line of defence prepared, induced Parker, on a consultation with Nelson, to resolve on passing the Sound, and the fleet retired to its former anchorage.

In pursuance of his instructions, the Commander in Chief now addressed to the Governor of Cronenberg Castle a note, announcing that, from the hostile acts of the Court of Denmark, and the sending away of the British Chargé d'Affaires, he was anxious to know whether he had received orders to fire on the British fleet as they passed into the Sound, as he must consider the discharge of the first gun as a declaration of war. In answer, the Danish Governor, Heer Stricker, said, the British Chargé d'Affaires had not been sent away, but had obtained a passport on his own demand. As a soldier, he could not meddle with politics ; but he was not at liberty to suffer a fleet, with intentions not yet known, to approach the guns of his castle. This letter was treated as a declaration of war ; and the Admiral declared that, with reluctance, he should commence hostilities, although still ready to attend to any proposals for the restoration of amity.

Correspondence at Cronenberg Castle.

28th.

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1801.
29th.
The fleet
passes the
Sound.

Strength of
Copenhagen.

April 1st.
Attack pre-
pared.

Favoured by a propitious wind, the fleet entered the Sound, keeping as near as possible to the Swedish side, where little impediment was offered, and where the artillery of Cronenberg Castle was discharged against them without effect, and in four hours came to anchor between the island of Huen and Copenhagen. The Sound, long considered by Denmark as the key of the Baltic, is, in its narrowest part, about three miles wide ; and here the city of Elsinore, the most flourishing of the Danish towns, except Copenhagen, is situated. Adjoining Elsinore, and at the edge of the peninsular promontory, upon the nearest point of land to the Swedish coast, stands Cronenberg Castle, at once a palace, a fortress, and a state prison.

Copenhagen has, for a natural protection, a sand-bank, called the Middle-ground ; in addition to which, floating batteries, anchored and bound together, and mounting seventy pieces of artillery, were placed between the town and the sand-bank, to the length of six hundred fathoms. The naval force of the Danes, according to their own account, consisted of three ships of seventy-four guns, five of sixty-four, one of fifty-eight, two of fifty, one of forty-four, one of twenty-six : many of them were without masts, but they were not the less useful in the position assigned to them ; two of the seventy-fours, three frigates of forty-four, and two brigs of eighteen guns each, being in the inner roads, could not assist in the action, as it afterwards took place ; they were all judiciously posted to prevent the British fleet from injuring the town.

During two days, in which the wind did not favour an attack, the British Admirals caused soundings to be taken, and buoys fixed for their guidance. A council was held, at which all the difficulties of attack, and the possibility that the enemy might be re-inforced by the Russians and Swedes, were taken into consideration ; and, by the advice of Nelson, who had personally superintended the examination of the channel and observed the soundings, the wind being southerly, the attack was made in that direction. The force was

divided, and, happily for the result, the main operation was, on his own offer, confided to Nelson. With twelve men of war, four frigates, and as many sloops, with fire ships and bombs, he anchored off Draco point, while Sir Hyde Parker weighed to menace the Crown batteries and the ships at the entrance of the arsenal, and to cover his coadjutor's disabled ships as they came out of action.

Enthusiastically attached to their heroic leader, the sailors hailed with acclamations of joy the signals which would bring them into action; but they had not to contend with a timid or unpatriotic foe. The Danes of every rank offered themselves to the service of their country; the University furnished a corps of twelve hundred youths, the flower of Denmark: little drilling or discipline was necessary; and when the movements of Nelson's squadron shewed where the attack was to be expected, soldiers, sailors, and citizens, encouraged by the presence of the Heir Apparent to the throne, the Crown Prince, hastened to the place of action.

Exhausted as he was by fatigue, both of body and mind, Nelson passed the night, almost without sleep, in consultation with Captain Hardy and Captain Rion, and in dictating instructions to be transmitted to other officers for their proceedings in every contingency. Before ten o'clock, the ships got under weigh, Admiral Parker beating up against wind and current to assail the battery, while Nelson bore down on the line. M. Fischer, the Danish Commodore, hoisted the flag of defiance on board the Danbrog, of sixty-four guns; and all his ships being moored with four anchors, and numerously manned, were placed with their broadsides to the approaching foe. The passage to be cleared by Nelson's ships was extremely difficult; the Bellona and Russel unfortunately grounded, and the Agammemnon could not weather the shoal of the Middle-ground. Nelson was thus prevented from extending his line according to his original project; but the Bellona and Russel, though not in the station assigned to them, were so placed as to render effectual service. By de-

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Excellent
spirit of the
people.

Battle of
Copenhagen.

^{2nd.}

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grees, the conflict became general ; the British sailors behaved with their usual valour ; and the patriotic courage of the Danes was stimulated by the Crown Prince, who, from the peep of dawn, had taken his station on a battery, and, amid showers of balls and shells, superintended and directed their proceedings, encouraging by his applause, and instructing by his example.

When the battle had raged an hour, the British fire continued regular, destructive, and terrible ; nor was that of the enemy slackened, when Sir Hyde Parker, then about four miles distant, considering Nelson's situation extremely dangerous, and his success improbable, displayed the signal to discontinue the action. Nelson was at first incredulous ; but, when assured of the fact, evinced the good-humoured facility which distinguishes a great mind : "Take no notice "of it," he said, "but hoist mine for closer battle." When obeyed, he added, "Now nail it to the mast !" and, turning to Captain Foley, he said, "you know I "have lost an eye, and have a right to be blind when "I like ; and I will not see that signal." At a quarter before three in the afternoon, the victory was complete ; the whole Danish line that was drawn up before the town having struck their colours, after a dreadful carnage, and their ships becoming untenable. From various causes, although every officer and seaman exerted the utmost skill and bravery, Lord Nelson's original plan could not in all particulars be fully executed. The Elephant, the Defiance, and another ship, struck upon a shoal and remained fast. The prizes being under the batteries of the town could not be boarded, as no boat could approach them. The fire of the batteries effected great havock in the men of war and in the frigates, in one of which Captain Rion was killed. Finally, the Danes, overpowered on all sides, except the battery, confined their efforts to the preservation of two or three of their crippled vessels, esteeming them rather as trophies of their honourable perseverance than as objects of any intrinsic value ; while the residue remained in the power of the victors.

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Nelson's
letter.

When the first force opposed to him was subdued, the generous conqueror, desirous of sparing the blood of those whom he could with difficulty consider as enemies, retired to his cabin, and, in brief though expressive terms, announced his instructions to spare Denmark when no longer resisting ; but, otherwise, he must burn the floating batteries he had taken, without being able to save the brave men who had defended them. This note, addressed "to the Brothers of Englishmen, the Danes," was sent by his aid-de-camp, Sir Frederick Thesiger*, with a flag of truce, and forwarded to the Crown Prince. To ascertain the exact motive of this letter, Adjutant-General Ludholm was sent ; and the result of their conference was a second dispatch, in which his lordship consented that hostilities should cease, and the wounded might be taken on shore. He would take the prisoners out of the prizes, and burn or carry off the vessels as he should think fit. The noble conqueror, presenting his humble duty to his Royal Highness, added, that he should consider this the greatest victory he had ever gained, if it might be the cause of a happy reconciliation between his own most gracious Sovereign and his Majesty the King of Denmark. He went on shore ; at the Royal Palace, called the Octagon, he was received by Christian the Seventh, to whom he proposed the means of a final arrangement of differences, and retired from the audience, assured of complete success. In fact, the title of brothers, given by Nelson to the nation on whom he was pouring the furies of warfare, was the least metaphorical he could have used ; for, independently of those circumstances which, in old times, had produced so complete an intermixture of blood, long friendship had given to both congenial inclinations and corresponding intentions. In all times, the commerce between Great

* This brave and intelligent officer was appointed to the station by the Lords of the Admiralty, in consideration, not only of his general merits, but of the experience he had acquired during a long service in the Baltic (vol. iv. p. 507). Having refused, as inconsistent with his duty as a British subject, a high command in the Russian navy, he was, for a time, imprisoned, but escaped and returned to his own country. His nephew and namesake is at present (1814) Her Majesty's Solicitor-General.

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1801.

Loss on both
sides.

Britain and Denmark had been supported by mutual confidence and esteem; in war, our merchant ships were frequently manned with Danish sailors; and under our naval heroes the aspiring youth of that country had received their education*.

Even without the feeling expressed by Lord Nelson, and so generally felt by his brave supporters, the carnage which the enemy had sustained must have been a painful sight. Not the trained sailors alone, but the high-spirited youth of Denmark, in the ships and batteries, had fallen in such numbers that many perished for want of medical aid, those who could have afforded it being employed beyond their powers. Every assistance which humanity could suggest was given in the hospitals by females of every rank; all that liberality could bestow was poured forth by a grateful people; and while medals and honorary acknowledgments were abundantly distributed, funeral honours to the dead, and subsequently a monument to their glory, marked the sentiments of their countrymen†. The exact number of those who fell is not ascertained; it is calculated at eighteen hundred, but probably it exceeded that amount. The official returns stated our loss at two hundred and fifty-four slain, of whom twenty were officers, and nine hundred and forty-three wounded. Seventeen Danish vessels were taken, sunk, or destroyed in the action; but those captured were burnt by the victor on the ensuing day, except the Holstein, which was then thirty years old. The merchants of London began, and all parts of the kingdom concurred in, a subscription to alleviate the distress of

* This amicable co-operation produced, at the beginning of the expedition, an interesting scene. Before the fleet left Yarmouth, its destination being sufficiently known, some Danes, who belonged to the Amazon frigate, went to Captain Riou, and, telling him what they had heard, begged that he would get them exchanged into a ship bound on some other expedition. "They had no 'wish,'" they said, "to quit the British service; but they entreated that they 'might not be forced to fight against their own country.'" Tears came into the eyes of the generous Captain while the men were speaking: without making any reply, he instantly ordered his boat, and did not return to the Amazon until he could satisfy them that their wish was effected. Southey's Life of Lord Nelson, vol. ii. p. 95.

† It is not mentioned in derogation of the character of this people, but as a display of national pique, that the old and useless yacht, which had conveyed the unfortunate Caroline Matilda, sister of George the Third, to Denmark, was now returned, the Danes refusing to retain it after this event. Ruah's Residence at the Court of London, p. 138.

the wounded, and to support the widows and families of the slain. National joy was exhibited in a general illumination ; and national gratitude expressed through its most authentic and satisfactory organ, the votes of Parliament. By united firmness, judgment, and moderation, Lord Nelson effected arrangements with the government of Copenhagen, by which the treaty of armed neutrality, so far as related to that country, was to remain suspended, and an armistice concluded for fourteen weeks, with fourteen days notice, if after that time, hostilities should be renewed.

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1801.

Final arrangement.

9th.

Sailing of the
Swedish fleet.

Thus was severed the first link of that chain which the enemies of England had regarded with so much satisfaction, as the means of impairing her commercial prosperity and destroying her maritime ascendancy. Without loss of time, Sir Hyde Parker proceeded into the Baltic, with the vessels fit for service, leaving Lord Nelson at Copenhagen, that the ships least damaged in the late conflict might be repaired. He had intended to attack the Russian fleet at Revel ; but the Swedes having put to sea to join them, he steered for the island of Bornholm, to intercept them, Lord Nelson following in his former flag ship, the Elephant. The Swedish fleet being seen under the batteries of Carls-crona, Sir Hyde Parker, to prevent the effusion of blood, sent ashore a flag of truce ; and some correspondence tending to an amicable arrangement had taken place, when an express from the Russian Ambassador at Copenhagen brought intelligence of the death of the Emperor Paul*.

That unfortunate monarch, whose violences and eccentricities laid him open to an imputation of insanity, was now doomed to add a memorable instance in proof of the frail tenure on which a mere tyrant holds his life ; only until oppression, fanaticism, or some other cause, shall have inspired a portion of his subjects, or even an individual, to take it. Where there are responsible ministers to answer complaints, or a deliberative legislature to controul the progress of

Conduct of the
Emperor Paul.

* The above facts are derived from the Annual Register and other historical works; the Lives of Nelson by Harrison, Southey, and Churchill.

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misgovernment, such events are comparatively rare, and always inexcusable. For some time after his accession, Paul was generally beloved by his people. The rectitude of his principles, his general benevolence, and honest patriotism, gave prospect of a happy and glorious reign; but soon the illusion vanished. His temper, impetuous and unrestrained, not only made him stern and peremptory in command, but desirous of finding new objects on which his imperiousness might display itself. He imposed absurd and teasing regulations on all the acts of life; travelling, literature, the modes of dress, and the time for retiring to rest, were prescribed, under penalties of imprisonment or banishment. His subjects fled from his presence, and even from Petersburg, where trade languished and property was depreciated through a tyranny which combined in a single person all the horrors of jacobinism. The general disgust was completed by the new line he had taken in politics; the lovers of their country saw with regret its commerce annihilated, and its last resources likely to be exhausted, in a distant and dangerous expedition, by which no real national benefit could be acquired. In proportion as he exposed himself to hatred, Paul became a prey to fear; suspicion and precaution marked all his proceedings; society was beset with spies, who put sinister interpretations on words, looks, and even on silence; a sort of fortification was constructed around his palace; a wall was built to separate, except by one door, his bed-chamber from the apartments of his virtuous and affectionate Empress; guards about his person were redoubled; and all the precautions that terror could suggest were put in practice.

Conspiracy
against him.

Yet a conspiracy was formed; not by those whom he had injured or oppressed; not by those who could expect, by a change of their ruler, to better their own personal condition, but by men who owed to him advancement in life, eminent situations, and ample fortunes. A sort of prophetic dread possessed the mind of the devoted prince: just at the moment when the plot against him had arrived at maturity, he communi-

1801.

March 23rd.
Murder of
the Emperor.

cated his apprehensions to Von-der-Pahlen, one of his most trusted advisers, but who was, at the same time, the great leader of the conspiracy. This artful traitor, affecting to enter warmly into his interests, asserted his own knowledge of a plot, to which he had pretended to accede, that he might, in time, disclose all its secrets, ascertain the conspirators, and save his sovereign. Still the mind of Paul was not restored to tranquillity ; he retired at night, confiding the guard of his apartment to sentinels, of whose fidelity he was assured. They were faithful, but his precautions were vain : the conspirators, availing themselves of their knowledge of the palace, gained his apartment by a private staircase, and killed the sentinels. The noise alarmed the Emperor, who, after vainly essaying all the resources of entreaty, promise, and such personal resistance as he was able to make, fell a corpse at the feet of his assassins.

He is suc-
ceeded by
Alexander.

His eldest son, Alexander, was immediately acknowledged as his successor ; he had been made aware of an intention to depose his deluded parent, and extort from him an act of abdication, which would manifestly have been for the general good of the empire ; but he learned with surprise and grief the dreadful catastrophe which had taken place. The first acts of the new reign promised happiness to the people. In proclaiming his accession, Alexander declared his resolution to govern on the system of the Empress Catherine. By an early edict, he removed all the restraints which had aggrieved and irritated the people. He also ordered that the British sailors and their Captains, so cruelly and unjustly sent into captivity, should be reconducted to their ships, and at liberty to depart ; and the sequestration was removed from the property of the British merchants. These events were not known at the time of the battle of Copenhagen ; but their subsequent disclosure facilitated the progress of negotiations between the northern powers and Great Britain*.

* Annual Register, vol. xlili. pp. 97, *35, *353 ; Capefigue, tome iii. p. 27 ; and Homme d'Etat, tome viii. p. 74, et seqq. in both which the details are ample and interesting.

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While these great events effected such material changes in the affairs of Europe, the discussions in Parliament proceeded. A novelty was introduced into the representation, by the return of Mr. Horne Tooke for Old Sarum, a borough the entire property of Lord Camelford, a vacancy being procured by the retreat of Sir George Yonge. On the introduction of the new member by Sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Wilson, Earl Temple observed that he had taken priest's orders, and been inducted into a living, adding that, at the end of fourteen days, if no petition was presented, he would move that the return should be taken into consideration.

1801.
February 13th.
Proceedings in
Parliament.
Mr. Horne
Tooke.

16th.

19th.
His first
speech.

Its effect.

As soon as possible, the new member availed himself of his privilege of addressing the chair, in support of Mr. Sturt's motion respecting the expedition to Ferrol. On the subject really in debate he said little, but made the proposition of an inquiry instrumental to the introduction of observations respecting his own position. In the course he pursued, he said, he was about to do that which, no doubt, was frequently done in the House—to sacrifice his interest to his duty. Surely they would never trouble themselves about Old Sarum and its member; they would never enter into an inquiry about what is a priest and what is not a priest; and whether a quarantine of thirty years was not a sufficient guard against the infection of his original character, if they refused a committee of inquiry on this great question, which involved the honour of the nation.

Mr. Tooke was at this time in his sixty-fifth year; his health feeble, and personal exertion painful to him; but, from his general reputation, high expectations were formed; members who had gone out of the House hastened back to their places, and a breathless silence shewed the general anxiety; but the display totally failed: the correct composer of periods, the facile orator of the club, the court, or the hustings, did not display his wonted powers. In his novel situation, even the silence which formed so high a compliment, augmented his embarrassment; speaking of his feel-

ings at an after period, he said, in familiar phrase, that “ he hardly knew whether he stood on his head “ or his feet;” and the House was relieved from a painful sensation when members of more ordinary ability rose to address them*. Prepared as it obviously was, the speech, as displayed in print, does the orator little credit; in point of reasoning, it is nothing; to the passages of wit or sarcasm already cited, little can be added, except some personal allusions to Mr. Dundas.

On the motion of Earl Temple, opposed by Mr. Fox, Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Sheridan, and by Mr. Horne Tooke himself, who made a long and strenuous speech, and, on a division†, witnesses were called to the bar, who proved his ordination and his exercise of the functions of a priest; a select committee was appointed to examine the journals and records for precedents respecting the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in the House. They presented a laborious report, calculated to produce a general opinion of the ineligibility; but there was no positive law on the subject; and the rule supposed to be established by practice, had met with a recent exception, in Mr. Edward Rushworth, who, although he was in deacon's orders, and had exercised clerical functions, was returned for Newport, in the Isle of Wight, in 1784, and, by the determination of a committee on a petition, retained his seat.

On this report, Earl Temple founded a motion that a new writ should issue for the election of a burgess, to serve in the room of the Reverend John Horne Tooke, who, being in priest's orders, was incapable of sitting. This proposition was introduced by a long, learned, and well-arranged speech, in which the history and constitution of Parliament and of the clergy were detailed, and the anomaly in Mr. Rushworth's case was attempted to be explained.

Mr. Addington, while he agreed in the principles laid down, and highly applauded the noble mover's

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1801.

March 10th.

Motion on his return.

Committee appointed.

April 2nd. Report.

14th.

May 4th.
Earl Temple's motion.

Mr.
Addington.

* From personal information of several members present.

† 150 to 66.

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diligence and ability, did not exactly approve of the form of this motion. Should the House agree in it, those who had elected the honourable gentleman might return him again ; a petition against him must, under the Grenville Act, be referred to a committee : without any contumacy, that committee might differ from the House ; but if no petition were presented, the House would stand exactly in the same predicament as at present. To obviate the inexpediency of allowing persons in holy orders to sit, a bill, in his opinion, should be prepared ; and he believed there was no measure on the general principle of which there was more agreement of opinion, although perhaps there might be some difficulty in the detail. He moved, therefore, the order of the day.

Moves the or-
der of the day.

Mr. Tooke.

In defending his right to sit, Mr. Tooke recapitulated some circumstances of his earlier life. Having studied the appointed number of years at the University, and performed the stated exercises, he aspired to the honour of the degree of Master of Arts, an honour that never before was disputed to any one who solicited it. "Indeed," he said, "I have no doubt that it would, to-morrow, be conferred on a great dog, if he could pay the fees, and call out Pro Domino Rege— yet this was denied to me." His next struggle was when, following the advice of the first lawyer this country had ever produced, the late Lord Ashburton, he offered himself as a candidate to be called to the bar. Through the influence of a noble Marquis, whom he should not name, he was rejected. "And why?" he said; "was there any law against me? None. Some precedent then? None! Some arguments were offered to prove my incapacity? Not one! I was rejected, and the first that was ever rejected on similar grounds. To show that I am not altogether impertinent, the benchers, having on their side no law, no precedent, no reason, were so doubtful as to the propriety of their conduct, that they sent messengers to consult with the heads of the other Inns of Court. This learned body, therefore, were not certain that, though in orders, I was ineligible, or

“ that, though in orders, I might not have laid them aside.” He complained vehemently of the treatment he had experienced in the House. A stranger would imagine that he had been guilty of felony, or some infamous crime. He had been told to stand up and show himself; there was nothing so terrible in the countenance of Earl Temple that he should have been afraid to look him in the face without this admonition. “ I was next ordered,” he said, “ to attend in my seat ; when the day of my trial came on, it was meant, no doubt. Suppose I am in priest’s orders ; is this a public delinquency ? Ought I on this account to be declared infamous ? I should rather think that being in orders argued some degree of learning, religion, and good character. It is no fiction that this seat is absolutely a burthen and an expense to me. No one advantage do I derive from it. I want not the privilege of Parliament. I have no debts. I never had any, and never shall. My spirit is much too independent to allow me to contract for what I cannot pay, or to owe any one when I have money to pay him.”

After many observations on the report of the committee, on some which he termed errors in law and history, and on the ignorance of the Saxon or old English language which it displayed, and some personal reflections on the Attorney and Solicitor General, he exhorted the House to consider the magnitude and importance of the question ; to dismiss from their consideration the circumstances of this individual case, and come to a decision on liberal and comprehensive views. Suppose that the younger son of a great family, who had a living of one thousand a year, were, by the death of his elder brother, to become possessed of an estate of eighty thousand a year, would any one say that he should be refused a seat in that House ? “ Pray what,” he said, “ does my having been in orders prove ? but that forty years ago I was a young man of a fair character. We no longer live in the times of Popery.” He proceeded to argue that holy orders effected no change in the human form or the human

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faculties. The Roman Catholics reckoned ordination one of their seven sacraments ; at the Reformation it was declared to be merely a ceremony, and it could not for ever disqualify a man for the office of a legislator. " Were I a Jew, a Mahometan, a Pagan, a Presbyterian, a Quaker," he said, " there could not be the least objection to me. In spreading the doctrines, " and administering the rites of these religions and " sects, there is nothing corrupting ! but connexion " with the established Church, it seems, leaves a foul " and indelible stain ! In Roman Catholic countries, " nothing is more easy than for a priest to lay down " his orders, and the Pope dispenses with his vow. In " England, every man is a Pope to himself ; confesses " to himself, and from himself receives absolution ; " and he ought of course to be able to become a " layman so soon as he changes his views."

This large, though imperfect, extract of Mr. Tooke's speech is given rather as an example of the style and manner of reasoning adopted by a man who had attained considerable notoriety in political controversy, than as containing any solid argument or any effectual appeal. Mr. Fox, opposing the original motion, said he should vote for the order of the day, although he did not consider that the most prudent mode of getting rid of the question. Adverting to the observation that the clergy were members of the Convocation, he said, he trusted that phantom had disappeared for ever ; and quoted two lines from a burlesque farce, written by the author of *Tom Jones**.

" Fair Common Sense, while thou dost reign on earth,
" The Convocation will not meet again."

Further
debate.

Mr. Erskine and Mr. Grey argued in favour of the eligibility of priests ; Sir William Scott, Mr. Simeon, and the Attorney General, maintained the contrary ; the Solicitor General was not surprised at the paucity of the precedents adduced to prove the ineligibility of a priest to sit in that House ; the

* *Pasquin*, Act iv. scene 1. The quotation is not quite exact, but the more intelligible from its variation.

point had appeared indisputable, and therefore seldom brought to trial. A woman was ineligible; yet, if the question should be disputed, gentlemen might boldly challenge any man to produce a recorded declaration of Parliament to that effect.

Finally, as if to show that learning, judgment, and experience are not infallible, Mr. Addington said he had been guilty of an irregularity in moving for the order of the day, that order being the motion of the noble Earl on which they had been debating. No other member had noticed the mistake; but he substituted a motion for the previous question, which was negatived on a division*.

According to an intimation he had given, the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought in a bill to prevent doubts respecting the eligibility of persons in holy orders to sit in the House of Commons. It passed, after several debates in its various stages, chiefly remarkable for speeches by Mr. Horne Tooke, who, while he disclaimed all desire to continue a member, treated the measure as one entirely personal to himself. In the committee, he proposed an amendment, that if any person ordained a priest or deacon should be elected, or, if elected, should sit or vote in Parliament, he should be incapable of holding any benefice, or any office of trust or emolument under the crown. "If clergymen," he said, "had such a disqualification staring them in the face, the House would not be much troubled with ecclesiastical candidates." Whatever might be thought of its wit, the effect of this speech was shewn by the division on the motion†.

In the upper House, the bill produced some debate, but no argument worthy of notice.

Equally remote from timidity and violence, this measure afforded an encouraging specimen of the conduct to be expected from the new government. They could not have permitted Parliament to be braved and

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Mr. Addington
changes his
motion.

6th.
Bill brought
in.

13th.

June.
House of
Lords.

Observations.

* 94 to 53.

† 102 to 11. It may also be stated that Mr. Rushworth presented a petition, praying protection to his rights, which, without further notice, was ordered to lie on the table.

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insulted by an innovation so gross and glaring as that which was attempted. Personally, Mr. Horne Tooke was in no respect to be feared ; opinions similar to his were professed by many members ; but all were not gifted with the quality he undoubtedly possessed, of conducting himself always like a gentleman ; with all his historical information or legal learning, his talent in debate was never formidable ; his learning might instruct, his wit might amuse, but his vigour would never command, controul, or impel. He might, as was urged in both Houses, have been declared incapable of sitting in Parliament ; but many difficulties lay in the way of such a proceeding. The patron of the borough might have returned him again, and, by repeated expulsions, he would have been elevated, as Wilkes had been, into a martyr, against whom, as an individual, the whole force of government had been concentrated ; and there was reason to apprehend, that if Lord Camelford had been thwarted in this presentation, he would have returned to the House a member in all respects, except legal incapacity, unfit to sit there, or to be seen in respectable society*. The measure which was pursued was open to all the objections urged on the subject of privilege and the Grenville Act ; but it contained nothing by which passion could be inflamed, or political feeling exasperated.

Law on the
residence of
the clergy.

June 9th.

Mr.
Whitbread.

As the law then stood, clergymen who held pluralities, or did not reside upon their livings, or who farmed land for profit, were subject to actions for penalties, at the suit of a common informer. In consequence of some vexatious proceedings at law, a bill was brought in to enable defendants in such actions to stay the proceedings on application to the courts in which they were brought. This statute was to be in force only till the following month of March ; but as it was foreseen that, before long, the law would be totally altered, some debates arose, but finally the bill passed. Mr. Whitbread accompanied his assent with an obser-

* It was said that he had threatened, if Mr. Horne Tooke were unseated, to qualify and return his own negro servant.

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vation that it might be proper, as soon as possible, to direct attention to the revenues of the church, their collection, and distribution. He also urged the necessity of considering the evils arising from the smallness of many livings, which, no doubt, formed the great source of pluralities and non-residence; but he deprecated any recourse to the public purse, convinced that the revenues of the church, properly distributed, would be sufficient for the payment of all its officers.

On the subject of scarcity, a committee was formed, on whose report resolutions were passed, chiefly for encouragement of the growth of potatoes, by the distribution of premiums. Nothing worth observation occurred in the debates, except a speech from Mr. Horne Tooke, which did not tend to increase his reputation. He called the Brown Bread Act "the Poisoning Act," and maintained that prices had risen, notwithstanding all that Parliament had done to prevent it, and would continue to rise "in spite of their teeth." The price of labour must rise with the price of provisions; and to the landowner, the price made no difference, for he could raise his rents. The storm then must fall on the national creditor; he who lent to government a hundred pounds, received interest of the value of one hundred quartern loaves, or forty or twenty according to the price; he therefore, and he alone, suffered by the enhancement. Let government take off three-fourths of the income of every man's property, and they would be doubly gainers by it. Reduce the national debt, and we might laugh and sing at home, and bid defiance to all the world. Such sentiments obtained no support, nor did they elicit an answer.

In the House of Lords, after a short debate, a motion by the Earl of Suffolk, for a committee to enquire into the extent of the paper-currency issued by country bankers, in order to ascertain its effect on the high price of provisions, was also negatived without a division. Lord Folkstone attempted to bring in a bill for regulating the trade of corn-factors in London, by obliging them to make returns, on oath, of the quantities

February 23.
March 2.
Resolutions on
scarcity.
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March 30th.
Lord Suffolk's
motion on
paper-cur-
rency.

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Inclosures
facilitated.

July 2nd.

Ireland.

March 12th.
Motion by
Lord Castle-
reagh.Mr. Sheridan
on martial
law.

of grain they received and sold, with the names of the sellers and purchasers, and the prices. Convinced by Mr. Yorke that he had not duly considered the subject, he voluntarily withdrew his motion, but with a promise that he would resume it early in the next session. A bill for the general cultivation and improvement of waste and unprofitable land was rejected, on account of its encroaching on the rights of the clergy; but Acts were passed which facilitated the proofs of facts, and diminished the expense of inclosure bills in general.

Whatever ulterior expectations might be formed, it could not be reasonably hoped that the spirit of rebellion fermenting so powerfully in Ireland would subside immediately on passing the Act of Union. Its permanent existence calling for fresh exertions, Lord Castlereagh introduced the subject by moving that the Act of the Irish Parliament for the suppression of rebellion should be read. Even to this proposition Mr. Sheridan made an objection, and moved an adjournment. In his argument, he anticipated a bill for continuing martial law in that country, and stated the circumstances under which that measure had been proposed and continued. Eleven Irish members spoke in the debate; but they were all, except Sir Lawrence Parsons, supporters of the measure. The English members were three on each side; Mr. Grey, Mr. Whitbread, and Doctor Laurence opposing, while Mr. Pitt, Mr. Canning, and Mr. Somers Cox supported the measure. The arguments turned entirely on the circumstances and feelings which favoured or would prevent a fair trial, and on the danger which witnesses incurred of being murdered when attending the ordinary courts. Mr. Horne Tooke suggested that martial force was necessary for Ireland, but not martial law. Only four counties were in rebellion, or likely to be so: in this country, when any part was disturbed, and the fair course of justice obstructed, delinquents were brought to trial in sound parts, where juries were unprejudiced and witnesses protected. With the great martial force existing in Ireland, this mode might be

easily practised, and all differences of opinion reconciled.

No division took place : the bill was brought in and passed, although opposed in several stages. The chief point discussed, beside the general principle, was the application of torture ; but that subject was more fully treated, and the allegations more ably advanced and answered, in the Lords.

In that House, after the bill had been read three times, on the motion that it should pass, Earl Fitzwilliam said, that, by limiting the duration of the measure to the twenty-fifth of the present month, the Irish Parliament had shewn that they did not consider a longer period necessary ; its effect was to deprive the subject of the trial by his peers, placing his fate in the hands of persons not very competent to decide on legal questions ; nor had he the protection allowed in cases of high treason. A stronger measure could not have been proposed, had the country been in a state of actual rebellion. But it was now nearly two years and a half since the rebellion had been suppressed. No proof was offered of any interruption to the regular administration of justice ; of any efforts to prevent the holding of the assizes, or to hinder the judges from doing their duty ; yet, without any evidence, the liberties of the sister country were to be surrendered into the hands of ministers.

In a long and masterly speech, the Earl of Clare Earl of Clare. answered these and, by anticipation, other expected objections. The papers on the table, he said, afforded ample grounds for continuing the Act, and he referred to the extracts from reports of committees of the Irish Parliament, and the confessions of Arthur O'Connor. It was natural that the House should look with alarm, jealousy, and distrust, to the measure ; but such was the melancholy state of Ireland, that she must either seek refuge in a military government, or submit to a wild and fierce democracy. The civil government had found itself unable to support its authority, unaided by military force ; and were that prop taken

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Bill for con-
tinuing it
passes the
Commons.
16th, 18th,
20th.

23rd.
Opposed by
Earl Fitz-
william.

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away, it would soon fall and crumble into atoms. The rebellion that had existed in Ireland was of a nature unparalleled in the history of the world. It did not, like some former rebellions, proceed from misplaced loyalty, religious zeal, or party difference ; all principle had been subverted, every laudable feeling stifled, and no other object cherished than a rivalship in domestic treason, relentless murder, and cowardly assassination. Although rebellion had been overpowered in the field, its head remained unbruised and unbroken ; in fact, the snake was scotched, not killed. Martial law was indispensable, and could alone give security to the property, religion, and lives of the loyal. The Marquis Cornwallis had released many rebels from prisons ; to many others he granted a pardon, on giving up their arms ; but for two years and a half it had been necessary to protect the judges going the circuits by a strong escort, and two of them had actually been attacked by the rebels not many miles from the capital. Their escape from being murdered arose only from the rebels having neglected their usual precaution of bribing the servants ; therefore the postboys had turned quickly about and saved their masters by the speed of their horses. If criminals were furnished with lists, as in cases of high treason, nine-tenths of the jurors and witnesses would be murdered before the day appointed. The murder of witnesses and jurors who dared to give evidence, or pronounce verdicts according to their oaths, were organized from the information of spies, who attended at every trial, to the committee of superintendance ; from them to the committee of the province, and by them again to the general superintending committee of the district, who made out lists of proscriptions, which wretches, devoted to the trade of murder, seldom failed to execute in their utmost extent, involving the wives, children, and domestics of the party, in one promiscuous slaughter. His lordship cited instances from the county of Limerick, in which he resided, and particularly of a servant of his own, who had been savagely murdered, merely because he was an Englishman, by an assassin who, for

thirty years, had been in the service of himself and his father, and uniformly treated with the greatest kindness ; he had stolen arms from his house : when led to execution, he had confessed to his priest that a list of twenty had been made, whom it was resolved to murder, and that his master was of the number, although he was the only person who gave employment and bread to the poor in that neighbourhood, and without him they must have been reduced to the greatest wretchedness. Happy would he be, if he could go to his bed-chamber at home, without entering an armoury, and close his eyes without apprehension of having his throat cut before morning, and seeing his wife and children butchered before his face. He should be inexpressibly happy when he could once more walk or ride out unarmed ; for it was a curious fact, that when he was in Ireland his servant brought him his arms as regularly as his hat. To think of repressing this spirit by concession and indulgence was absurd. If this bill were not renewed, scenes would be exhibited in Ireland to which there had been nothing similar since 1641. Those who had acted under the existing law, had conducted themselves with exemplary moderation ; and he gave instances of the cruel tortures inflicted by the rebels on their victims. A contrary report had been diffused, on this foundation ; a blacksmith, who was believed to have been engaged in forging pikeheads, was, after various means had been tried to obtain a confession where he had concealed them, placed upon the picquet, and in less than half a minute he disclosed the place where about five hundred were found. It was maturely to be considered, whether society would suffer most from the murder of two or three hundred loyal men, or from the sufferings of a rebel blacksmith, placed half a minute on the picquet ?

To these statements, the Earl of Moira answered, Earl Moira. torture had been applied and continued not half a minute only, but whole hours, to make men criminate their neighbours. It was a maxim with Plato, that a general insurrection in a country proved the existence

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of mis-government. If the spirit of rebellion generally prevailed in Ireland, why not make the bill general in its operation? Why not leave the responsibility for the use of this power on the head of government? The bill was unnecessary, because it was competent for the Lord Lieutenant to enforce martial law where it appeared necessary, and afterwards to call for an indemnity for this infringement of the constitution. Lord Holland and the Earl of Carnarvon added some observations; but the peers most acquainted with the state of Ireland, and by their possession of property most interested in its welfare, Lord Carleton, the Marquis Townsend, and the Archbishop of Cashel, expressed themselves strongly in favour of the measure, and it was carried on a division*. Five peers, of whom Lord Moira was not one, signed a protest in six articles: there was also a second protest; but, as it was expunged from the journals, and the publication of the debate on that subject prevented, its import is not known. A protest against this proceeding was signed by fifteen peers. At the same time, an Act was passed, continuing for three months the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland†.

Bill passed.

Protests.

24th.
Habeas
Corpus
suspended.April 2nd.
Committees
formed.
14th, 27th.
May 16th.

Their reports.

These measures of temporary provision, and others which followed, were not adopted without due care and deliberate investigation. Committees of both Houses were formed, and papers submitted to their inspection, after the temporary Acts had passed; but the tenor of them was undoubtedly well known, and reports were presented, shewing the formation and continuance of revolutionary societies in Great Britain, and more particularly in Ireland, where forms and powers of government, both deliberative and executive, were established, officers appointed, declarations of concord framed, and decrees of assassination issued, formally notified to the intended victims, and followed with the menaced effect.‡ These societies

* 90 to 7.

† Statutes 41, G. III. cc. 14, 15.

‡ On this head, a passage in the second report presented to the House of Commons is worthy of notice. "A recent and well-known transaction of the most atrocious nature, in the county of Tipperary, proves that the system of

had never entirely ceased their operations. The residue of the Corresponding Society, who had re-assembled in May 1799, became encouraged by the ill success of the allies of Great Britain in the autumn of that year ; and on the ninth of November, at their meeting to celebrate Hardy's acquittal, ventured on an open avowal of their opinions, and indulged in the most treasonable and seditious toasts and songs. Late in the last year, their hopes and their energies revived ; the success of the enemy, the disappointments of our allies, the failure of any enterprize in which this country was more particularly concerned, or any danger which threatened the life or health of the sovereign, were, as they occurred, constant sources of satisfaction. The progress of the rupture with the northern powers, as the means of impoverishing our merchants and creating distress and discontent among the manufacturers, was among the first of their wishes. The dearth of provisions was to them a great source of hope and exultation, though they affected openly to pity the sufferings of the people, and disapproved of the riots on account of scarcity, as leading to partial and premature insurrection, not sufficiently connected with their own more large and revolutionary views ; and, in November, they had planned dangerous meetings on Kennington Common and other places, and prepared seditious and treasonable hand-bills and proclamations. They projected the complete extermination of royalty, nobility, and property, for the purpose of an equal parochial division of the profits of

" secret proscription and delegated assassination is still in force, supported
 " either by the concurrence of extensive confederacy or the effects of general
 " intimidation. Your committee refer to the murder of Mr. Price, who, having
 " taken a farm against the wishes of those who take upon them to regulate the
 " rents of land, received a written intimation, which appears, from the evidence
 " of a member of this House, to have been to the following purport :—‘ Liberty
 " Hall.—Take notice, that you have been tried and convicted of having taken
 " —— farm —. You have been sentenced to death ; you are to give up the farm,
 " otherwise the warrant for your execution is in the hands of the executioner.
 " —Given at the Council Chamber.’” This account the member received
 from the brother of the deceased, who showed him another letter to the same
 effect, which was served on a tenant of Mr. Price at the same time, who in conse-
 quence fled the country. Mr. Price was, within a few days, in the open fields at
 noon, fired at and murdered by a single individual, who was suffered to depart
 at his leisure, without any endeavour being made to detain him, though many
 people were at work at no great distance.

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lands, as the basis of “ a beautiful and powerful new republic,” to be effected by a general insurrection of the people. On the liberation of the persons confined under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, a supper was given, at which one of their toasts was, “ The “ health of the Chief Consul of France ;” plans of insurrection were openly avowed, and professed to be directed against the lives of the chief officers of government, and to the destruction of the House of Correction in Cold Bath Fields. Other convivial meetings were established in various parts of the town ; and among their toasts was one which they called the tremendous toast—“ May the last of kings be strangled “ in the bowels of the last of priests ;” they had several others, as “ Bonaparte, and success to the army of “ Egypt !” and “ The Guillotine, a cure for the King’s “ Evil.” In several parts of the country, a similar system was adopted, particularly at Nottingham, and in different places in Lancashire, where exertion was stimulated by violent appeals, and apprehension dispelled by false and exaggerated statements of strength.

In Ireland, although discontent had long ceased to assume the aspect of rebellion arrayed in the field, and although the organization established by the United Irishmen had not been kept up with any regularity, and many parts of the kingdom presented the usual appearance of peaceful industry and loyal subordination—yet at no time had there been wanting in others demonstrations of a systematic plan of insurrection, marked with the usual characteristics of atrocity. Emissaries were sent through the country, and a rebel government sat in Dublin, arranging the means of military preparation for the avowed purpose of separating the two countries, by the co-operation of the French, in whose capital a body of traitors formed a central committee of rebellion. In 1800, in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, bodies of rebellious banditti, under the orders of regular leaders, perpetrated, with every circumstance of aggravation, the crimes of robbery, burglary, and murder ; while, in Tipperary and Limerick, the practice of breaking

into houses and cruelly beating or flogging the owners with rods made of thorns, in order to fix an arbitrary and inadequate price on the necessaries of life, frequently ending in, or accompanied with, premeditated acts of murder, was very prevalent, and had spread terror over the whole country.

A bill was brought in, continuing the Act for preventing seditious meetings, and to prevent the disclosure of the means of information ; and another for indemnifying persons who, since the first of February, 1793, had acted in the apprehending, imprisoning, or detaining in Great Britain, persons suspected of high treason or treasonable practices. The necessity for this measure was the impossibility which would arise to any party against whom an action might be brought of defending himself without making a disclosure of the means by which information had been obtained, and so effectually stopping the source of future communications. Both bills occasioned animated debates, and some persons, who stated themselves to have been aggrieved, presented petitions. The discussions were rather remarkable for pointed expressions uttered by some members, than for any novelty in argument or depth of political wisdom. All means of impediment were tried in various stages ; but the majority on every division was very great. There was one protest against the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, signed by one peer, Lord Camelford.

Parliament was prorogued, not by the King in person, but by commission ; the Lord Chancellor, in his Majesty's name, delivering a speech, which, after proper acknowledgments of the temper, diligence, and liberality which had characterized the proceedings in both Houses, noticed the brilliant and repeated successes of his Majesty's arms by sea and land, which, important as they were in their immediate consequences, derived peculiar value from their tendency to facilitate the attainment of the great object of his unceasing solicitude, the restoration of peace on fair and adequate terms.

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Bill against
seditions
meetings.Bill of in-
demnity.

June 5th.

July 2nd.
Prorogation.

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY.

1801.

Capture of Danish islands.—Treaty with Russia.—Arrangement with Sweden.—Final compact.—Effect of these events.—Allies of England.—Turkey.—Naples.—Progress of the French.—Armistice of Foligno.—Treaty of peace.—Portugal.—Spain declares war.—Portuguese proclamation—invansion.—Treaty of peace.—Motion for a subsidy.—France disavows the treaty.—A new one signed.—Madeira surrendered.—Kingdom of Etruria formed.—Cessions to France.—Threats of invansion.—State of opinion in England.—Plentiful harvest.—Preparations against invansion.—Flat boats.—Lord Nelson's attack.—Negotiation for peace.—Importance of Egypt.—Naval action at Algesiras.—Capture of the Hannibal—the Success and the Swiftsure.—Sea fight off Cadiz.—English expedition.—Landing effected.—Gain a position near Alexandria.—Take Aboukir Castle.—Menou's attack—and defeat.—Death of Sir Ralph Abercromby.—Improved situation of the English.—Capture of Rosetta.—Canal of Alexandria cut.—Castle of St. Julien taken.—Capture of El Aft—and of Rahmanieh.—Menou arrests several officers.—Further successes of the English, and disappointments of the French.—The Turks at Heliopolis.—Cairo taken.—Reinforcements arrive.—Conduct of the Capitan Pacha.—Alexandria besieged—Surrenders.—Expulsion of the French.—The King's approbation—and that of Parliament.—Honours to Sir Ralph Abercromby.—Observations.

WHEN Denmark and Sweden combined to diminish or control the predominance of the British naval power, they must have been sensible that their possessions in the West Indies, insignificant and defenceless as they were, must be taken from them; and such was the fate of the islands of Saint Bartholomew, Saint Thomas, and Santa Cruz; the narrative of all is in a few words: they were summoned, surrendered, obtained easy terms of capitulation, persons were respected, and private property held sacred. At Saint Martin's, a slight opposition made in the Dutch part of the island was easily overcome; and soon afterward Saint Eustatia and Saba were also captured*.

After the treaty had been signed with Denmark, the British fleet appeared before Cronstadt; but the place was too strong to be attacked, and the pacific disposition of Alexander rendered all warlike effort unnecessary. Lord St. Helens negotiated a treaty at Petersburg, which, notwithstanding the impediments offered by Bonaparte's favourite aid-de-camp and negotiator, Duroc, was speedily and satisfactorily completed.

At the same time, Sir Hyde Parker appeared off Carlskrona, and, apprising the government of the arrangements with Denmark, required an explicit declaration of its intentions. The King of Sweden refused to recede from his compact, from a consideration of the conduct of Denmark; but when apprised that the Emperor of Russia had accepted the terms offered by Sir Hyde Parker, he also acceded. That Admiral speedily left the command of the Baltic fleet to Lord Nelson, who also, finding the objects of the expedition accomplished, returned to his native land for the recovery of his health.

In the course of a few months, all appearances of hostility were effaced from the north. By the intervention of the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, arrangements were effected, by which the neutrality of the Elbe was re-established, the seque-

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Capture of
Danish
islands.

March.

April.

Treaty with
Russia.

May 29th.

Arrangement
with Sweden.
April 18th.

22nd.

27th.

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May 7, 20.
June 4th.

17th.

tration and embargo removed from British property, the Danish troops withdrawn from Lubeck and Hamburg, Great Britain relieved from detention the ships belonging to the northern powers, and restored the Danish and Swedish islands in the West Indies. Hanover was for some time retained by Prussia, but only for the protection of the interests of the King of England. A treaty was finally entered into by Great Britain, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, declaring that, in case either of them should be engaged in hostilities, the others might navigate without obstruction to the ports and coasts of those at war ; the effects on board to be free, except contraband of war and enemy's property ; but this freedom did not authorise the subjects of a neutral power to carry the produce or merchandise of the colonies of belligerents direct to or from their continental possessions ; and contraband of war was defined to be cannons, mortars, fire-arms, pistols, bombs, grenades, balls, bullets, firelocks, and every other species of arms and equipment for fleets, artillery, infantry, or cavalry, except the quantity necessary for the defence of the ship and crew. A port was to be deemed blockaded only when invested by ships stationary, or sufficiently near to occasion danger in entering. There were also articles for uniform, prompt, and legal proceedings, for the payment of costs and damages in cases of unjust detention, and for appeals from the courts of Admiralty to superior tribunals. The right of searching merchant ships under convoy was to be exercised only by ships of war belonging to the belligerent state, not by privateers ; and no resistance by force was, under any pretext whatever, to be made against the detention of merchant vessels. Ample provisions were made for obviating frauds by foreigners, who might avail themselves of a neutral flag, and for ascertaining property by the production of papers and passports in due and perfect form*.

Such was the termination of this compact of armed neutrality, bound by no spirit of union, composed of incoherent parts, impelled by an irascible, inconstant,

* Annual Register, vol. xlivi. pp. 103 and 359 to 369.

and flighty leader, and formed under circumstances very different from those in 1780, when the French were powerful at sea, and when it was adopted by the Emperor, and even by Portugal, the most firm ally of Great Britain. That alliance was not broken down by any warlike effort, but lapsed into quietude on the conclusion of peace* ; but, on the present occasion, vigour in council and bravery in war, aided by the removal of the Emperor Paul, dissolved entirely the combination from which our enemies had expected such grand and effective results, and principles acknowledged and established which would prevent all pretexts for its renewal†.

To the First Consul of France these events were peculiarly mortifying, as they frustrated his great plan for destroying the commerce, and with it the power, of England, and averted the danger of the over-land expedition to India, which was menaced by Russia. In Europe, the possessions, alliances, and influence of France, conferred on her all the power that ambition could be supposed to desire ; every thing but that which was most anxiously sought, the extinction of Great Britain, which, at the beginning of the year, could claim a friendly relation with only three powers, Turkey, Naples, and Portugal.

Turkey was rather a burthen than an aid ; but her friendship was necessary on account of Egypt. Turkey.

Naples, which at first possessed only a shadowy display of independence, was soon laid prostrate at the feet of France. When the armistice of Treviso terminated all hopes of useful resistance on the part of Austria, a body of Neapolitan troops, marching to Tuscany, was encountered by General Brune, with an inferior force, and fled unresisting, evacuating Arezzo and Cortona, while the French, unopposed, gained possession of Sienna. Advancing into the Papal territories, to take possession of Ancona, and to compel the Neapolitans to evacuate the Castle of Saint Angelo, Murat, the French General, received letters from M. Dumas, the leader of his opponents, explaining that

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Effect of these events.

Allies of England.

Naples.

Progress of the French.

January 14th.

22nd.

* Vol. iii. pp. 214, 284.

† Homme d'Etat, tome viii. p. 122 to 127.

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25th.

Armistice of
Foligno.
February 18.

March 29th.
Treaty of
peace.

his movements had been regulated entirely by those of the Austrian General Bellegarde, and that he considered himself included in the armistice of Treviso. A harsh and haughty answer declared that the First Consul might forgive, for the tenth time, the numberless injuries committed by the Neapolitan government against France ; but they had no claim to the benefits of the treaty of Treviso, and could only gain protection through the personal and particular consideration entertained by Bonaparte for the Emperor of Russia. After some further correspondence of the same character, an armistice was signed at Foligno, which formed the basis of an insulting and oppressive treaty of peace. It stipulated that the ports of Sicily and Naples were to be closed against the warlike and commercial ships of England and those of Turkey, until she effected a definitive peace with France, and terminated her existing differences with Russia ; but open to the vessels of France and her allies, and of the powers forming the northern confederacy. Naples gave up to France Porto Lognone, and all its other possessions in the isle of Elba ; the states of Presidii in Tuscany, and the principality of Piombino. All sequestrations of property, on account of the war, were to be removed ; all citizens to be admitted to the rights and claims they had previously possessed ; and all who had been banished or compelled to expatriate themselves were to return unmolested. The French were to receive a large pecuniary contribution ; and all the statues, pictures, and objects of art, carried off from Rome, were to be restored to them. By this compact, and the subsequent proceedings of Murat, the King was placed in a most degraded and painful situation. Traitors were returned to brave him, assured of protection from French garrisons placed in the capital, and in Messina, Palermo, and other places, giving them, in effect, dominion over the whole kingdom, and who were encouraged by a proclamation of their General, denouncing woe to the whole nation if a single drop of French blood were shed. An embargo was laid on British property ; but with little effect, as

the great bulk of it was removed. The French were also frustrated in an attempt to wrest from the English Porto Ferrajo, in the isle of Elba. Colonel Airley, with a garrison of fifteen hundred men, of whom only three hundred were British, the rest being Tuscans and Corsicans, held possession against six thousand French, until by a treaty of peace the whole island was surrendered*.

There was not a port between the Texel and the Portugal. Adriatic where British merchandizes could be admitted, except those of Portugal; but contraband traders contrived to disperse them through all parts of the adjacent kingdom. The Directory had long endeavoured to excite Spain to invade that country, representing it as a mere warehouse to England; but the minister for foreign affairs, Don Mariano Louis Urquijo, sensible of the true interests of his country, resisted all their blandishments and allurements. The consular governors, pursuing the same course of policy, were enabled to disembarrass themselves of this patriotic and judicious counsellor: sarcasms, which he was supposed to have uttered against the worthless favourite, the Prince of the Peace, and his patroness the Queen, were, through the management of Alquier, the French ambassador, made the means of procuring his exile to Bilboa. Lucien Bonaparte was sent as special ambassador to Madrid; and, through his persuasions and promises of territorial aggrandisement, the Spanish monarch commenced war against a sovereign related to him by near ties of blood, and against whom not a single act of aggression could be alleged. This Spanish declaration of hostilities contained no charge, but the fidelity of Portugal to her long-standing engagements with Great Britain, and her refusal to violate them in compliance with the dictates of France.

While Bonaparte assembled an army of twenty thousand men at Bordeaux, and Godoy placed himself at the head of the Spanish forces, the Regent of Por-

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Spain declares
war.

February 27.

* Histories. Homme d'Etat, tome viii. p. 106. Annual Register, vol. xlivi. p. 236; and State Papers.

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1801.
April 26th.
Portuguese
proclamation.

Invasion of
Portugal.

June 6th.
Treaty of
peace.

May 18th.
Motion for a
subsidy.

tugal answered the manifesto of Spain by an address to the clergy, nobility, and people, reminding them of the peace and happiness which for so many years the kingdom had enjoyed, its fidelity in maintaining its treaties, the assistance rendered to Spain in 1793, when an army had marched to her aid; yet that country, it said, now required that the sovereign and people of Portugal should at once violate their oaths, and become mere suppliants for their commerce. It recapitulated the glorious events of their history, their discoveries and conquests; and, in conclusion, appealing to the courage and the sentiments of honour transmitted from their ancestors, expressed a confident hope that their zeal, the equity of their cause, and the remembrance of their former exploits, would secure them victory.

These brave expressions wanted, for their support, a strong army, led by experienced officers; in both which the unhappy country was utterly deficient. Their military establishment did not amount to eight thousand men, led by officers entirely ignorant, void of discipline, and unprovided with necessaries. Encouraged by their superiority in numbers, twenty thousand Spaniards, before their allies had crossed their frontier, invaded Portugal, and, without opposition, advanced in five days within sight of Abrantes, having previously occupied the entire territory of Alentejo. In this alarming situation, the Prince Regent obtained an armistice, and a conditional treaty was signed, by which the ports were to be shut against British ships, and the fortress of Olivenza, with its territory and inhabitants from the Guadiana, were ceded to Spain. Stipulations were also made for the prevention of contraband trade, and for payment to Spain of large sums of money as an indemnity for the present, and liquidation of expenses during their war with France.

Before measures had proceeded to this extremity, but with a certain anticipation of the final event of the struggle, Lord Hawkesbury, in a committee of supply, moved for a grant of £300,000, to assist the Queen of Portugal in defending her dominions. As

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an ally of this country, she was not restrained by any treaty from making a separate peace ; and this supply would enable her to negotiate on better terms, or, in case of failure, to prepare for a more effectual resistance. Mr. Grey objected that such a contribution to enable Portugal to purchase peace was only devoting the money to the coffers of Bonaparte. When France sent ambassadors to Madrid, although the motive of their mission might easily have been divined, no effort had been made. When all the forces which France could muster were engaged in Italy and on the Rhine, Sir Charles Stewart, with a formidable British army, was in Portugal ; but now, when the continental war was over, when our enemies had the ability and testified the strongest inclination to attack an ally, she was left, without a single British soldier, an easy prey to the conqueror. Mr. Pitt defended the proposed subsidy, and the resolution passed without a division.

Both the principal belligerents were dissatisfied with the treaty. England complained that her ambassador had not been consulted ; and, although his brother Lucien had known and approved of it, Bonaparte refused his ratification, alleging that Spain had not, according to previous agreement with him, required that the fortresses of Portugal should be occupied by French troops, and that a great part of the country should be given into their hands until the conclusion of a general peace. Orders were therefore issued to General Leclerc to march upon Lisbon. Preparing for a hopeless struggle, the Prince Regent assembled at Abrantes twenty-five thousand men, under the Count de Gortz ; but, through the intervention of Spain, a new treaty was signed, by which Portugal engaged not to furnish to the enemies of France and her allies any aid in troops, ships, arms, ammunition, provisions, or money—all anterior engagements to the contrary being declared null and void. A new line of boundary was stipulated between the territories of the two nations in Guiana, highly advantageous to France, and arrangements were made for a future commercial treaty, placing France on the same footing with the

France dis-
avows the
treaty.

September 29.
A new one
signed.

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1801.

Madeira
surrendered.March 21st.
Kingdom of
Etruria
formed.

August 6th.

Cessions to
France.Threats of
invasion.State of
opinion in
England.

most favoured nations. By secret articles, Portugal was obliged to pay to the republic twenty-five millions (£1,045,000); and diamonds, exceeding in value £200,000, were given to Lucien Bonaparte as a perquisite for negotiating the treaty. For protection of the commerce and property of British subjects, a force under Colonel Clinton, the son of Sir Henry, so well known in the American war, with the entire assent and even the joyful acclamation of the inhabitants, took possession of the island of Madeira; and it was understood that, if necessary, a similar measure would be pursued in the Brazils*.

By other arrangements, Tuscany had been erected into a kingdom, and the sovereignty bestowed on Louis, the infant Duke of Parma, who, under the protection of French bayonets, and evidently as a vassal of the republic, took possession of the throne as King of Etruria. The usual forms of procession and proclamation were not omitted; but Murat was always more conspicuous than Louis, and it was on all occasions ostentatiously avowed that the sovereign derived his title entirely from the treaty of Luneville†. In return for this support, the portion of the isle of Elba which had belonged to Tuscany was confirmed to the French, who also obtained Parma, and, by treaty with Spain, Louisiana.

In all these transactions, the prevailing desire of the ruler of France to destroy the commerce, diminish the influence, and ruin the financial and colonial prosperity of Great Britain, was prominently apparent. When the events in the north had shewn the failure of that portion of his plans, and when, by wise precautions, the effect of his political combinations in other parts was entirely frustrated, or in a great measure averted, recourse was had to the often-tried threat of a direct invasion. Such an attempt must now rest entirely on the force of the assailant. The admirers of France or propagators of French principles were

* Histories. Annual Register; Capefigue, tome iii. p. 35. Homme d'Etat, tome viii. p. 127.

† State Papers, A. R. vol. xlivi. p. *442; et seqq., vol. xliv. p. 143.

no longer formidable in England. The illusion of extended liberty, or a government founded on principles of general benevolence and social equality, had been dissipated by the conduct of the republicans in every country which had felt the scourge of their visitation. That all party differences in England which could favour the views of France should be suddenly and totally extinguished, was not to be supposed; but the mitigated tone of government toward its opponents facilitated the return of many, whom enthusiastic nations, exaggerated hopes, or inconsiderate wishes had at first attached to revolutionary principles, to sound and sober doctrines; to a sense that perfect liberty could be sought only under the wise restraints of the English constitution, which, while they assured safety to rank and property, left untouched the enjoyment of social and political freedom. While the government remained which had continued toward them the conduct, and imputed the intentions which early proceedings had well warranted, a renunciation of their declared opinions would have savoured of cowardice and meanness; but, under new rulers, it became possible, and many availed themselves of the opportunity, to renounce extreme doctrines, and, if they did not directly espouse the cause of government, at least to disclaim any sympathy with the enemy. The spirits of the people were also cheered by the removal of an affliction, which, for the last two years, had pressed on them with grievous severity; a plentiful harvest in all parts of the kingdom removed the apprehensions of which the promoters of disaffection had so amply availed themselves, and was acknowledged by a pious form of thanksgiving throughout the land. Still, measures of economy, calculated to prevent the return and even the fear of a like calamity, were enforced, and bounties given for the encouragement of the fisheries.

An invasion of England, by an enemy who could not command a superior fleet in the Channel, appeared in itself too absurd to merit serious consideration; but when it was recollected that it was the favoured project of a great and powerful genius, which had already

Plentiful
harvest.

September 13.

28th.
Preparations
against inva-
sion.

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achieved enterprizes so far transcending the scope of political expectation, a tranquil reliance on improbability, or a supposition of impossibility, would have been the extreme of weakness and imprudence. All practicable means were therefore resorted to for equipping a powerful navy, and a representation being made that men who were liable to serve sought to evade their duty by harbouring in the City of London, the Lord Mayor, on an application from government, permitted the exercise of press warrants within his jurisdiction. Measures were taken for calling out the military force of every description, for mustering horses to mount cavalry, and waggons for the conveyance of baggage and necessaries, and for driving the cattle from the neighbourhood of the coast to the interior. Parks of artillery were formed, and kept in perpetual readiness; the supplementary militias were embodied, and measures were concerted for protecting the mouths of navigable rivers, by batteries on shore, by hulks stationed in well-selected positions, and by preparations for the removal of all guides to navigation with which the enemy could be acquainted; regulations were issued for the march of troops at a short notice, and for supplying them with necessaries, without injury to the proprietors from whom they should be taken. Signals both for day and night were established; and frigates, gun-boats, and other vessels, were stationed in the neighbourhood of all the ports of the enemy, that the earliest possible information might be given, and the means of resistance most efficaciously employed.

Projects of
the enemy.

A plan for transporting an army on a huge raft, impelled by mechanical powers, protected by a timber parapet, and equipped with furnaces to supply red hot balls for the destruction of men of war, which was ostentatiously promulgated, excited a ridicule which was enhanced by the discovery that no such machine existed in any port of the enemy; but they had formed camps between Bruges and Ostend; between Gravelines and Dunkirk; at Brest and at Saint Maloës; and a principal force was concentrated at Boulogne. The

Flat boats.

Lord Nelson
commands an
expedition
against them.

French coast was divided into six maritime prefectures, Brest, Toulon, L'Orient, Rochefort, Havre, and Antwerp. Ships were said to be in preparation ; but the obvious means of conveying an army were gun-boats and flat boats, which were collected in great and continually augmenting numbers, in all ports to which the power and influence of France could extend. These vessels were described as of sufficient length to carry one hundred and sixty men, with a moveable bridge to facilitate landing, and to be rowed with sixty oars ; but, on examination, their structure proved to be much less formidable. In addition to a large military force of their own, the French collected and embodied the Irish rebels whom they had so long protected, professing an intention to land at the same time on various parts of the United Kingdom. As the announcement of the intended invasion, and demonstration of means for effecting it, gained additional consistency, Lord Nelson was looked up to as the most popular as well as most able person to whom a plan of counteraction could be entrusted. A commission was issued, investing him with the command of a squadron, the operations of which were to extend from Orfordness to Beachy Head. Although he had not had time to pay the requisite attention to his health, and felt, as he expressed it in a letter to the Duke of Clarence, that his ability to render service in this new sort of command existed only in his zeal, he did not hesitate to accept the appointment* ; and, in conferring it, Lord St. Vincent took care that no just cause of complaint should be given to the Admirals commanding at the Nore and in the Downs.

In this new situation, the gallant Admiral exerted himself first in obtaining the assistance of the bold and hardy mariners who inhabited the coast and had no objection to engage in a limited enterprize, although not willing to dedicate their whole lives to the naval service. He then ascertained, by personal inspection, the amount of the boasted preparations, and found them by no means formidable ; the armed vessels, far

* Clarke and Mc Arthur's Life of Nelson, vol. ii. p. 293.

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Aug. 2, 3, 4.
His attack on
the flotilla.

16th.

from moving toward an invasion, durst never venture beyond the protection of the land batteries ; those which repaired from different ports to the principal station at Boulogne, reached it only by cautiously creeping along the shore, and some were even carried over land. Having made the necessary investigation, Lord Nelson, rather as an experiment, than with an expectation of any effectual result, employed a few vessels, which, by a discharge of ten or twelve shells, destroyed two floating batteries, two gun-vessels, and compelled one gun-brig to cut her cables and run on shore, where she was lost. This action, in which the English sustained little loss, shewed that the shells would reach the town ; but, as it was not the noble Admiral's desire to injure the inhabitants, it was spared, as much as the service would permit. The whole transaction was of no further moment than to shew the French that, with impunity, they could not venture to sea*. After some days spent in observing the ports of France, Flanders, and Holland, from which an invasion might, if at all, be apprehended, and straining every nerve to collect sea fencibles and other forces for repelling it if attempted, the British Admiral made, in the night, a vigorous and spirited, though unsuccessful, attempt to destroy the flotilla at Boulogne. Captains Somerville, Cotgrave, and Parker, aided by Captain Conn, commanding the howitzer boats, displayed equal valour and conduct ; but the French Admiral, Latouche Treville, having, as he said, foreseen the attack, the flotilla brigs and flat boats were moored by the bottom to the ground, and to each other with chains ; and on board the flotilla were placed battalions of three French regiments : several boats were carried ; but the heavy fire of musketry from the shore, which overlooked the flotilla, obliged the brave assailants, when it was broad daylight, to retreat, without being able even to set them on fire. The loss sustained was one hundred and seventy-three killed and wounded, among whom was Captain Parker,

* Idem, p. 295.

Nelson's aid-de-camp and cherished friend, who died of his wound, and his lordship's flag lieutenant, Frederick Langford. This attempt, not without a sufficient knowledge of its difficulty and danger, was suggested by Nelson himself, and approved by the Lords of the Admiralty*. The captains of the several vessels employed gave modest and just accounts of the progress and failure of the expedition†; and the French, in their narratives and proclamations, extolled themselves, as if, by merely averting a danger, they had achieved immortal renown‡. This characteristic vaunting was displayed even in describing the minor exploits in which British commanders distinguished themselves. When defeated, the French yielded only to a superior force, and covered themselves with glory; when they were successful, or only escaped defeat, no exaggeration of language was sufficient for their exultation, nor abuse sufficiently forcible to express their detestation of England. Thus, when they had the good fortune to take one of our vessels, the real superiority of the French navy, and the certain destruction of Carthage, were proclaimed, and Nelson's failure at Boulogne was treated as an affair which had cast Copenhagen into oblivion and avenged Aboukir§. These modes of speech were not to be considered mere hasty effusions; for the consular government used them not only in public dispatches and official communications, but echoed and enforced them through a press so entirely enslaved, that no statement or opinion but those sanctioned by the rulers could be imparted to the people.

But although this mode of proceeding afforded no indication of the probability of peace, negotiations had been established, and secretly conducted, ever since the accession to office of the present English ministry. Introduced by Sir Charles Stuart to Lord

Negotiation
for peace.

* Idem, p. 300.

† London Gazette, August 18.

‡ Moniteur. It is sufficient to mention, but would be idle to repeat, their bloated rodomontades.

§ Annual Register, vol. xlivi; Gazettes. Moniteur, An. 9, pp. 1276, 1289, 1336, 1360, 1364, 1466, 1479.

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Hobart, Meseria, a Corsican, who had before been employed in secret missions, was deputed to Paris to learn the disposition of Bonaparte. He was not permitted to see the First Consul, either in public or in private, but informed by Salicetti that the British ministry, if sincerely desirous of terminating hostilities, must commission a person, invested with regular and sufficient powers, to treat with M. Otto, who still remained in London as agent for French prisoners*. The means for making such an advance were afforded by a complaint made by M. Otto, of some severe regulations respecting fishing boats, which the late government had considered necessary, but which their successors deemed it proper to relinquish†. Lord Hawkesbury, in his note announcing this determination, said that, by the King's commands, he was to communicate his Majesty's disposition immediately to send to Paris, or any suitable place, a minister fully authorized to give explanations, to negotiate, and to conclude a treaty.

At the time when this proposal was made, the hopes of Bonaparte for the destruction of Great Britain were at their highest pitch ; his expectation of inducing Russia to attempt an expedition against our possessions in India had not been frustrated by the murder of Paul and the moderation and justice of his successor, nor had the battle of Copenhagen broken up the northern confederacy. Negotiations and arrangements, uniformly tending to the injury of Great Britain, were in progress in all parts of Europe ; and there was no appearance of the destruction of the French power in Egypt, from which great and momentous results continued to be expected. The answer, therefore, which M. Otto was directed to return, was fully indicative of the mind and policy of Bonaparte ; false and hypocritical in its professions, insulting in its

* Homme d'Etat, tome viii. p. 162.

† This regulation was framed to frustrate the operations of a host of spies, who, under pretence of fishing, watched our coasts, and aided the escape of prisoners : it is adverted to, in terms of characteristic obloquy, by M. Bignon. Histoire de France, tome ii. p. 64.

tone, and arrogant as well as insidious in its requisitions. It asserted the First Consul's constant love of peace, and professed his lively satisfaction at perceiving that the British cabinet was at last disposed to put an end to the misery which for eight years had desolated Europe. The fleets of his Britannic Majesty appeared ready to carry war into the bosom of the Baltic ; and the Continental powers were prepared to attack Portugal and Hanover. Amid these warlike preparations and new causes of exasperation, a public negotiation could not be successful, unless some preliminary principles were agreed to, and especially that a suspension of hostilities should precede any negotiation. The First Consul, it was added, would regard, as the most splendid day in his life, that in which the commerce of Europe should enjoy its prosperity undiminished, which could arise only from the peace of the seas.

Leaving the Baltic out of the question, the state of the Mediterranean and Egypt alone was evidently sufficient to render an armistice inadmissible ; and Lord Hawkesbury, while he declared the objections insurmountable, readily acceded to another proposal in M. Otto's letter, for an immediate, full, and confidential communication respecting the terms and preliminaries of peace. At a conference held on the subject, the Secretary of State delivered a proposal that all the conquests made from France and her allies, except Trinidad, Martinique, Malta, Ceylon, Tobago, Demarara, Essequibo, and Berbice, should be given up, on condition that the French should evacuate Egypt and restore it to the Porte ; that the Cape of Good Hope should be declared a free port ; and the Prince of Orange receive an indemnity for the loss he had sustained in his property. And it was added, that if authentic information should be received previously to the signature of preliminaries of the evacuation of Egypt by the French troops, or of a convention concluded to that effect, his Majesty would not hold himself bound to subscribe to those conditions in all their extent. Bonaparte answered, that a serious discussion of these proposals was out of the question ;

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there was some difference between the fifth year of the Republic and the ninth ; that he would consent only to an honourable peace, founded on a just equilibrium in the different parts of the world ; and, under such a view of things, he could not leave, in the hands of England, countries and establishments of such weight in the balance of Europe as those which she demanded. Further proceedings in the negotiation were languidly conducted, intermittent, and at long intervals resumed ; while the notes which were interchanged contained copious observations on the value and importance of different settlements, and their effect in giving equality to commerce and national importance. While the French continually complained that the British ministers were protracting discussions, in order to gain time, it was avowed on their part that they were effecting the conquest of provinces in Portugal, for the purpose of offering them as a counterpoise to the weighty restitutions for which they were contending ; and, although not avowed, it was no less obvious that their disposition to peace would depend altogether on their retention of Egypt, a point toward which their greatest efforts were directed : to the operations in that quarter it is now necessary to turn our attention*.

Importance
of Egypt.

Not only as a colony valuable in itself, but as a high road to the British possessions in India, was Egypt dear to the First Consul ; and the establishment or expulsion of the French were not viewed with indifference by other European powers, although the Porte and Great Britain, as nations, had the greatest interest in the alternative : the success of England would insure a general peace, while any considerable reverse would keep alive the flame of war, with all its attendant evils and embarrassments. Although Bonaparte was not weak enough, like a member of the British Parliament, to fancy that his exploits in Egypt identified him with Alexander the Great, still his per-

* Memoirs of the Earl of Liverpool, p. 147, et seqq. Official Papers respecting the Preliminaries of London and the Treaty of Amiens, published by the French government in 1803, and by Debret in London. Homme d'Etat, tome viii. p. 168, et seqq.

sonal feelings, as well as his political judgment, led him to estimate very highly the importance of the conquest ; consequently all possible efforts and exertions were made to prepare and transmit supplies and reinforcements ; small expeditions sailed from different ports : some fell into the hands of the English ; but others, which eluded their vigilance, conferred benefits, which, though limited in their amount, were eminently welcome and valuable.

To impede such supplies, and particularly to prevent the sailing of any great expedition, the Mediterranean fleet remained under the command of Lord Keith ; Sir John Borlase Warren blockaded Toulon ; and Sir James Saumarez, Cadiz. To co-operate with the Spanish Admiral Moreno, in liberating this port, a French squadron of two eighty-fours and one seventy-four, with a frigate, under Admiral Linois, was anchored in Algesiras Bay ; and Admiral Saumarez, having intelligence of the fact, passed the Straits of Gibraltar with three eighty-fours, two seventy-fours, a frigate, and a lugger. The French, apprized from the shore of his approach, made dispositions for resistance. Captain Hood, in the *Venerable*, advanced to the attack with great hopes of success ; but the wind, which had been in the highest degree favourable, suddenly failed ; the *Venerable* was obliged to drop an anchor ; Captain Sterling in the *Pompée* brought his vessel into action ; but Captain Derby in the *Spencer*, and Captain Ferris in the *Hannibal*, were prevented, by want of wind, from rendering active service ; and when at length a breeze enabled the *Hannibal* to press forward, she unfortunately took the ground and could not be removed. The French were favourably situated, and powerfully aided by the land batteries. The English silenced one of these batteries, and landed to take possession, but were repulsed by a superior force, and finally, after a spirited conflict of six hours, the British Admiral was obliged to retreat. The *Hannibal* could not be brought off ; and after a resistance, maintained until her boats, sails, and rigging were all shot away, remained a prize to the enemy. The loss in the

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Naval action
at Algesiras.

July 6th.

Capture of the
Hannibal.

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British fleet, in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to three hundred and seventy-five ; the Spanish gazettes stated the loss of the French at eight hundred ; they themselves published no detailed accounts, unwilling perhaps to diminish the public sensation of joy and triumph which they spared no means to excite. The news, so uncommon as that of the capture of an English ship of the line, gave Bonaparte the highest satisfaction ; it was disclosed to the people of Paris from the stage in their theatres, it was announced in pompous dispatches ; the writers for government vaunted it with more than their usual exaggerations ; Bonaparte compared it to the first naval victory of the Romans over the Carthaginians* ; and the wits pronounced the fall of Carthage certain, now they had lost their Hannibal. According to the excellent system of the British navy, Captain Ferris and his officers were tried before a court martial for the loss of the ship ; the result was not merely an honourable acquittal, but an animated eulogy delivered by Admiral Holloway, the president, on the heroic bravery they had displayed.

The exultation of the French was increased by the capture of the Success frigate, and the Swiftsure of seventy-four guns, by Admiral Gantheaume's fleet, during his protracted cruise. The Success yielded without attempting a resistance, which would have been only a wanton sacrifice of lives for no attainable purpose ; Captain Hallowell, in the Swiftsure, in vain exhausted all the resources of valour and skill in efforts to resist and to escape.

Immediately after the battle of Algesiras, Don Joachim Moreno sailed from Cadiz for that port, and joined Linois, with five sail of the line, two being of one hundred and twelve guns. They purposed a speedy return to Cadiz, with a large number of gun-boats, and their prize the Hannibal, confident that the British fleet could offer no impediment. To their great surprise, they saw the squadron of Sir James Saumarez, which had been refitted with inconceivable

September 21.
The Success
and the
Swiftsure.

June 24th.

July 9th.
Sea fight off
Cadiz.

11th.

* Capefigue, tome iii. p. 354.

dispatch, bearing down upon them; and, although far inferior in number and strength, he attacked them without hesitation. Captain Keats, in the Superb, encountered the Real Carlos, of one hundred and twelve guns, which, taking fire in the action, obliged the British ship and the San Antonio, a Spaniard, manned principally with Frenchmen, to draw off. The San Hermenegilde, the other ship of equal force with the Real Carlos, approached; mistaking each other for enemies, they grappled, the fire communicated, both blew up, and of their entire crews only forty-five men were saved. When they were out of reach of the flames, the San Antonio was captured by the Superb; the engagement, taking place during a tremendous gale, could not be rendered general, and the united squadron regained the harbour of Cadiz in a shattered condition.

Captain Hood, in the Venerable, had a severe, though ineffectual, engagement with Captain Tourdes, in the Formidable of eighty guns; and Lord William Stuart, in the Champion, cut out from Gallipoli the Bull Dog, formerly taken from the English, and laden with brass mortars, field pieces, and other artillery and ammunition*.

All these efforts had reference to the possession of Egypt. After the murder of Kléber, the French, although not straightened by any military operation, had found their situation growing daily worse. Kléber's system had been to secure himself against attacks, by separating the interests of the Turks from those of the English. For this purpose, he represented the possession of Suez, Alexandria, and Damietta by our troops, as prejudicial to the integrity of the Ottoman empire, and successfully inculcated the notion, that the safe return of the French to their own country was a necessary stipulation in any treaty of peace, as, by calling them in as allies, the power of England would be effectually counterbalanced. Menou was a man of unmeasured self-sufficiency, a lofty

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12th.
Other actions.

August 15th.

*State of
Egypt.*

* From the Annual Register, vol. xlivi. c. 12, and the Gazettes.

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boaster, but equally ignorant of the arts of politics and of war*. Departing entirely from the plans of his predecessor, he refused to act upon propositions made to him by the Grand Vizier and the Capitan Pacha, referring them to his own government at Paris. Yet, for the purpose of acquiring a party among the Turks, he disgraced himself by professing the Mahometan religion, changing his name to that of Abdallah, assuming the Turkish habiliments, and espousing the daughter of the man who kept the baths at Rosetta†. Such proceedings failed in conciliating the natives, while they added derision and contempt to the adverse feeling of his own troops. The generals under him, unrestrained by respect for his military or political talent, and incensed by some undeserved removals, formed cabals ; and the soldiers, harassed by disease and privation, and irritated by the want of intelligence from home, and the circumstances of their situation, became discontented and insubordinate. Menou increased these evils by assuming the character rather of a profound politician than an active commander, issuing pompous and declamatory general orders, affecting great attention to details, while the most important regulations were neglected ; he altered the mode of collecting taxes, laid the foundation of feuds, by shewing a zealous and offensive preference to his newly embraced faith of Mahomet, and introduced into the army the factious distinguishing terms of colonist and anti-colonist, professing himself a strong supporter of the former party. Such a system revived peculations, oppressions, and injuries, calculated to renew the hostility of the natives, whenever opportunity should present a prospect of success ; exhausted the slender resources of the army ; prevented the accumulation of supplies ; diminished the spirit of the troops ; and

* Martin, *Histoire de l'Expédition*, tome ii. p. 135.

† Capefigue, tome iii. p. 355. *Dictionnaire des Hommes Marquans*, article Menou. Martin, vol. ii. p. 136. This author relates Menou's dispensation, by an assembly of Imans at Roseta, from the observance of one of the ceremonies generally deemed indispensable, which strongly reminds one of the proselytism of Edmund Curll, so facetiously related by Pope and Swift in the *Miscellanies*.

produced, at length, vigorous and even angry remonstrances from the field officers*. The Turks fully participated in these feelings : they admit proselytes, but always despise them ; and they viewed, with peculiar distaste, a pretended Mussulman, whose whole conduct made them regret his predecessors, neither of whom had formally abjured Christianity.

An expedition was planned, in which the British troops on service in the Mediterranean were to co-operate with the army of the Grand Vizier, and to be reinforced by a body of Sepoys drawn from India. The British soldiers, who, since their failure at Cadiz, had been pent up in transports, and tossed about on the sea in a season unusually tempestuous, received with joy and alacrity the order which announced their destination. Health was restored by short residences at Minorca and Malta ; and regiments, which were not obliged to extend their services so far, offered themselves as volunteers. The Bay of Marmorice was fixed for the general rendezvous ; and, at the moment of his arrival, Lord Keith captured some polacres from Alexandria, among the passengers in which was the noted Tallien ; but the French, during the stay of the British fleet at Marmorice, succeeded in throwing into Egypt important succours of men and ammunition, dispatched in *L'Egyptienne*, *La Justice*, *La Régénérée*, and the *Lodi*.

The British troops at Marmorice amounted to fifteen thousand three hundred and thirty, including nine hundred and nine sick, five hundred Maltese, and various descriptions of persons attached to an army. It had been represented that the French forces remaining in Egypt were not more than thirteen or fourteen thousand men ; but it was afterward found that they exceeded thirty-two thousand infantry and cavalry, and were furnished with more than a thousand pieces of artillery, and had the additional advantage of

* State of Egypt after the battle of Heliopolis, by General Regnier, who was one of the remonstrants against Menou, and appears to have viewed his elevation with envy, and his general conduct with disgust. A party in the army was desirous of superseding and imprisoning Menou, and placing Regnier in his stead. Martin, tome ii. p. 157.

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possessing the ground which was to be the scene of contention, with strong forts, good cavalry, and a perfect knowledge of the place; the English had no sufficient artillery; the Turks had supplied them, to remount their cavalry, with the very worst of horses*; they had no person amongst them experimentally acquainted with the coast; and the charts with which they were furnished were ridiculously incorrect. Some of the persons captured, Tallien among the number, had given true accounts of the French force, but were not believed†; the Indian army was not expected to arrive for some months; and the Grand Vizier, nominally the leader of thirty-five thousand men, but not having actually under his command more than ten thousand, was posted near Jaffa, and determined not to advance with his tumultuary and undisciplined troops, until the success of the English should open to his view some encouraging hopes. Notwithstanding these circumstances, and the assurance that they could not act effectually till after the vernal equinox, the British troops embarked on board a hundred and seventy-five sail of transports, in perfect order, in the highest spirits, shouting as from a conviction of assured triumph, and leaving among the Turks, with whom they had sojourned, the novel sentiment of respect and even regard for Christians.

February 20th.

Landing
effected.
March 2nd.

8th.

On their passage, a heavy gale of wind so dispirited the Turks and the Greeks that they sought refuge in the neighbouring islands; and the British force remained as it was at Malta. After waiting several days for favourable weather, and making some indispensable experiments, the first division, consisting of five thousand five hundred men, under Major General Coote, assembled in the boats at two o'clock in the morning, an additional number being placed in ships close to the shore, to afford them support. These arrangements could not be completed till nine o'clock; and the French, fully prepared, had posted two thousand five hundred men, under General Friant, on the

* Journal of the Forces, by Lieut. *Aeneas Anderson*, p. 193.

† Life of Sir John Moore, vol. i. p. 279.

top of the sand hills, forming the concave arch of a circle on the front of about a mile, in the centre of which rose a height almost perpendicular, and apparently inaccessible. The boats, protected by cutters, bomb and gun vessels, rowed rapidly toward the shore ; while the republicans, from their well-chosen station, where they had planted twelve pieces of artillery, and from the Castle of Aboukir, poured a discharge of shot and shells and a shower of grape and musketry, which seemed to plough the surface of the water and render destruction inevitable. The troops, placed fifty in each boat, closely pent up and unable to move, were exposed to this destructive fire without returning a shot. Still the boats pressed forward ; the reserve leaped on shore, forming as they advanced. The French met and opposed them, even at the water's edge, but they advanced, shouting, as if victory was certain. Without firing a shot, they rushed up the heights, charged with the bayonet two battalions, carried two sand hills in the rear, which commanded the plain to the left, and took three pieces of cannon. The remaining troops effected a landing with equal courage and success ; and, after a struggle of twenty minutes duration, the republicans gave way in every direction ; and a body of seamen, under Sir Sidney Smith, secured possession of the hills by dragging up several field pieces. Sir Ralph Abercromby himself went on shore in the evening, and expressed the gratitude and admiration due to his troops for so gallant an exploit, which, from a consideration of the strength of their opponents, the nature of the position, and the skill and industry employed upon it by the French, military men must have pronounced almost impossible. The loss of the enemy is computed at about four hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners ; that of the English at six hundred and fifty-two, exclusive of seamen*.

Several days were passed in improving the situation ^{They advance.} of the troops, landing ammunition and stores, and

* Anderson, p. 221. Martin, vol. ii. p. 174. Life of Sir John Moore, vol. i. p. 278.

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12th.

13th.
Gain a position near Alexandria.

digging for water, which was found in sufficient quantities. The lake of Aboukir, or Maadie, which the French had neglected to secure, was a most important resource ; facilitating the transport of necessaries, and enabling the British to procure those supplies which their total want of beasts of burthen would otherwise have prevented them from obtaining. When their preparations were completed, the English army moved towards Alexandria, opposed by the French, but not with so much vigour as to make the loss of the assailants bear any proportion to the advantages they gained. They had two men killed, a lieutenant and four privates wounded.

On the ensuing day, the British army advanced to the heights before Alexandria. The republicans, having received reinforcements, commanded about seven thousand men ; their opponents had fourteen thousand ; but the superiority of numbers was counterbalanced by the want of artillery and cavalry : the French had upwards of six hundred horse, well trained and mounted ; the English, only two hundred and fifty, and those in so wretched a condition that they were hardly able to act. The republicans brought into the field forty pieces of cannon, most of them curricles guns ; while the British had only a few cannon, slowly and laboriously drawn through the sand by men. Under these comparative disadvantages, besides the difficulty of forcing a strong and well-chosen position, the British troops made their way, notwithstanding frequent attacks of cavalry, which they could not meet, but were obliged patiently to await, and through a most destructive and incessant fire of artillery and musketry. They had gained the first chain of hills, and advanced toward the second, when it became apparent that, from the state of the forts and the unexpected strength of the position, further progress would be attended with great difficulty and destruction. The soldiers were halted, while Sir Ralph Abercromby deliberated on the propriety of advancing ; and during this period the fire of the French was tremendous. Aim was unnecessary ; their bullets plunged into the

lines and swept away great numbers; but although this dreadful scene continued several hours, the brave soldiery never murmured, nor expressed any impatience, except what arose from an ardent wish to be led to the attack. This, however, it was finally judged necessary to decline; and the British commander remained in the strong position he had acquired. The loss on this day was thirteen hundred men, killed and wounded, and that of the French is computed at seven hundred; the English took four pieces of cannon and a howitzer, with a large quantity of ammunition. The firmness of the British troops is highly extolled; their movements were executed with the same steadiness and accuracy as if at a review in their native plains. In the course of the action, the French General's horse was shot under him, and Sir Ralph Abercromby was, for a moment, in danger of being enveloped by the hostile cavalry; but he was rescued by the intrepid intervention of the 90th regiment, who drove back the enemy at the point of the bayonet.

By this deadly encounter, our army gained a good position, and their situation began to improve; a few horses which had been sent by the grand Signior from Constantinople arrived; works were thrown up; heavy guns, large quantities of ammunition, and some tents, were landed at the dépôts; the Arabs, in defiance of a severe edict of the French, punishing such delinquency with death, supplied the camp with provisions; and they were joined by five hundred Turks, part of six thousand sent by the Capitan Pacha. A vigorous, though unsuccessful, skirmish took place near the village of Bedah, in which Colonel Archdall lost an arm; and the Castle of Aboukir, nearly reduced into a heap of ruins, was given up to the English, who acquired twelve fine pieces of brass artillery, and made the garrison, a hundred and ninety in number, prisoners of war.

During these transactions, General Menou, with a considerable reinforcement, set out from Cairo; and his approach to Alexandria was announced by the

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1801.

Their situation improved.

15th.

March 19th.

18th.
Take Abou-
kir Castle.

Menou's
attack.

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CXX.

1801.

20th.

21st.

failure of the market from which the English were supplied, owing to the strictness with which his orders were executed for killing the Arabs engaged in that traffic. All this severity could not, however, prevent one of those people from disclosing to the British commander the intention of the French General to surprise the camp. Although Sir Sidney Smith vouched for the truth of this intelligence and the fidelity of the reporter, it was so obviously repugnant to the interest of the republicans to make the attempt, that the assertion obtained no credit; still the discipline established by Sir Ralph Abercromby was an effectual protection to his army. The troops were, as usual, under arms half an hour before day-break, and at half-past three o'clock in the morning, firing of musketry and cannon was heard on the left, but it was obviously only a feint; and, after a short interval, was heard on the right a loud shouting, which was succeeded by a roar of musketry and a general onset. Covered by the uneven surface of the ground, the French advanced, unperceived, as far as the videttes, whom, with the returning picquets of infantry, they drove in to the main body; but a warm and well-directed discharge of musketry compelled them to retire. Fresh numbers coming up, the conflict was maintained with great obstinacy; and the twenty-eighth and fifty-eighth regiments, at one time surrounded, presented the extraordinary spectacle of troops fighting, at the same time, in their front, flanks, and rear. The forty-second advanced to their relief, when Menou, perceiving his first hopes frustrated, endeavoured to turn the fortune of the day by a desperate charge of cavalry. This order appeared strange and unmilitary, from the nature of the position, which was on ground so broken as to check the impetuosity and prevent the regular action of horse; and General Roize waited for orders given a third time, in most peremptory terms, before he would execute them. Forced at last to obey, he dashed into the British lines; his horse was entangled in the cords which fastened the tents, and for the most part

killed*, and many of the riders were obliged to seek safety on foot. To support this assault, some regiments of foot were ordered to the same spot, and, fighting with the desperate fury of men certain of being sacrificed, they for a time broke the forty-second, the individuals of which maintained severally a combat more dangerous and more glorious than their united exertions could have been. From this perilous situation they were extricated by the seasonable advance of the Minorca regiment. General Roize fell a victim to his obedience; and a standard belonging to the French regiment, proudly termed *invincible*, and inscribed with honorary testimonials of victories in Italy, fell into the hands of the English†. The greater part of the troops employed on this desperate assault were destroyed; but the triumph of the British was damped when it was known that their valiant and beloved leader had received a wound, which afterwards proved mortal. On the first alarm of the irruption on the right, Sir Ralph Abercromby, proceeding to the spot, dispatched his aid-de-camps in different directions. While he was left alone, some French cavalry reached the place, and he was thrown from his horse. One of the party rode at him, endeavouring to cut him down; but the brave veteran, seizing the uplifted sword, wrested it from his hand‡ at the very moment when a soldier of the forty-second came up and put an end to the assailant with his bayonet. The General was wounded in the thigh, and received a contusion on his breast, but refused to remove from the field till the end of the conflict.

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1801.

and defeat.

* A circumstance, as fortunate as it was unexpected, contributed also very materially to the overthrow of the French cavalry. The ground in the rear of the forty-second was full of holes, between three and four feet deep, made by the twenty-eighth regiment, previous to the landing of the camp equipage, as conveniences to sleep in. The cavalry charging over them was completely broken and routed.

† It was for some time a subject of dispute, whether Sinclair, a serjeant of the forty-second, or a private in the Minorca or Queen's German regiment, named Antoine Lutz, was entitled to the honour of having secured this trophy. It seems, from the concurrence of general testimonies, that Sinclair had first taken it, but that it was recovered by the French, and recaptured by Lutz, who received the acknowledgments and rewards due to his bravery.

‡ The weapon thus honourably acquired, and at such a critical moment, was given to Sir Sidney Smith, whose own sword was broken.

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1801.

The French made other attacks on the right, but were constantly repulsed; nor were they more fortunate on the left and in the centre. The ammunition of both parties was at one time exhausted; and so great their inveteracy, that they maintained a conflict by throwing large stones, with one of which an English serjeant was killed. Menou, at length, finding that he could no longer hope for success, ordered a retreat at ten o'clock in the morning, after a fight of nearly seven hours' duration. The loss of the French is calculated at four thousand killed, wounded, and prisoners; and this number would have been greatly augmented, but, for want of ammunition*, the English could not annoy them to the utmost in their retreat. The British army had to lament the loss of six officers and two hundred and twenty-three men killed, sixty officers and eleven hundred and ninety men wounded, and three officers and twenty-nine men missing. The French Generals, Lanusse, Roize, and Beaudot, were slain; Generals Destin, Silly, Eppler, and several other officers of distinction, wounded. In the English army, besides the brave Abercromby, Generals Moore, Hope, Oakes, and Lawson, and Sir Sidney Smith, were wounded. The day was, on the whole, eminently glorious: the number of troops present did not amount to ten thousand, including three hundred cavalry; and half this force resisted the concentrated attack of the French on the right (for the left was never engaged, except in consequence of the feint), repulsed, and defeated them. After the battle, Sir Ralph Abercromby was conveyed in a litter on board Lord Keith's ship, where, after enduring excruciating tortures for seven days, without complaint or groan, he expired, regretting only his separation from his brave companions, and exulting to the last in their conspicuous and illustrious display of bravery.

Death of
Sir Ralph
Abercromby.

28th.

Improved
situation of
the English.

Menou had hoped, by making this attack, to terminate the campaign by driving the English army into the sea, or the lake Maadie; but although his

* For this lamentable deficiency, no blame attaches to the service: it arose entirely from the want of cattle to convey it from the magazines.

failure, with the attendant circumstances, afforded great exultation to the English, they had not gained any ground; their opponents still retained their position with an army far more numerous than that of the victors. As the early fruits of conquest, however, they had the pleasure of perceiving the natives taking a warm and decided interest in their cause; their camp was again well supplied with provisions; and, in a few days after the battle, the six thousand men expected, with the Capitan Pacha, arrived.

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1801.

After the battle of Aboukir, Sir Sidney Smith, by authority from the naval and military commanders in chief, proposed to General Friant, at Alexandria, the evacuation of Egypt, and the return of the troops to France, without being considered as prisoners of war; but that their shipping, artillery, and stores, should be delivered to the English. The General expressed surprise that an offer so disrespectful to the army of the east and to himself, should be made; circumstances did not warrant it, and the army would defend the country to the last. This answer, proper and spirited in itself, was given in conformity with the false and boastful dispatches of Menou, who, assuming to himself credit for exploits he had not achieved, promised not to give up the country but with his life, and misled his government by assertions that Alexandria was so fortified as to fear nothing from a siege, and its canal always navigable*.

Proposals to
General
Friant.

At this period, Captain Beavor, of the navy, with some seamen and marines, took the caravansery which the French had established as a post commanding the entrance into lake Edko; and General Hutchinson, the successor of Abercromby, not being sufficiently strong to attack Alexandria, improved this advantage by detaching a small portion of the British force and four thousand Turks, under the command of Colonel Spencer, against Rosetta. After a painful march through the desert, the united troops, slightly

April 2nd.
Capture of
Rosetta.

April 2nd.

* Martin, tome ii. p. 162, who quotes Moniteur des 25 Frimaire, an 9, et jours suivants.

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CXX.

opposed by the French, who were eight hundred in number, took the place, blockaded fort St. Julien, and advanced with the main body to El Hamed.

1801.
13th.
Canal of
Alexandria
cut.

On the news of this unexpected success, for Rosetta might have made a long defence, General Hutchinson, apprised of the fears of the French by a letter from Menou, found in the pocket of General Roize, cut the canal of Alexandria, the pride and peculiar care of Egypt, consolidated by the lapse of ages, and let the water of the sea into lake Mariotis. This inundation strengthened the left of the British army, and enabled the General to dispatch a great portion of his forces to support Colonel Spencer, who still remained at El Hamed; the attack of the Castle of St. Julien was regularly commenced, and the garrison, consisting of two hundred and sixty men, yielded at discretion. The capitulation having been made without the privity of the Capitan Pacha, whose troops were eager to storm, a temporary coolness arose between him and the British commander. In fact, the co-operation with these auxiliaries was replete with painful circumstances; acting on their known principle of humanity and manly forbearance, the English never inflicted personal severity, or committed havoc on property, except in the prosecution of actual conflict. The Turks, on the contrary, destroyed houses and harvests, and put to death, without remorse, those who had never opposed or no longer retained the power of resisting them. The French had in no respect been more forbearing in the exercise of vengeful and destructive propensities; by them, whole villages had undergone total destruction, and life had been wantonly sacrificed with unlimited profusion; but, unmindful of such characteristics in their own conduct, their General answered the summons to surrender St. Julien, in which was included a representation of the impossibility of restraining the Turks in case of a storm, by expressing confidence in the honour of the English, accompanied with astonishment that a people so brave and honourable should join with such a barbarous rabble, who

Castle of
St. Julien
taken.
16th.

19th.

26th.

rejected discipline, disdained the principles of honourable war, and would not be subject to command*.

Leaving General Coote with an inadequate force to maintain the position before Alexandria, General Hutchinson repaired to El Hamed. El Aft, where the French were strongly entrenched, was next to be attacked : the day for advancing was fixed ; but the Capitan Pacha, from motives of jealousy, and of resentment at that honourable candour which occasioned the defeat of the grand Vizier at Heliopolis, insisted that Sir Sidney Smith should not act with the army ; General Hutchinson was obliged to comply, and the Hero of Acre retired on board his ship. So important a concession was made under most imperious circumstances ; the army of the grand Vizier had begun to move, having taken possession of Salahieh and Balbeis ; and Murad Bey, recovering from the terror occasioned by the influence of the French, was preparing to co-operate with the British forces, when his projects were impeded by the stroke of death.

Four thousand four hundred and twelve English troops and four thousand Turks advanced against El Aft, which the French, after some slight skirmishing, abandoned ; few were killed, but those who fell were beheaded by the Turks. The British General remonstrated against this act of inhumanity, and even engaged the Capitan Pacha in the cause ; but the soldiery answered by indignant exclamations of " Jaffa ! Jaffa !"

At El Aft, the British commander discovered, by a paper left through negligence, that the French army which retreated from that place did not exceed four thousand men, and that the plague was making dreadful ravages at Cairo. Availing himself of this intelligence, he moved forward toward Rahmanieh, and, after an obstinate skirmish, compelled the republicans hastily to evacuate the entrenched camp, and surrender the village, with two hundred prisoners and a considerable quantity of provisions and artillery. The victors also obtained possession of eighty djerms ; but the French, while offering to capitulate, contrary

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CXX.1801.
Conduct of
the Capitan
Pacha.May 7th.
Capture of
El Aft,9th.
and of
Rahmanieh.

* Anderson, p. 284.

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CXX.

1801.

Menou arrests
several
officers.
6th.

to good faith, had sunk all the gun-boats, overturned the artillery on the batteries into the river, destroyed the ammunition, and done all the mischief possible.

As the situation of the republicans grew more embarrassed, the remonstrances of the subordinate Generals became more warm ; and the irritation of Menou at length increased to such a degree, that he put Generals Regnier and Damas, Daure, principal Commissary of the army, and Boyer, Adjutant Commander, under arrest, and sent them on board the Lodi and the Union, two of the ships which had escaped from France, and brought succours to Egypt, to be conveyed to their own country. The former vessel, carrying Regnier, was chased, but escaped ; the latter, with the three other captives on board, was taken.

Twenty store ships and victuallers arriving at Aboukir, with a reinforcement of a thousand and fifty-six men, increased the spirits and confidence of the British army ; several detached bodies of Frenchmen sent out on different services were captured, particularly two hundred of the dromedary corps, sixty-nine artillery men, three hundred and thirty infantry, with one piece of cannon, a stand of colours, and a train of four hundred and sixty camels. So active was the hatred of the Arabs, that no small parties of Frenchmen could be detached on any service ; and since his departure from El Hamed, General Hutchinson, in different expeditions, had taken nearly a thousand men, with no greater loss than that of four killed and eighteen wounded. The distress of the French was augmented by the failure of an expedition under Rear Admiral Gantheaume ; five of his transports fell into the hands of the English, laden, not with military or naval stores, but with philosophical apparatus for the savans ; and conveying, not a reinforcement of soldiers, but a troop of comedians. To these disappointments and mortifications, the republicans had to add the defeat of eight thousand of their troops, under General Beliard, who had marched from Cairo to attack the Grand Vizier at El Hanka. The victory was not, in a military view, of great moment, as the French re-

10th.
Further
successes
of the
English.

17th.

and disap-
pointments
of the French.

16th.

treated in good order, though they left three hundred killed and wounded on the field ; but it repressed their sanguine hopes of seeing another Heliopolis, and proved to the Turks that their adversaries, although generally successful, were not invincible.

After his victory, the Grand Vizier pushed on to Heliopolis, where every recollection rendered inestimably precious the title of conqueror with which he was greeted. He was reinforced by a considerable body of English, and received a visit from General Hutchinson, whom he entertained with distinguished ceremony, and all the pomp of Turkish state. His army was increased to thirty thousand, by the junction of Arabs and every class of the inhabitants of Egypt ; but their miserable appearance, filth, and want of discipline, rendered them an unseemly and even loathsome sight. At this interview, however, the Grand Vizier certified, in writing, that unless the siege of Cairo was undertaken, he had every reason to fear that his army, which had been collected chiefly in the hope of plunder, would disband ; and General Hutchinson, yielding to his remonstrance, instructed him to make movements exactly parallel to his own. The city was capable of a good defence, but no reasonable hope could be entertained of effectual resistance ; and therefore, after a siege of twenty days, distinguished by no military operation worth recounting, a conference was opened, and Cairo surrendered. The French were to march to Rosetta with their arms, baggage, and artillery, and thence to Aboukir, to be conveyed, at the expense of the allied powers, to their own country. The total number of the garrison, including seven hundred and sixty native troops, was thirteen thousand seven hundred and fifty-four.

General Hutchinson was strengthened by the arrival of seven thousand four hundred and fifty-six men from India, under General Baird ; and General Coote, who still maintained his position before Alexandria, was reinforced by a strong detachment from England, and by the regiments of Watteville and the Chasseurs Britanniques, the residue of the brave army

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CXX.

1801.

The Turks at
Heliopolis.

23rd to 29th.

4th to 23rd
June.
Cairo taken.

Reinforce-
ments arrive.

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CXX.

1801.

of Condé, amounting to about eighteen hundred men. The Indian army experienced high satisfaction at seeing the rites of their religion publicly performed in a strange country ; but their services were not required. Nothing worthy of record had occurred, except the burning of the Iphigenie, a French frigate, in the road of Aboukir, and the refusal of Lord Keith to permit the departure of the savans and their suites for France, to prevent the protraction of the siege which would be occasioned by the saving of subsistence for fifty persons : in this he followed the example of Menou, who, for the same reason, refused to receive into the city the captive comedians sent from France.

Alexandria
besieged.

August 3rd.

7th.

16th.

21st.
Fort Marabou
taken.22nd.
Surrender of
Alexandria.

26th.

30th.

Expulsion of
the French.

The intelligence of the surrender of Cairo occasioned great regret and surprise ; General Menou was incensed against Beliard, whose duty it was, in his opinion, by resisting to the last extremity, to divide the British force, and prevent their combining to act against Alexandria. After embarking the garrison, according to the capitulation, the British troops from Cairo arrived, and General Hutchinson commenced regular operations. An attempt was made to send in M. Estève, the French paymaster-general from Cairo, as a flag of truce ; but, from excess of suspicion, Menou would not allow it. On the western side, General Coote embarked a large body of troops on the inundation, and took his position along a ridge of steep quarries ; and Hutchinson commenced a general attack to the eastward. After great preparatory labours, General Coote captured Fort Marabou, with the garrison of a hundred and ninety-five men. Animated by this success, and seven sloops of war, English and Turkish, having entered the harbour, the allies carried on their operations with great spirit and vigour, till the first parallel on the west side of Alexandria was nearly completed, when Menou, despairing of relief, instead of holding out to the last as he had promised, capitulated early, obtained a cessation of hostilities, and commenced a negotiation, which terminated in a surrender. The garrison, amounting to eleven thousand five hundred, were allowed to pre-

serve all their private property and papers, and to be embarked in ten days for France, with their arms and baggage and ten pieces of cannon. They were to receive all the honours of war, and not be considered as prisoners, but conveyed to a French port in the Mediterranean. Their ships of every kind in the harbour were delivered to the captors. The members of the Institute were allowed to carry away their instruments of art and science brought from France; but all manuscripts, statues, and other collections made for the republic, were given up as public property. Such were the principal conditions of the surrender of Alexandria: the ships of war, six in number, were divided between the English and the Turks, and all the other spoils were similarly shared, the moiety which fell to the British being subsequently subdivided between the army and navy. Several ancient sarcophagi and obelisks, the famed triple-inscribed granite stone of Rosetta, a number of statues, oriental manuscripts, and other coptic antiquities, were wrested from the plunderers and embarked for the British Museum*.

The gratitude of the nation was liberally displayed to those who had so bravely defended her interests and extended her glory. After the evacuation of Cairo, General Hutchinson had the satisfaction of announcing to his troops the approbation of their services expressed by his Majesty, and conveyed with many gracious additions by His Royal Highness the Commander-in-chief. The General added from himself sentiments well calculated to cheer, to inspire, and to instruct his brave companions in arms. At a subsequent period, thanks were voted in Parliament to Sir James Saumarez, to Lord Keith, Admirals Blanckett, Rainier, Sir Richard Bickerton, Sir John Borlase Warren, and the captains and officers in Lord Keith's

The King's
approbatio...

Nov. 12th.
and that of
Parliament.

* Life of Sir John Moore, vol. i. p. 318. Beside this work, and the other authorities already referred to for particular events, I have derived information from the narratives of Regnier and Sir Robert Wilson, the historical work of Miot, the Travels of Dénon and Dr. Wittman; the French collection, published by their government, entitled *Pièces diverses et correspondance relatives aux opérations de l'armée en Egypte*, and many other works in French and English.

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CXX.

1801.

fleet, and to their crews. A similar acknowledgment was paid to Sir John Hely Hutchinson, and the general and other officers and the troops under their command. These gracious expressions were the more acceptable from being moved and supported by individuals best qualified to appreciate merit; Earl St. Vincent, Lord Nelson, and the Duke of Clarence, and passed without dissent or hesitation. At a subsequent period, the same tribute was in like manner paid to the officers of the navy and army, including the petty and non-commissioned officers, and extending to the marines and private men, and also to the militia, yeomanry, and volunteer corps and sea fencibles.

Honours to
Sir Ralph
Abercromby.

1801.
May 18, 20.

Nor was the debt of gratitude to the brave veteran, Sir Ralph Abercromby, left unpaid. His remains had been interred at Malta, with the ceremonies due to his rank and renown. On the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the House of Commons voted that a monument to his memory should be erected in St. Paul's Cathedral. The King announced by a message, that, taking into consideration the eminent services of the deceased General, during a long life spent in the service of his country, and terminated by a glorious death, he had thought proper to confer on his widow the dignity of a Baroness of Great Britain, by the title of Lady Abercromby of Aboukir; and he required, which was unanimously granted, means for settling a net annuity of £2000 on her ladyship and the next two succeeding heirs male to the title.

Observations.

History records few examples more striking than the invasion of Egypt by the French, and their final expulsion. Having undertaken it, without the pretence of a wrong to avenge, or a right to sustain, they sent the best army they possessed, headed by their most renowned, skilful, and fortunate General, and a staff of the highest ability and talent, who had never known defeat or repulse; their self-confidence was unmeasured; fortune appeared almost to anticipate their desires; blood and desolation marked their way; and, in their overweening pride, they were undecided whether they should direct their conquering course to

Calcutta or to Constantinople. Their enterprises were checked, first by the destruction of their fleet, next by the repulse of their renowned leader from an insignificant tower by a handful of British marines; they were abandoned by their General, but left in full and apparently irresistible possession of the country; and, finally, expelled and reduced to capitulation by an army never adequately provided with the great necessities of war, comparatively inexperienced in fight, utterly unacquainted with the country, and not masters of any of its resources. By these troops, always inferior in number, they were defeated in every conflict, and at last obtained, from their generosity alone, the means of a speedy return to their own country. The moral state of the two services exhibits a remarkable contrast. The English shewed themselves always just, moderate, and merciful; the French, rapacious, violent, and sanguinary. The British Generals lived in private, and shewed themselves, in all their dispatches, affectionately attached to each other, ready to attribute praise and to avoid censure; their opponents, especially after the flight of Bonaparte and the murder of Kléber, exhibited all the vices of conduct which flow from jealousy, envy, and a mean and selfish ambition. The English always spoke of their successes with moderation and propriety; while the French, in both states of their fortune, displayed the same vaunting presumption and scurrilous abuse. Their conquerors were styled cowardly English (*laches Anglais*), and their military skill held up to scorn; but the best answer to these calumnies is the confession of their prisoners, that in all the campaigns in which they had been engaged, they had never been fought before*.

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1801.

* Life of Moore, vol. i. p. 302.

CHAP. ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-ONE.

1801—1802.

Progress for the negotiation for peace.—Preliminaries signed.—Terms.—Joy at the peace—in London—in Paris.—Opinions in England.—Slight changes in the ministry.—Parliament.—King's speech.—Sentiments on the peace.—Mr. Fox.—Mr. Pitt.—Mr. Windham.—Mr. Sheridan.—Preliminaries discussed.—Arguments against the peace.—Mr. Fox.—Situation of ministers.—Reasons in defence of the peace.—The national good faith vindicated—with respect to Turkey.—The Seven Islands.—Naples.—Sardinia.—Portugal.—The Stadholder.—Observations on the Royalists.—On the cessions.—Minorca.—Malta.—Cessions in the East and West Indies.—Pondicherry.—The Mauritius.—Ceylon.—The Cape of Good Hope.—General considerations.—House of Commons.—Recess.—Marquis Cornwallis goes to France.—His reception.—He proceeds to Amiens.—Treaties effected by France—with the Porte—with Russia—with Portugal.—Bonaparte made President of the Italian Republic.—French squadron to the West Indies.—Delays in the negotiation.—Discussions concerning Malta.—Notice of these transactions in Parliament.—Treaty concluded.—Peace proclaimed.

CHAP.
CXXI.1801.
Progress of
the negotiation
for peace.

DURING the campaign in Egypt, the negotiation for peace was making a tardy, and often interrupted, progress. Such were the topics introduced and insisted on, that a termination might have occurred at any moment without creating surprise, or excluding from

either party the possibility of complaint or of defence. For herself, individually, England had nothing to require ; she was mistress of large colonial conquests from France and her allies, and the only question was, what portion she should surrender to establish the status quo ante bellum. The French, professing always an anxious desire for peace, and sentiments of the utmost moderation, never suspended the language of abuse, or desisted from acts of spoliation. In answer to the first proposals of the British minister, containing an outline of cessions to be made, M. Otto declared that the First Consul considered them only as means to gain time ; but when the situation of Europe at that moment, the frustration of French expectations in the north, and the anxious efforts which France was making to re-establish a feeling adverse to England, and the hostile movements meditated or commenced, are duly considered, it will be obvious to which party the gain of time was of importance. When the affairs of Egypt began to assume a serious aspect, and Spain had been driven into hostilities against Portugal, M. Otto again addressed Lord Hawkesbury, regretting that two months had elapsed since the first overtures, and yet no basis was fixed. "The chances of war," he observed, "can no more influence the conditions of a maritime, than of a continental peace ; and whatever may be the fate of forces employed on the Nile, the Tagus, or in any other quarter, the pretensions and respective interests will remain unchanged, and the object of pacification will be to re-establish an equilibrium, embracing at once the possessions and the commerce of the two powers in different parts of the globe."

In a speedy answer, the British minister said, that, far from being influenced by views of ambition and aggrandisement, his Majesty would willingly abandon all the conquests made during the war, on condition that the powers of the Continent should recover the situation which they possessed in 1792. But if such an arrangement should be deemed impracticable, the French government might think him justified in re-

April 3rd.

May 31st.

June 6th.

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1801.

18th.

October 1.
Preliminaries
signed.

Terms.

taining a part of his conquests, to give security to his dominions, and serve as a counterpoise to the important acquisitions of France, and referred back to his former outline, promising due attention to any qualifying propositions.

When Bonaparte refused to ratify the treaty of Badajos, he avowed that, in the advantages gained over Portugal, he sought only the means of compensation to offer, for restitutions by England, to the allies of France; three provinces of Portugal were necessary to serve as a compensation for the colonies at a general peace; and it was left to the British cabinet to answer whether it would admit the status ante bellum for Portugal as an equivalent for the status ante bellum in the West Indies. After much correspondence on this point, terms were agreed on, preliminaries signed in London, and ratified in Paris. In this transaction, the French, having received intelligence from Egypt, which had not yet reached the English government, gained the advantage of appearing to cede that which, in fact, they did not possess.

The terms were, that his Britannic Majesty should restore to France, Spain, and Holland, all the possessions and colonies occupied or conquered during the war, except Trinidad and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. The Cape of Good Hope was to be open to the commerce and navigation of both contracting parties; Malta, with its dependencies, to be evacuated by the British troops, and restored to the order of St. John, and, to assure its independency, placed under the guaranty and protection of a third power, to be agreed on in a definitive treaty. Egypt was to be restored to the Porte, whose dominions and those of Portugal were to be preserved entire. The French were to evacuate Naples and the Roman territory; the English, Porto Ferrajo; and the Republic of the Seven Isles was acknowledged. The fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland and in the Gulph of Saint Lawrence were restored to the footing on which they were before the war; and stipulations were made for the relief of prisoners, the rights of individuals in the

ceded countries, and for restoring ships which might be captured after sufficient time had elapsed for the pacification to be generally known*.

The restoration of peace after a protracted war, attended with such vast expenditure of money and life, and with such prodigious changes in possession, power, and principles, in all parts of the world, occasioned, in those who reflected deeply, different sensations of hope and fear, of disappointment and exultation; but the general expression was of satisfaction and joy. In London, the intelligence, arriving unexpectedly, was received with extravagant demonstrations of delight. General Lauriston, an aid-de-camp of Bonaparte, bringing the ratification, was clamorously hailed; the populace took the harness from his carriage and drew him through several streets to the house of M. Otto; a general illumination was displayed on two nights. In Paris, the joy was no less general; the people were first apprised of the occurrence of some great event by the firing of cannon; for exact information they repaired to the theatres, where a formal announcement was made at each house, by order of government, and the intelligence was promulgated by torch-light in all parts of the metropolis, commissioners of the police appearing on horseback, escorted by troops of cavalry and foot, with drums and trumpets. The fronts of the theatres and all public buildings were illuminated. The conservative senate, the tribunate, the legislative body, and even the judges of several courts, attended with laudatory addresses to Bonaparte, whose name resounded predominant amid the acclamations of the people. Amiens was fixed on as the place where plenipotentiaries were to meet and form a definitive treaty†.

When the first demonstrations of joy had been exhausted, the public in England entertained various opinions on the peace. A few went to the whole ex-

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Joy at the
peace.

In London.

In Paris.

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Opinions in

England.

* The account of this negotiation is derived from the official papers published by the French government; *Memoirs of the Earl of Liverpool*, p. 147, et seqq.; *Annual Register*, vol. xlivi; and the Treaty from the *selections of State Papers*.

† *Annual Register. Moniteur. Peltier, Paris pendant 1801.*

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tent of that declared by Mr. Fox in a crowded room at a public dinner, and rejoiced that it was glorious to France, and glorious to the Chief Consul. Ought it not to be so? Ought not glory to be the reward of such a glorious struggle? France had set an example that would be highly useful to all the nations of the earth; and, above all, to Great Britain. The object of the war had not been gained, and he liked the peace so much the better*. Others disapproved the treaty altogether, as neither just, necessary, nor honourable; some averred that the peace was necessary, but devoid of the other two qualities; while the friends of ministers maintained that it was distinguished for all the three.

Slight changes
in the
ministry.

All these opinions came fully under discussion in Parliament. During the recess, the Marquis Cornwallis resigned the post of Master of the Ordnance, which was conferred on Lord Chatham; the Presidency of the Council, thus become vacant, was accepted by the Duke of Portland, and, in his place, Lord Pelham was appointed Secretary of State for the home department.

October 29.
Parliament.
King's speech.

In his speech from the throne, the points which occasioned the greatest debates were the convention with the northern powers, and the preliminaries of peace with France, the papers relating to which were promised. His Majesty also acknowledged his debt of gratitude to Divine Providence for an abundant harvest, and the temper and fortitude with which their complicated difficulties had been borne by all classes of his subjects; and he mentioned, with patriotic warmth, the meritorious services of his forces by sea and land, the unprecedented exertions of the militia and fencibles, and the glorious issue of the expedition to Egypt.

Sentiments on
the peace.
Mr. Fox.

Addresses were unanimously voted in both Houses, although the banners of future hostility were sufficiently displayed. Mr. Fox, wishing that the grounds on which he should give his vote might be distinctly

understood, congratulated the House on the announcement of a preliminary treaty, which called forth such general sentiments of applause, whatever differences of opinion might exist relative to its terms, its general tenor, or the manner in which it had been concluded. Mr. Pitt hoped he should be found to agree with Mr. Fox, although their approbation would proceed perhaps from different causes. Of the peace, he said that, to whatever criticisms the inferior parts of this great transaction might be liable, it would, on the whole, be found justly to afford matter of joy to the country, and entitle the government to esteem and thanks. Mr. Windham acknowledged that to dissent from any prevalent opinion, to be a solitary mourner in the midst of general rejoicing, to wear the face of sadness, while the countenances of others were glistening with joy, to be sunk in dejection and despondency, while they were animated with brilliant hopes, was to be in a state which every one must be anxious to explain. Those who were united in feeling might be perfectly opposite in sentiment. Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, for example, agreed in exulting and rejoicing in the peace, though for reasons, he should presume, widely different. He thought with Mr. Fox that this was a glorious peace for France, but did not participate in his feelings on the occasion, or agree with him or Mr. Pitt. He did not join in the general rejoicing, because he feared that many years would not elapse before it would be turned into repentance and bitter sorrow; the advantages would be found transient and insubstantial, and soon followed by the commencement of endless calamity and ruin. He could not consent to put on a wedding garment until he knew whether the feast to which he was invited was nuptial or funereal; but with the solemnity of a death-bed declaration he pronounced his belief, that, in a moment of rashness and weakness, his honourable friends, the ministers, by fatally putting their hands to this treaty, had signed the death warrant of their country. Finally, he observed, that in the debate the epithet honourable had been applied to the peace; but,

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Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Windham.

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Mr. Sheridan.

in his opinion too little could not be said about its honour. Mr. Sheridan differed with Mr. Pitt in every expression by which he designated the peace as glorious and honourable, and still more from those who maintained that it was inexpedient to make it at all. It was a peace of which every man ought to be glad, but no man could be proud. It involved a degradation of the national dignity, which no truly English heart could feel with indifference. The war was one of the worst in which this country was ever engaged ; and the peace was perhaps as good as any man could make under the circumstances.

Novr. 3, 4.
Preliminaries
discussed.

To these censures, Mr. Addington opposed only the observation that they were premature, as the treaty was not yet before the House ; but the day soon arrived when the discussion was properly commenced and vigorously pursued. The preliminary treaty having been presented, a motion was made in both Houses for an address, assuring his Majesty that they contemplated with great satisfaction the prospect of a definitive treaty, founded on conditions which, whilst they manifested his wisdom, moderation, and good faith, would be productive of consequences highly advantageous to the substantial interests of the empire.

Arguments
against the
peace.

In a long and animated debate, three different parties appeared. The one disapproving the peace altogether, describing it as the death warrant of the country ; our cessions immense, with nothing in return ; and the peace, thus ingloriously sought and extravagantly purchased, insecure, brittle, and fallacious. It was a mere armed truce, entered upon without necessity, negotiated without wisdom, and concluded without honour ; productive of no advantage, but pregnant with ruin. Among the most conspicuous of this party were the Marquis of Buckingham, Earls Spencer, Fitzwilliam, Carnarvon, and Temple ; the Bishop of Rochester, Mr. Thomas Grenville, and Dr. Laurence ; and most particularly Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, whose elaborate and well-composed speeches were issued to the public in a separate form, and were the subject of much eulogy and much ad-

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verse criticism. With whatever language we might amuse ourselves, it was said we were in fact a conquered people, and Bonaparte as much our master as he was of Spain or Prussia, or any other of those countries, which, although permitted to call themselves independent, were as much in his power as if the word department were written on their foreheads. If France could ruin us by continuing the war, or if our position would in substance remain the same, or rather be rendered infinitely worse by peace on the terms proposed, we should henceforth live by her sufferance. It was said to be the interest of France to maintain the peace; but who had learned to calculate the interest of an usurper? If ever peace was precarious, or if ever precarious peace was dangerous, it was this, when French principles were triumphant, and adorned with all the attraction and dignity of success. A notion was entertained that, from some cause or other, from some combination of passions and events, such as no philosophy could explain, and no history probably furnish an example of, Bonaparte, like another Pyrrhus, or rather like that adviser of Pyrrhus, whose advice was not taken, instead of proceeding to the conquest of new worlds, would be willing to sit down contented in the enjoyment of those which he had already acquired. Was this in the general nature of ambition? Was it in the nature of French ambition? Was it in the nature of French revolutionary ambition? If we examined the French revolution, and traced it correctly to its causes, we should find that, from the beginning, universal empire was looked to as the real consummation of its labours; the primum mobile that originally set it in motion, and had since guided and governed all its movements. The authors of the revolution wished for a double empire; of opinion and of political power; and they used the one as a means of effecting the other. What reason had we to suppose that they had renounced those designs, just when they seemed to touch the moment of their highest and fullest accomplishment? The moment when there remained but one country between

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France and the dominion of the world, was that in which we had chosen to suppose that all opposition might be withdrawn, and that the ambition of France would voluntarily stop.

Some weakly relied on a supposition that Bonaparte, now a king himself, and a king he was so far as power could make one, would no longer be an encourager of those absurd and mischievous doctrines, which, however they might have helped him to the throne, would now be as little pleasing to him as to any, the most legitimate, sovereign. Bonaparte, like other demagogues and friends of the people, having deluded and gulled them sufficiently to make them answer his purpose, would be ready enough to teach them a different lesson, and to forbid the use of that language toward himself, which he had before instructed them in, as perfectly proper toward others. The character of the First Consul had been hitherto marked by most disgraceful frauds, as much as by every other species of guilt. In what instance had he so far shown a disposition which should lead us to rely on his abstaining from fresh hostilities as soon as he felt it his interest to recommence them? had he never betrayed a rooted jealousy toward this country, an implacable revenge, and a deep-lodged hatred? Was his milk of human kindness so superabundant as to wash from his remembrance all his past animosity toward us? By this treaty we had conceded every thing that would aid the French republic to recover its commerce and restore its marine. We had given to the First Consul "a giant's strength," and we might be assured that he would "use it like a giant."

From the joy displayed on the arrival of the preliminaries, auguries fatal to the liberty and greatness of the country were deduced. Much was to be apprehended from the exultation with which the tidings were received by the disaffected: their hopes appeared to revive; and a party of degenerate Englishmen was to be found mean enough to drag the coach of General Lauriston through the streets, with cries of "Long live Bonaparte." Thus it was not for Britain, but for

France, that in every quarter of the globe our brave sailors and soldiers had bled and conquered. The treaty had already revived the spirit of jacobinism ; its unequivocal symptoms were shown, not only in the tumultuous joy of the rabble, but the sentiments publicly avowed by persons moving in a much higher sphere ; who had dared to say that “ the terms of this peace were not “ bad enough for Great Britain ; not good enough for “ France ; that the interests of mankind demanded “ that France should be exalted and Great Britain “ humbled.” And, in allusion to the same public declarations, Earl Temple said, “ He who should de-“ clare his pleasure at the peace, ‘ because it was “ ‘ glorious to the enemy,’ was not the connexion he “ would court ; it was a sentiment which could not “ dignify the patriot or the Englishman ; he should “ shrink from it with abhorrence ; the man who em-“ ployed it should be carefully avoided, and his prin-“ ciples guarded against.”

Mr. Fox, to whom these allusions obviously applied, rather mitigated than denied the expressions which gave rise to them, by saying that many persons thought and lamented that the peace was glorious to France. If it were so, without being inglorious to England, that would give him no concern. On that point, the feelings and opinions of men must depend, in a great measure, on their conceptions of the causes of the war. If one of its objects was the restoration of the ancient despotism, than which the history of the world did not produce one more accursed, then it was to him an additional recommendation of the peace, that it had been obtained without the accomplishment of such an object ; if the coalition for the restoration of the Bourbons had succeeded, the consequences would have been, amongst all the kings of Europe, a perpetual guarantee against all people who might be oppressed by any of them in any part of the world.

Mr. Fox was the head of a small party who applauded the peace merely because they disapproved of the war, who triumphed in the accomplishment of all their predictions of evil and disgrace to the country,

Mr. Fox.

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and in the failure of the objects hoped for by the ministers whom they had always opposed. In the House of Commons none were found to sustain these opinions; Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Grey, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Fox's usual adherents, took no share in the debate; and in the House of Lords, the Duke of Bedford and Earl Moira alone adopted his conclusions.

Ministers were commended for taking a moderate line, and refraining from topics which might have diminished the satisfaction which must be felt in assenting to the motion. Even had the word "honourable" been introduced into the vote, there would have been no objection to it. The epithets, safe and honourable, were convertible. Among individuals, and much more among nations, honour was the most essential means of safety. But to this peace the term glorious could not be applied. A glorious peace could only ensue from a glorious war, and this peace was certainly inadequate to the expectations which the late ministry had so confidently held out, of indemnity for the past and security for the future. The Duke of Bedford reminded Lord Grenville that it was owing to the ill conduct of the war, that an inadequate peace was now made.

Situation of
ministers.

By these demonstrations of sentiment, ministers were placed in a situation singularly critical and unpleasant. In the unmitigated censure uttered by those with whom they had so long acted in perfect accordance and amity, they could not but foresee an opposition, formidable for talent, acquaintance with public business, and of the highest personal character, while the contumelious and reproachful support of their old political adversaries, who still directed their most severe animadversions against measures in which they had always concurred, did not permit them to expect, even if it were desired, any regular support.

Reasons in
defence of
the peace.

Several members of the cabinet delivered their opinions, and received the aid of persons eminently distinguished for rank and ability; the Duke of Clarence, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Hobart, and Lord Nelson; Mr. Pitt, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Baker, and

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many others. The often-repeated assertions and contradictions respecting the causes and origin of the war were renewed; and the great object obtained was stated to be, that we had preserved our constitution, and laid the foundation for an increased commercial prosperity. The peace was rightly to be judged by considering it in its time, its tone, and its terms*. Could a new coalition be formed against France, or could we by any effort affect her general power? After nine years' effusion of blood, and two of famine, after contracting an increase of debt to the amount of nearly two hundred millions; after the indefatigable and uninterrupted exertions of the country, but at the same time after a series of the most splendid achievements and unexampled successes, every man in the kingdom must admit that peace was a most desirable attainment, the object of his sincerest wishes and most ardent desires. The duty of negotiation commenced when all hopes of continental aid in checking the power of France were at an end. What harm could France now do to us, or we to France? Where was it possible, even with our immense superiority by sea, to strike a fatal blow? Still ministers disclaimed the supposed plea of an over-ruling necessity; they had maintained toward our allies that strict good faith for which we had always been distinguished. For the Porte we had done more than we were bound: we had compelled the French to evacuate Egypt, and had stipulated for the integrity of her dominions. Nor was the diplomatic trick overlooked by which France had gained an advantage, in seeming to surrender that which already had been wrested from her.

The national
good faith
vindicated.

With respect
to Turkey.

The establishment of the republic of the Seven Islands was beneficial, as it obviated the probability of their belonging to France. Compelled by an overruling necessity, Naples had even desired to be released from her engagements to us; and we had acted on large and liberal grounds in endeavouring to repair the fortunes of an ally who had given way only to force. To Sardinia, the same observations were appli-

The Seven
Islands.

Naples.

Sardinia.

* The expression of Lord Hawkesbury.

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Portugal.

cable ; nor could we have interfered for her, unless it were established as a principle that we should redress the wrongs of the whole Continent ; nor would any efforts in favour of the King have been availing, surrounded as he still remained, by the French and the dependent and affiliated republics. Every one must lament the misfortunes of Portugal ; the cession of Olivenza was not of any great importance ; but much had been said about the territory which France had obtained from her in South America ; and ministers were reproached with having affected to guarantee the integrity of Portugal only after France and Spain had taken all they coveted. This was not correct. When the treaty of Badajos had been rejected by France, and another extorted, comprising more important cessions, we then interfered, cancelled the second treaty, and brought them back to the stipulations in the first. To us, then, Portugal owed this difference in the limits of her South American empire ; and to her we had acted not only with good faith, but with dignified liberality.

In our cause, it was said, the Prince of Orange had made great sacrifices : in the negotiation at Lisle, a stipulation had been proposed for restoring him to his estates, or for a pecuniary compensation ; but at this time no such provision was made. Fully admitting his claims on this country, derived from ancient ties recorded in history, and from his connexion with our sovereign, we could not but take a lively interest in the Prince's fate. Still, if no mention was made of him in the treaty, it had been proved, by the failure of unparalleled efforts, that we had no power to reinstate him by force of arms ; but his private interests were the subject of negotiation, and we were told that as to them he would receive an indemnity ; but, even if we were to take that upon ourselves, it ought not to obstruct a great national arrangement. With his usual manly spirit and liberal feeling, Mr. Windham made a strong appeal to the House on the subject of the royalists ; but their situation or concerns could not be taken up in the discussion.

The overgrown power of France, and the extension

The stadt-holder.

Observations
on the
royalists,

and confirmation of it by the cessions made in the present treaty, occasioned much more observation. No difference of opinion was expressed as to her alarming ascendancy in all parts; but the value of her acquisitions was denied, and the state of British possessions powerfully contrasted. Minorca was considered of no value: in every war we had conquered, and in every treaty of peace restored it; thus we should save the fruitless expense which would attend the retention of a post which, were hostilities renewed and we possessed the greatest maritime strength, we could easily regain. Even in time of war, Lord Nelson observed, it was of little value, being at too great a distance to serve as a station to watch the fleets of France sailing from Toulon.

Mr. Pitt, while he defended the treaty in general, Malta. expressed regret that circumstances prevented us from retaining Malta, a place so important in many points of view, and lamented also that it was not possible to have made a more definite arrangement respecting its future fate; but, unless we had been prepared to say that we would keep it ourselves, he was not aware of any better plan than to make it independent both of England and France. Lord Hawkesbury also observed, that, although from its situation and almost impregnable state, it was certainly of great political value; it was no source of opulence, nor of any importance even in the Levant trade, which, in its utmost extent, was utterly inconsiderable.

Several members expressed surprise that Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, who, as parties, had obtained the approbation of Parliament to the terms offered in the negotiation at Lisle, could, with any consistency, dissent from the present treaty. In its general form, this was a mere *argumentum ad hominem*; but, practically, it extended to the cessions made in all parts of the world, and more particularly to those in the West and East Indies. It was admitted that the giving up of those possessions entered into the project of 1797, and was sanctioned by the addresses

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of Parliament ; but, although those islands were in name the same, in value to the French they were very different. Their own boast was that they received back St. Lucie, Martinique, and Tobago, improved and enriched by the culture, the industry, and with the capital of the British subjects ; consequently, then, their value must be infinitely greater than it was in 1797. On the other hand, it was said that no cession we had made could justly be a subject of regret. Trinidad was an important station, affording a secure retreat for our navy, very productive and healthy, and preferable to every other possession in that quarter. It would also enable us, in future wars, to effect operations against the possessions of Spain in South America. Mr. Wilberforce objected to its retention altogether, as the quantity of land to be settled and cleared would require a million of slaves, and thus we should become instrumental in promoting and largely extending that trade.

Pondicherry. In the East Indies, it was said that we had given to France the key of re-admission to their Asiatic possessions, by restoring Pondicherry, which, in a few years, would render the boasted conquest of the Mysore useless, if not detrimental, to us ; an advantage, not to ourselves, but to the French. Ministers alleged, on the contrary, that, by conquering the Mysore, we had entirely destroyed the principal friend of France. The possessions in which she was to be reinstated were not calculated for the purposes of aggression ; and if she were to become formidable in naval power, the island of Mauritius would, under every consideration, afford a more dangerous point for the attack of our empire in the east. Ceylon could not be too highly appreciated. It contained ports sufficiently capacious and secure to receive the whole navy and commerce of Great Britain ; its native productions were of immense value, and our whole Indian army might, if necessary, retire to it and defy the united force of the world.

**The
Mauritius.****Ceylon.**

We should have been fully justified, it was said, in

retaining Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, and Cochin, for the more effectual defence of our eastern empire. In the Cape we had surrendered a port which might become a great annoyance to our trade ; a military station of vast importance in the event of a sudden war not preceded by a proclamation. Though Ceylon was a valuable settlement, Cochin, on the western side of the Peninsula, was one of the strongest military frontiers in that part of the world. In war, a fleet might sail from the Cape and reach Cochin, unexpected by any person in India or in England. The Cape and Cochin were insisted on by Lord Malmesbury, at Lisle, as points from which we would not recede, and were now surrendered, through the want of vigour, spirit, and prudence, which marked our negotiations. Mr. Pitt, too, regretted the giving up of the Cape, his opinion of its value having been at first too low, but now altered by information from Marquis Cornwallis and Mr. Dundas. Mr. Fox did not join in this regret, as from the present arrangement we should derive all the benefits, without the expense of possession. All parties agreed that if the refusal to surrender it would have occasioned one year's or even one month's continuance of hostilities, the dominion would have been bought at too high a price, especially as it was now to be made a free port. Lord Nelson most judiciously observed, that when the Indiamen were heavy ships, it might have been found useful for them to touch there and refit ; but now, being coppered, like men of war, and swift sailors, they frequently reached India without stopping at any port. From personal observation, he considered it merely a tavern on the passage, which often delayed the voyage. " While the Dutch held it," he added, " you could " buy a cabbage for twopence ; but since it had been " ours, a shilling was the price." It produced little that made it worth holding ; the expense of maintaining it was enormous.

Beside the particular terms of the treaty, general considerations were ably and copiously insisted on. For some time past, Mr. Pitt said, all rational, all

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Good Hope.

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thinking men, had agreed, that whatever their wishes, whatever their hopes at different periods of the war might have been, yet, after the conclusion of peace between France and the Continental powers; after the dissolution of the confederacy of the states of Europe, it became merely a question of terms to be obtained for ourselves, and for those allies who remained faithful to us and to their own interests. But it was said that if a definitive treaty were completed, we should be in a state of war with France in twelve months. Could a peace be good if its duration was so short? It would oblige us to dismantle our navy and disband our army and volunteers. Deprived of all military points and stations, what, with all possible exertions of economy, would be our state, if, in the course of twelve months, France should take us unprepared, and direct her whole power against us? It was admitted by the defenders of the peace that, however eligible and justifiable on principles of sound policy, it was, like every arrangement of man, subject to the evils of chance, risk, and danger; but it was equally the interest of France and of this country to preserve a system of pacification. Whether we formed treaties with the Bonapartes or with the Bourbons, fidelity to them was a mere chimera, as it had influence only as long as the contracting parties considered it to be beneficial to their interests. From a most tremendous contest, we had emerged with honour and advantage. The situation of Europe and that of Great Britain might still appear critical; yet a sound system of policy, founded on a mixture of firmness and moderation, would afford a counterpoise to every danger, and a remedy for every evil.

Addresses
voted.

After two days' debate, the address was voted in the House of Commons without a division; in the Lords, ten peers were numbered against one hundred and fourteen.

At the same time with the preliminary treaty, the convention with Russia was presented, and in each House a motion for an address was made on the same day. Lord Grenville, without opposing the address,

Octr. 30th.
Novr. 13th.
Debates on
the Russian
treaty.

pointed out, in a long and learned speech, the rights which had been contended for, and what he considered the imperfect recognition of them. The Lord Chancellor, on the contrary, maintained that the rights in question were now completely admitted ; and what stamped an inestimable value on the treaty was, that even a violation of it by us could not be resisted by violence on the part of the neutrals, but must be peaceably settled before competent tribunals. Lord Mulgrave agreed in some respects with Lord Grenville ; but Lord Holland strongly objected to the manner and the moment in which the rights claimed by this country had been insisted on. The late ministers had idly wasted the blood and treasure of the country, merely to maintain a speculative point. At the same time, he declared that the learned Lord on the wool-sack had not satisfied him that those rights had been effectually secured. Several other peers spoke ; but no amendment was moved, nor did any division take place.

In the House of Commons the proceedings were nearly similar, except that no member entered into the question so profoundly as Lord Grenville. Mr. Grey, without opposing the address, criticised some articles in the convention, although, on the whole, he rejoiced at it, from a conviction that, without it, we should not have had peace with the French republic. Earl Temple expressed approbation of the stipulation which took away the right of search from privateers ; he was glad to see that species of warfare, in any degree, discouraged. Some remarks were made on the imperfect information to be gained by the examination of papers, which, although false and feigned, might appear perfectly fair and regular. The character of a blockaded port, as given in the convention, must render all attempts at blockade abortive. If our squadrons were driven off a coast by a squall, though still within sight of it, neutral vessels would be at liberty to enter. Lord Hawkesbury vindicated the treaty from some exaggerated and some unfounded objections ; and Mr. Erskine most properly observed,

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Recess.

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Marquis
Cornwallis
goes to France.

Novr. 2nd.

that its merit was not to be lowered by calling it a judicious compromise. During the American war, it was well observed by Mr. Burke, that almost every human benefit was founded on compromise and barter: “we give,” he said, “and take, choosing rather to be ‘prudent statesmen than subtle disputants.’” If we had endeavoured to insist on harsh terms with the adverse powers, they would have renewed the contest on the first opportunity; but, by our wise moderation, the difference had been finally settled.

No other business of importance was transacted before the Christmas recess.

In this period, the Marquis Cornwallis had proceeded to France to negotiate a definitive treaty. He was represented in the House of Commons as having gone, bound hand and foot*; but, in fact, nothing was withheld which could inform his judgment, or contribute to his personal dignity; nor was he restrained by any conditions or limits on his conduct, except those contained in the preliminaries to which it was his office to give effect. For his instruction on some material points, and to prevent his being surprised or deceived by unexpected claims or unfounded assertions, a series of papers was selected from the Correspondence of 1782, respecting the rights of his Majesty’s subjects in the East and West Indies, the Bay of Honduras, the Mosquito shore, the logwood trade, the Newfoundland fishery, the commerce of Africa, the manner of considering the rights of proprietors in the restored colonies of St. Pierre, Miquelon, and Tobago, and several other material points, which at that period had been most amply discussed†. This selection was of great use, especially as the papers had been frequently referred to by M. Otto during the negotiation of the preliminary treaty. The noble Marquis sailed for Calais in a storm sufficient to afford to those who trusted in omens grounds for unpleasant presages‡. Travelling with circumstances of state,

* Parliamentary History, vol. xxxiv. p. 144.

† From a memorandum in the State Paper Office.

‡ To this omen, superstition added another; that the noble Marquis sailed on All Soul’s day; le jour des morts.

suiting to the dignity of the crown he represented, he was received in a manner befitting his rank and mission, escorted to Paris, where he had an audience of the First Consul, and witnessed a gorgeous fête, with processions, speeches, an air balloon, and a proclamation under the direction of government, and a general illumination in honour of the peace, and then went to Amiens, where he was met by Joseph Bonaparte, and they were afterward joined by Don Joseph Nicholas de Azara and Roger John Schimmelpennink, as ministers respectively for Spain and the Batavian republic.

It was expected that no protracted negotiation would be requisite; but Bonaparte was carrying into effect projects of aggrandizement, which, in a period of pretended peace, would give him greater advantages than could have been acquired by a successful campaign. Before, or immediately after, the signature of the preliminary articles, France had effected several most important arrangements. The Ottoman Porte was the ancient ally of that country. The unparalleled treachery shewn in the invasion of Egypt, and the important services conferred by Great Britain, occasioned feelings of gratitude, which were strongly expressed and manifested in the oriental mode, by pompous acknowledgments and costly and elegant presents to naval and military commanders, and to the King; but these sentiments, however well merited and sincerely felt, could not be maintained in opposition to the habitual consideration of France as the ally and supporter of the Turkish empire; and circumstances occurred to shew that the restoration of the old connexion was inevitable. On the evacuation of Egypt, the re-establishment of the Mamelouk government had been solemnly stipulated; but, on the first opportunity, the leaders of these persevering opponents of the French were inveigled by the Turkish commanders to a supposed amicable meeting, some of them treacherously and cruelly murdered, and others taken prisoners to be sent to Constantinople. As these persons were under the immediate protection of Great Britain, General Hutchinson issued orders which

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His reception.
3rd.
9th.29th
He proceeds
to Amiens.Treaties
effected by
France.With the
Porte.

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Octr. 9th.8th.
With Russia.With
Portugal.

Sept. 29th.

Bonaparte
made Presi-

obliged the Capitan Pacha to apologize for his atrocious conduct, to bury the slain with military honours, and to liberate the captives. Without much difficulty, although by the aid of some finesse, the French, promising the evacuation of Egypt and the acknowledgment of the Seven Isles, after both had been obtained by England, gained the assent of the Turkish government to a stipulation, renewing, on their former footing, the treaties which existed between the two countries before the war, with the same rights of commerce and navigation which were allowed to the most favoured nations. Although the evident aim of this compact was to deprive England of any benefit she might expect in consequence of her great exertions and expenses, she was not so much as named on the occasion. At the same time, Russia formally, although there existed for it no visible reason, executed a treaty with France, whereby the two countries, which could hardly be considered at war, declared themselves at peace, and engaged at some future period to form a commercial arrangement*. Not content with the great cessions made by Portugal as the condition of peace, the French completed their ascendancy in that country by a treaty which bound her to open her ports to the ships of the Republic, both of war and trade, while they were to be closed against those of England ; no succours in men, ammunition, provisions, or money, were to be afforded to the enemies of France. As the preliminaries with Great Britain were signed within two days, this compact can be viewed only as an insulting display of ascendancy, and the power of cancelling long-continued alliances, and obliterating long-contracted obligations ; but a more important arrangement was effected in the advantageous settlement of the limits of French and Portuguese dominion in Guiana, and in the admission of French woollen manufactures on the same footing with the most favoured nations.

The dominion of Italy was formally and effectually ceded to France, the controlling influence before

* Annual Register, vol. xlili pp. *388, *389.

exercised being exchanged for an authentic recognition of the sovereignty of the First Consul. In pursuance of arrangements artfully planned in Paris, the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, declining to settle definitively their forms of government within their own states, referred them to a foreign, all-commanding power. The Cisalpine legislature decreed that an extraordinary consulta should be held at Lyons, to fix the basis of their organic laws, and afford to the First Consul the necessary information for the formation of a new constitution. Talleyrand first appeared to give the required impulse to the proceedings of this assembly, and was soon followed by Bonaparte. Without detailing the celerity with which the journey was accomplished, the forms of prostration and bombastic compliments which were lavished on the First Consul, and his wife who accompanied him, or detailing the acts of abject humiliation performed by the deputies to the consulta, it may suffice to say, that the Cisalpine, now to be denominated the Italian Republic, adopting a form of constitution, similar in many respects to that of France, nominated Bonaparte their President, and treated his acceptance of the proffered sovereignty as an honour and a benefit conferred on them. Against this proceeding, England had by herself no right even to remonstrate, especially as the other great powers in Europe, who might be supposed to be more manifestly and immediately interested, shewed an entire acquiescence, and Austria and Prussia declared their readiness to acknowledge and receive ambassadors from the new Republic*.

While these transactions were in progress, a powerful armament was prepared in the ports of Brest, Rochefort, and l'Orient, consisting of twenty-two ships of the line, mostly French, but some Spanish, with seventeen frigates and eight corvettes, carrying twenty-five thousand troops. The French ships were commanded by Admirals Villaret Joyeuse, and Latouche Treville; the Spanish by Admiral Gravina; and the

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dent of the
Italian Re-
public.

Novr. 13th.

1802.
Jan. 29th.French sqa-
drone to the
West Indies.

* Histories in general; and for the Constitution of the Italian Republic, see Annual Register, vol. xliv. p. *319.

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1802.

Decr. 4th.
Delays in the
negotiation.

land forces by General Le Clerc, who had recently married Bonaparte's beautiful sister Pauline. Such an armament could not be viewed without apprehension; but doubts were removed by assurances that it was intended only for the purpose of preserving and recovering from anarchy the French islands of Saint Domingo and Guadaloupe, where the people of colour had surmounted every other authority; and Martinico, where similar events were threatened*.

Still the proceedings at Amiens were tardy and discouraging. The French, as was usual with them when all they required was not unhesitatingly conceded, cast on the ambassador from the adverse country the imputation of delay, while, in fact, the numerous intrigues in which France was occupied alone impeded progress. Were more proof on this point necessary, it was afforded by Bonaparte himself, when he described the Marquis Cornwallis as a man distinguished by integrity, fidelity, frankness, and noble sentiments; not, as Bonaparte was pleased to observe, of first-rate abilities, but who had talent, great probity, and sincerity, and who never broke his word†. From the clear and explicit nature of the preliminaries, little discussion could be expected relative to the main points, cession of conquests, and re-establishment of authorities. Joseph Bonaparte advanced some proposals and pretensions, which were not complied with or assented to, respecting an exchange of the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon for a portion of Newfoundland, an establishment for fishery in Falkland's Islands, and the neutrality of fishers in time of war; these, it was observed, had been proposed before the preliminaries were signed, and, being then rejected, could not now be revived. It was also attempted to abolish the right of receiving a salute at sea; but Lord Cornwallis objected that the demand was ancient, and had no connexion with the present war. Some other points, particularly the French possessions in India, were introduced; they

• Memoirs of Lord Liverpool, p. 172.

† O'Meara, vol. i. p. 496.

were settled without much difficulty ; but the main controversy related to Malta.

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CXXI.1802.
Discussions
concerning
Malta.

From the manner in which possession of this island had been at first obtained, and the importance attached to it, there was every reason to believe that, whatever arrangements might be made, the removal of the English would be speedily followed by the return of the French, and that their imperious influence in foreign courts would afford them certain means of speedily effecting their designs. “ From the begin-
“ ning,” says the French writer who arranged and published the official papers relative to the two treaties, “ it was evident that the article relative to Malta
“ was that which would present the greatest difficulties
“ in the treaty to be concluded, although it appeared
“ that nothing was necessary in the definitive treaty
“ but to name the power to whom the guarantee of
“ the island should be entrusted*.”

Every expedient was essayed by the French negotiator to obtain the introduction of a guarantee which should either, in the first instance, be in submission to France from close alliance, flexible through weakness, or indifferent through remoteness ; and, in these views, Spain, Naples, and Russia were alternately proposed and rejected. Finally, it was settled that Malta, Gozo, and Comino, should be restored to the order, to be held in the same condition as before the war, subject to several stipulations. The knights, whose langues should continue to subsist after the exchange of the ratifications, were to assemble in a grand chapter in Malta, and elect a grand master ; there was to be no English nor French, but there was to be a Maltese langue ; for the constitution and maintenance of which provision was made ; and the municipal, revenue, civil, judicial, and other offices under government, were to be filled in the proportion of at least one half by natives. The British forces were to evacuate the island and its dependencies within three months after the ratification of the definitive treaty, or sooner if possible, and it was to be delivered up to the order, pro-

* Official Papers, Part 2, p. 1.

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vided that the Grand Master, or commissioners duly authorised, were there to receive possession ; and a force of two thousand natives of the Neapolitan dominions, and furnished by his Sicilian Majesty, were there to serve in a garrison, which was at all times to be composed of one half native Maltese, the other to be from those countries which did not possess langues. The independence of the Isles was placed under the protection and guarantee of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia, who were invited to accede to the arrangement. The perpetual neutrality of the order and of the islands was declared ; the ports to be open to the commerce and navigation of all nations, except the Barbary states, paying equally a moderate duty.

Notice of
these trans-
actions in
Parliament.

March 3rd.

While the conclusion of the definitive treaty was delayed by these events and discussions, Parliament had re-assembled. Some persons apprehended that the negotiation would ultimately fail ; and in this view, as well as on general considerations, when the army estimates were produced, many observations were made. In the censures pronounced on ministers, Mr. Elliott, Mr. Windham, and Dr. Laurence, took the most conspicuous part. In the debate on the preliminaries, it was said, Lord Hawkesbury had stated three points for consideration, the time, the tone, and the terms. The time and the terms were no longer to be discussed ; but as the spirit, at all times, is above the letter, particularly in political transactions, the temper of the enemy became a question of the greatest importance. If he unexpectedly assumes new power, and acquires new dominion beyond all reason and probability, it must be evident that no confidence can be placed in his professions. If ministers would raise their heads from their dispatches, and read the great dispatch of the enemy, plain and legible as it was in every part of the globe, they would see undoubted proofs of his rooted determination to turn all events to his advantage against the interests of this country. The preliminaries had been approved by some, from a hope that the government of France would in future

act with moderation, and endeavour to consolidate the power which they had acquired ; that although the Cisalpine Republic was in a considerable degree under the influence of France, she might by degrees acquire a sort of independence, and form a barrier between that country and Italy. Subsequent events had completely undeceived them, and displayed the furious lust of power by which the republic was actuated. The same person being First Consul of France and President of the Cisalpine Republic, could, at any time, by means of the treaty, offensive and defensive, between them, involve France in a new war with us, in which she could appear either as a principal or an ally. The newly-assumed name of " Italian," too, was a circumstance not unworthy of notice. It obviously glanced down upon Italy to the very foot. This suspicion was confirmed by a late proclamation of the Italian Republic, reminding its citizens of the glory of their ancestors, addressing them as if they were beginning a new career, and directing their views to new objects of ambition. The acquisition by France of Elba, of valuable possessions in America, and other aggrandisements, by treaties, the existence or negotiation of which were kept secret at the time of making our preliminaries, were specimens of fraud, sufficient to invalidate any agreement we might have made. A powerful armament was sent to the West Indies ; it was difficult to guess what navy the French thought they could have to contend against, unless it was one of this country. If a military force was requisite, was there a necessity for such a formidable fleet ? No force possessed by Toussaint could warrant it ; but, if hostilities were renewed, it might do incalculable mischief before we could offer an adequate opposition. On this subject, inquiry was not proceeded in, through the assurance of ministers, that, before the sailing of the French fleet, they had received satisfactory communications, and had not neglected to take proper precautionary measures ; for the truth of these assertions, they claimed the confidence of the House, as, at present, the matter was too delicate for full ex-

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1802.

planation. In fact, it was said, the sailing of the French fleet was a matter entirely indifferent. If they had hostile views against our possessions, they would find us amply prepared. The situation of their colonies was extremely critical; and, to render them the legitimate means of her future aggrandisement, France must abandon all projects of hostility. The black population of St. Domingo, before the revolution, was estimated at two hundred and fifty thousand; that of Guadaloupe at eighty thousand; both with a very small proportion of whites. Even supposing Toussaint disposed to receive the French force as friends, and that they were actually landed in the colonies without any resistance from him, there would still be ample employment for the thirty thousand men sent out, in restoring order and manning the different garrisons. It was not improbable, too, that ministers might have seen the safety of our own colonies intimately connected with the proceeding. Should the views of France prove hostile, it was desirable to have their fleet in a situation where we could meet them to advantage, instead of being locked up in their harbours; better to fight and take them at sea, than to count them in port.

Remarks were made on the term to which the negotiation was protracted; but Lord Hawkesbury answered that no blame belonged to administration; other treaties had been longer under consideration; rational hopes might be entertained of the amicable termination of the negotiation at Amiens; but that, should it be otherwise, the disappointment should be met with firmness; and Dr. Laurence approved delay, because it evinced attention to the points of interest at issue, and furnished a proof of sincerity.

Treaty
concluded.

March 28th.

But delay came to an end; the treaty was executed. Beside those already mentioned relative to Malta, its principal stipulations were, that England should restore to the three powers all its conquests during the war, with the exception of Trinidad and Ceylon. All the territories of the Queen of Portugal were secured to her, except that a new limit was drawn

1802.

April 29th.
Peace pro-
claimed.

between French and Portuguese Guiana. The territories of the Sublime Porte were maintained in their integrity, and the Republic of the Seven Islands recognized. The French agreed to evacuate Naples and the Roman States; and the British, Porto Ferrajo, and all the ports and islands possessed by them in the Mediterranean and Adriatic seas. The fisheries of Newfoundland were placed on the same footing as before the war. The House of Nassau to be indemnified for the loss of its property in the United Provinces by an equivalent. The proclamation was made with great pomp and ceremony; a general illumination of extreme splendour distinguished the metropolis and several other great towns, and every demonstration of public joy was abundantly displayed. This exultation proceeded undoubtedly more from the removal of present evil than from the hope of permanent good; for no one who accurately regarded the circumstances of the times, and the temper of those who guided events, could reasonably expect that tranquillity would be lasting, where no feeling of amity or good-will was permitted to exist.

CHAP. ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-TWO.

1801—1802.

Mutiny at Bantry Bay.—Trial and execution of Governor Wall.—Funeral of the Earl of Clare.—Parliament.—Sir John Mitford resigns the chair.—Sir Charles Abbott appointed.—Death of Lord Kenyon.—Lord Ellenborough appointed.—Death of the Duke of Bedford.—Mr. Fox's eulogy on him.—Definitive treaty presented to Parliament.—Notices of motion given.—A day fixed—Preparatory motion.—Motions in both Houses.—Objections to the treaty.—Porto Ferrajo.—Guiana.—Portugal.—Answer.—Louisiana.—Italian Republic.—Saint Domingo.—Malta.—The Cape of Good Hope, India, Honduras, and prisoners.—Prince of Orange.—Former treaties.—General objections.—General defence.—Permanency of the peace doubted.—General view of the discussion.—The old opposition.—Mr. Sheridan.—Army estimates.—Augmentation of the militia.—Yeomanry and volunteers.—Attacks on Mr. Pitt.—The Duke of Norfolk.—Earl of Darnley.—Lord Holland.—Earl of Westmorland.—Motion by Sir Francis Burdett.—Motion by Mr. Nicholls.—Lord Belgrave moves an amendment.—Debate.—Mr. Erskine.—Other members.—Lord Belgrave's amendment carried.—Mr. Fox moves one—negatived.—After one by Mr. Grey—main question carried.—Public dinner in honour of Mr. Pitt.—Proposed donation to him—declined.—Bill for enforcing residence of the clergy—withdrawn.—American trade.—Corn trade.—Trinidad.—Slave trade.—Bull-baiting.—Loan.—Finance.—Sinking fund.—Bank restriction continued.—Arrears of the civil list.—House of Lords.—Claims of the Prince of Wales.—Close of the session.—Intended dissolution announced.—Dissolution.

WHEN the French dispatched their powerful armament to the West Indies, the British government also equipped a squadron, to avert, if they should arise, any attempts which our own possessions, if left defenceless, might appear to invite: this precaution, prudent, but eventually needless, occasioned that ever painful and lamentable event, a mutiny in the navy. The fleet being at Bantry Bay, the crews of some of the ships, particularly the *Téméraire* and the *Formidable*, considering the signing of the preliminary treaty as a conclusion of peace, declared that they ought no longer to be ordered to the West Indies, and would sail only to England, and they expected that the ships should be re-manned with volunteers*. The progressive effect of these notions soon produced declarations of discontent and resolutions of resistance, with menaces of bloodshed in case of opposition, or of treachery in any of their party. At length, probably before it was intended, the explosion took place. A seaman, on board the *Téméraire*, having undergone 10th.

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1802.
Jan 6, 15.

About the same period, with these misguided men, Colonel Joseph Wall, formerly governor of Goree, was tried at the Old Bailey, under a special commission, for a murder committed twenty years ago (July 1782) on Benjamin Armstrong, a serjeant under his command in that island, by causing him to be flogged

20th.
Trial and ex-
ecution of Go-
vernor Wall.

* Correspondence of Lord Collingwood, p. 89.

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CXXII.

1801.
Mutiny at
Bantry Bay.

Decr. 1st.

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CXXII.

1802.

28th.

to death. Governor Wall had previously escaped from the hands of justice, and for many years kept out of its reach ; but, confiding, it is supposed, in the death of a material witness, he returned to England, and permitted himself to be captured. His defence was that the deceased was in a state of mutiny, and his punishment, although attended with a consequence so unfortunate, well warranted. Apprized of this intended defence, the Attorney-General*, with his usual magnanimity, allowed its full force, if proved ; but the evidence, far from supporting, effectually contradicted this defence. Some persons swore that Armstrong was party to a mutinous combination ; that personal violence had been threatened and even attempted against the Governor, and that the sentence against the deceased was pronounced by a court martial. On the contrary, it was proved that no signs of mutiny were displayed, no court martial held, and it appeared that the Governor's dispatches at the time made no mention of either. It was also proved that the punishment was inflicted with the utmost cruelty, with a rope of much more than the ordinary thickness, by negroes, who were changed after every twenty-five lashes, and encouraged in their work by exclamations of diabolical savageness from the prisoner. He was found guilty, and executed in the presence of an immense multitude, who testified, by shouts and exclamations of applause, their satisfaction when the engine fell which terminated his existence†.

This display of exultation, so remote from the general character of Englishmen, is not to be justified ; but it is in some sort palliated by the particular circumstances of the case. The elevated post of the criminal, compared with that of his victim, created in the popular mind a suspicion that he would be protected by undue means on his trial, or favoured by

* The counsel for the prosecution were the Attorney and Solicitor General, Messrs. Wood, Fielding, and Abbott. The prisoner was defended by Messrs. Knowlys, Plumer, Gurney, and Alley.

† Howell's State Trials, vol. xxviii. p. 177. For a good abstract of the trial and a narrative of the execution, see Annual Register, vol. xliv. pp. *178, *7.

the injudicious lenity of government. This suspicion derived force from another circumstance. As the law then stood, a person convicted of murder was executed in four and twenty hours after his sentence; but, on this occasion, two several respites produced a delay of a week, and rumour infused into the populace a belief that, even at the last moment, a reprieve would arrive. The satisfaction they expressed, therefore, did not arise from the execution of a miserable old man, but from their exultation in the equal administration of the law, and confidence that neither station nor influence could secure a convicted criminal from merited punishment.

No motive so excusable can be assigned to those wicked and deluded persons who pursued to their tomb, with yells, clamours, and execrations, the remains of the Earl of Clare. This learned, upright, and discriminating judge, and exemplary patriot, fell a victim to a painful malady; and the attendance of six hundred members of his own profession, and seventy-four distinguished noblemen and gentlemen, which afforded the highest testimonial to his virtues, could not avert an insult which would have disgraced the lowest and most brutal savages.

During the discussions on the definitive treaty, Parliament had been several times adjourned. When they really met for dispatch of business, attention was first called to a letter from Sir John Mitford, announcing his resignation of the chair, in consequence of being appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland. On the motion of the Master of the Rolls, seconded by Mr. Baker, the Right Honourable Charles Abbott was nominated as his successor; due compliments being paid to both. In a speech which appeared rather a sportive effusion of jocular humour than an attempt to obtain any point, Mr. Sheridan proposed Mr. Charles Dundas. He disclaimed all personal opposition, but, while he joined most warmly in the praises bestowed on Mr. Abbott, condemned the practice of looking only to the law for persons to fill the chair. The early age of the proposed speaker had been stated as a

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CXXII.

1802.

Funeral of
the Earl of
Clare.

Jan. 28, 31.

Parliament.

Feb. 9.
Sir John
Mitford re-
signs the chair.10th.
Sir Charles
Abbott
appointed.

CHAP.
CXXII.

1802.

material recommendation, and it would be so if death alone were to occasion a removal; but they had now had sufficient experience of the gentlemen of the law, to know that, though they call the post of Speaker the height of their ambition, yet, if any thing higher should be offered, they left the House to lament the loss of their experience and abilities. Mr. Courtenay made a somewhat flippant allusion to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but, without any division, Mr. Abbott was conducted to the chair.

April 2nd.
Death of Lord
Kenyon.

Other alterations in legal appointments took place shortly afterward, on the decease of Lord Kenyon, who for nearly fourteen years had filled the high and important station of Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. His lordship's learning in his profession was of the very highest order; nothing was too abstruse for his research, nothing so minute or trivial as to escape his attention. Formed on principles of the most rigid virtue and morality, his mind revolted with great force from any condescension to the prevailing vices of the day, in whatever society they might flourish; and in him adultery and gaming always found an inflexible censor and unsparing castigator. To him, too, were justly to be attributed reforms in his court, by which the public was protected against the arts of pettifoggers and the voracity of rapacious blood-suckers. His lordship's health had long been decaying, and its final overthrow was accelerated by a domestic calamity, the death of his eldest son, the grief of which, time, religion, or philosophy, could not assuage.

Lord
Ellenborough
appointed.

Sir Edward Law, raised to the peerage by the title of Lord Ellenborough, succeeded to this high appointment; and, in consequence, the Honourable Spencer Perceval and Mr. Manners Sutton became Attorney and Solicitor General.

It was much observed, at the time, that ministers had been singularly fortunate in having, during so short a period, so many eminent appointments to bestow on their friends; but the value of this circumstance is much over-rated. Referring to the two

latest instances, they were not gainers in political strength by the removal of Sir John Mitford from the House of Commons in England to a judicial station in Ireland ; and, by the change in Sir Edward Law's position, they lost an active, vigorous, and unflinching supporter in the House of Commons, to gain, in the upper House, only a guarded, limited adherent, restricted by his station from taking that determined part in political discussion to which his genius would lead, and in which his abilities would so well have sustained him. Had the acquisition of political influence and support in the senate been their ruling motive, ministers had an offer that, if they would bestow the Chief Justiceship on Mr. Erskine, the whole weight and influence of the Prince of Wales's adherents would be given to them : they refused, not from any objection to the distinguished advocate presented to their choice, but from a sense of justice toward their firm and honourable colleague*.

Once more the attention of the House of Commons was, for a moment, engaged in an event connected with death. At the early age of thirty-seven, Francis, Duke of Bedford, was unexpectedly carried off, and, being unmarried, his title descended to his brother Lord John Russell, member for the borough of Tavistock. Mr. Fox took upon himself the task of moving the necessary proceedings for filling up the vacancy, and, in a manner which he confessed to be a deviation from the common course, expressed the sentiments of gratitude and affection which he felt for the departed peer. His speech, which is given with unusual exactness, being the only one of which he had ever

March 2nd.
Death of the
Duke of
Bedford.

16th.
Mr. Fox's
eulogy on him.

* From indisputable private information, I derive the fact, that when his Majesty directed Mr. Addington to form an administration ; unprepared as he was, and little connected with the ruling spirits of the day, except among the party he was to supersede, he sent for Mr. Law, and offered him the appointment of Attorney General, observing, at the same time, that as his ministry might be of short duration, and the sacrifice to be made very considerable, comprising the lead of the northern circuit, to which there was no return, he could not expect an immediate answer, but hoped that within two days he might receive one. "Sir," said Mr. Law, "when such an offer is made to me, and communicated in such terms, I should think myself disgraced if I took two days, two hours, or two minutes, to deliberate upon it. I am yours, and let the storm blow from what quarter of the hemisphere it may, you shall always find me at your side"—a promise not more heartily made than faithfully redeemed.

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CXXII.

1802.

attempted to make a copy*, exhibited the warmth of a friend, the grace of an orator, and the fervour of a poet. To analyze an oration, delivered from such motives and on such an occasion, or to reduce to the test of strict investigation all the propositions it contains, would be an invidious and useless task. Such a testimonial must have been highly valued by the surviving friends of the Duke, and serves to show that the cordial friendship of one man of great talent and high popular estimation is a good beyond all that the mere possession of wealth and dignity can confer.

In presenting the definitive treaty of peace to the House of Commons, Lord Hawkesbury observed that, as there was no instance where a proceeding had been instituted respecting a definitive treaty, after a preliminary treaty had received the approbation of the House, it was the intention of ministers, in conformity with precedent, not to propose any. Still it was competent to every member to bring the subject under consideration, by a motion, on the ground of its inconsistency with the preliminaries, or of any change of circumstances which might have taken place. He believed such an intention existed, and ministers were ready to explain the whole or any part of their conduct, with the reasons which induced them to advise his Majesty to conclude the definitive treaty. Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham immediately announced their intentions to move that, on a future day, it should be taken into consideration; and in both Houses a day, distant only one week, was fixed.

Even in this short interval, several motions were made for papers tending to found objections, or to support those which were preconceived. The Earl of Carlisle required copies of communications made by the French government respecting a secret article concluded with Holland; but, after a short debate, the motion was withdrawn. Other members required copies of the treaty of Badajos; of any conventions or armistices concluded between France and Portugal during the year 1801, and communicated to the British

April 29th.
Definitive
treaty pre-
sented to
Parliament.

Notices of
motion given,
and a day
fixed.

May 3rd, 4th.

5th.
Preparatory
motions.

* Parliamentary History, vol. xxxvi. p. 365.

government; and copies of any treaties entered into between Spain and France during the late negotiations. The first two were granted, the other refused. In both Houses, accounts were obtained of all commercial duties and territorial revenues raised within the island of Malta since its surrender to his Majesty. In the House of Commons, Earl Temple required also a copy of the treaty concluded at Luneville between Austria and France, but refused. The treaty of Badajos, it was observed, had a necessary connexion with very important parts of our negotiation; that of Luneville had none.

CHAP.
CXXII.

1802.

6th, 7th.

At length came on the great struggle: Lord Grenville in the upper, and Mr. Windham in the lower House, moved addresses in the same words, acknowledging his Majesty's undoubted prerogative of peace and war, and the first duty of Parliament to maintain inviolate the public faith, and to assist him in performing the engagements into which he had been advised to enter; but they expressed painful apprehensions as to the result of those engagements, and advised the adoption of such measures as could alone avert the dangers with which the country was now surrounded. Amendments were moved, in similar terms, in both Houses, expressing approbation of the definitive treaty, founded on the preliminaries they had already sanctioned; confidence that his Majesty would employ that vigilance and attention which the present situation of Europe required; and a determination to defend, against every encroachment, the great sources of the wealth, commerce, and naval power of the empire; to support the honour of the Crown, and the rights, laws, and liberties of the country, with the same zeal, energy, and fortitude, invariably manifested during the war now happily brought to a conclusion.

13th.
Motions in
both Houses.

In submitting his motion to the House, Mr. Windham divided his objections into four heads, but, in argument, reduced them to two, maintaining that the alterations which had taken place since the preliminary, ought to have induced ministers to refuse to sign the definitive treaty on the same terms, and second

Objections to
the treaty.

CHAP.
CXXII.

1802.

Porto Ferrajo.

the defects, whether of omission or commission, in that treaty. On the first point, the cession of Elba, the limit of French Guiana, and the cession of Louisiana, were cited.

Elba was an excellent station, an important harbour, and an impregnable fortress ; but the manner in which it was obtained was of more importance than the island itself. There was in it a tricking, a chicanery, which appeared the more odious the more it was examined. By the treaty of Luneville, a transfer was made of the duchy of Tuscany, and it was expressly stipulated that Porto Ferrajo should remain attached to that dukedom ; but the French, playing a game at chess, removed the Duke, and put a king in his place. They took a king of the house of Spain, and from that court obtained a transfer of Porto Ferrajo to France, to facilitate her attack on Naples, or any other ally that we might have in that quarter. Naval superiority in the Mediterranean was to us most important ; but ministers had dispossessed the country of Majorca, Minorca, and even of Elba, which could only be useful to France in excluding us from Leghorn. The answer was, that the surrender of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany was not made by England, but by a competent sovereign power ; and to this country it could make no difference whether Elba belonged to France or to Etruria.

Answer.

Guiana.

On the settlement of the boundaries of French Guiana, it was said that less consideration was due to its importance than to the breach of good faith by which it was arranged. The boundaries of France had been circumscribed to the course of the Ariwari ; but now they obtained an entire command of the Amazon river at its source, the command below of the whole Portuguese trade, and, in time of war, of our whole Indian navigation. A few leagues of wilderness were no great object ; but the French gained the command of the Mississippi as much by the one boundary as by the other ; either was equally a breach of faith ; they should have gone to the treaty of Utrecht.

Complaints more serious were made on the general treatment of Portugal. Through the firm fidelity she had shewn during the whole course of the war, she had sustained all her losses. By a special and distinct treaty, British faith was pledged to preserve her entire and unimpaired ; instead of which, this peace left her integrity dependent on what was left to her in Europe by the treaty of Badajos. The territorial loss, of little value in itself, deeply affected the interests of Great Britain, as it left for ever imprinted on the minds of the people that our guarantee and protection were not to be relied on. Nor could Portugal any longer carry the commercial treaty with us into effect. Far from yielding to these accusations, ministers maintained that their conduct toward her most faithful majesty had been not only just and sincere, but protective and liberal. To the utmost of their power they had stipulated for the integrity of her territories ; the exception relative to the limits in South America had been conceded by a separate treaty, over which Great Britain, not being a contracting party, had no control ; but ministers had obtained an explicit and advantageous definition of those limits. Apprehensive that Portugal might be terrified into concessions even more injurious to herself, ministers had procured the insertion into the preliminaries of a stipulation by which the subsequent treaty of Madrid was virtually annulled. When they came into office, it was thought that the Portuguese might make a much firmer stand than they did against France and Spain : advice was sent as to the means of resistance, particularly that a more able officer should be placed at the head of their troops ; they would have been most culpable had they committed any portion of the British army to the care of an incapable commander. Although their counsel was not followed, they had communicated their progress in negotiation, and their prospects, exhorting the Portuguese to resist as long as possible, in the hope of better terms : yet they had concluded a separate peace. By our interference, we reduced the extent of the cessions in Guiana, an instance of liberality

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Louisiana.

scarcely to be paralleled, and claiming the permanent gratitude of that people.

The cession of Louisiana by Spain to France, during the pendency of the treaty, was dwelt on as a strong instance of bad faith, and the possession was described as of the highest political importance. While the French held New Orleans and Florida, they would derive from Louisiana an immediate influence on the northern United States, as well as on the south of America. It gave them nearly as much the command of our East India navigation as they would have in the possession of Ceylon; it brought them within three hundred miles of the city of Mexico; and, immediately on the unfurling of the first standard for an expedition to that place, the whole west of America would repair to it in arms, a circumstance which must ever put Spain in a state of entire dependence on the Republic. The French were also brought up to the very confines, and might soon re-establish their empire in Canada. But the United States of America had most to fear. The only outlet to the trade of Kentucky and the western States was the Mississippi; the Americans had stipulated with Spain for the free navigation of that river; but these States must now be completely under the control of France. Thus would the United States be drawn into the confederacy against our naval greatness and the dignity of our flag. By the treaty of Utrecht, and many others, this country had bargained that Spain should not cede any part of her empire to France. The correctness of this last assertion was expressly denied. Louisiana was not at all considered in the treaty of Utrecht; it passed from France to Spain by a secret article in that of 1763. That was looked upon as a proud peace; yet the present treaty was to us, in some points, more advantageous; for by it we gained in Trinidad a leading and commanding station. The value and importance of the ceded territory were differently regarded by several who supported the treaty. Mr. Addington, although he denied many of the consequences which his opponents anticipated, ad-

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mitted that it was unfortunate, and would be viewed with regret by those who wished to see the French dominion limited. By other members, the apprehensions expressed on the subject were treated with great indifference, and the possession deemed of small importance. When Louisiana was formerly in the hands of France, it was totally imbecile ; while belonging to Spain, it had not advanced to greater maturity ; and in 1795 its population had not increased. The great influence eventually to be gained in the councils of North America was treated as a mere chimera ; Canada did not enable us to affect the politics of the United States ; if the standard of France were set up in Louisiana, and that of the United States in North America, there would be no fear as to the result ; nor was there more foundation for the apprehensions respecting Mexico.

As a specimen of the insincerity and craft of the French, the creation of the Italian Republic, and the appointment of Bonaparte to its presidency, between the execution of the preliminary and the definitive treaty, was mentioned, but not much dwelt upon, and the vindication of ministers was plain and easy. The same reasons, Lord Hawkesbury observed, which would induce an interference in favour of the Cisalpine Republic, would urge us to insist on the restoration of the Netherlands to Austria, of Holland to the Stadt-holder, and of Savoy to the King of Sardinia. We could not, if so disposed, resist the accession of Bonaparte to the presidency without the aid of the Continental powers ; but the fact was scarcely announced when the cabinet of Berlin congratulated him, that of Vienna acquiesced, and Russia showed no symptom of dissatisfaction. Could it, then, be considered wise or prudent in us alone, under such circumstances, to renew the war.

Some remarks on the expedition to St. Domingo, in which the danger of a French ascendancy or a negro Republic in that quarter were contrasted, completed the discussion on that portion of the objections

Italian
Republic.Saint
Domingo.

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Malta.

which related to the alteration in the state of affairs between the times of executing the two treaties.

From the manner in which the arrangement respecting Malta was debated, it appeared as if the importance which would speedily attach to that possession was anticipated. The insufficiency of the stipulations for supporting its independence, the probability that, when evacuated by the British troops and restored to the order, which must take place in three months, the weakness of the proposed langues, and their probable subserviency to, or subjugation by, France, together with their total and incurable want of an adequate revenue, would render the regaining of the island by its first invaders certain. In fact, on account of its bearing on various important interests of our empire, Malta ought to have been secured to Great Britain. The injuries to which our Indian dominions, our Levant trade, and all our connexions by the way of the Mediterranean were exposed, were strongly insisted on, as the French might avail themselves of any trifling difference between them and the King of Naples, as a pretext for invading and conquering the island.

Mr. Dundas, although he supported the ministry, spoke of Malta as a place of great value ; it was one of the finest ports in the world ; in a commercial view, of great importance, but of much greater from the effect on surrounding nations, when they might see the flag of Britain displayed as an assurance to all who passed it of the protection of our arms, if wanted ; and when he added the desire of the Maltese to continue under our protection, recently expressed by a deputation to his Majesty*, he was the more induced to regret its having been given up. Had he been a member of the administration, he could not have assented to it.

Ministers contended that, whether the arrangement were as good as could be contrived or not, it was as good as circumstances would permit. We could not

* See the Annual Register, vol. xliv. p. *18.

retain the island, having, when we blockaded it, issued a declaration that we would restore it to the order of St. John, under certain regulations, the first object of which regulations was to improve the condition of the Maltese. This had been effected by abolishing the French and creating a Maltese langue. The effect of granting privileges to the natives was shewn in their spirited conduct, under a British officer, during the siege. The conciliation of the people would enable the order to establish a formidable defensive militia. As a power to guarantee and preserve it from the dominion of France, Russia had been selected ; but, from a change in the politics of courts, she had refused ; and it was placed under the protection of Naples, which, from the contiguity of Sicily, had the deepest interest to prevent its being subjected to France ; and there was, besides, the guarantee of Austria and the principal powers of Europe. The state of the revenues was, from recent circumstances, rendered much more favourable than had been represented ; so that on the whole the prospect was not discouraging, and there was great satisfaction in knowing that the Maltese themselves were contented and grateful.

On the restoration of the Cape of Good Hope, Mr. Dundas expressed opinions similar to those he had maintained respecting Malta. He had always, both before and after its capture, considered it a great acquisition, a good dépôt and place for the reception of our troops on their way to India : being landed and refreshed there, they proceeded full of health and vigour, and were fit for immediate service. Had he been in administration, nothing should have induced him to abandon the Cape. But, although this was his opinion, he did not hold it his duty to join those who strove to render the peace odious to the people. By the definitive treaty, it was said the Cape would be delivered, in full sovereignty, to Holland ; and what was there to bind Holland from making it over to France, and immediately putting in a French garrison ? When it was considered how the word " sovereignty "

The Cape of
Good Hope.

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was used in the case of Tuscany and the isle of Elba, it could not be supposed that it was now intended to be a mere idle term. Supposing even that the condition of its being open to the ships of war of the other contracting parties should be complied with, the French system in this kind of neutrality would require the admission of ships of war in equal number from each country; if that number were, for example, two,—for two English men of war, the French, with their Spanish and Batavian allies, would have six, which would oblige us either to keep up a great armament in those seas, or to send convoys with every trading fleet; and every regiment, outward or homeward bound, must be escorted by a force equal to cope with the allies, and to prevent them from attacking our possessions in Hindostan.

The value of the Cape had been so fully discussed in the debates on the preliminaries, that further observation on that head was hardly necessary; the terms used in restoring it were similar in both, and the persons best qualified to judge on the subject, deemed it more advisable to give it up in full sovereignty to the Dutch, than to make it an entrepôt in the hands of any other power.

India,
Honduras, and
prisoners.

On India and the Bay of Honduras some remarks were made, and our negotiators were attacked both by reasoning and ridicule on the stipulation for each country to pay the debts of the prisoners taken on either side. On this account, there was a large sum due to us from France, and a talk of islands that were to be mortgaged for its payment: in the result there was no such mortgage; but, as a countervailing expedient, the French were to set off their demands for the maintenance of those belonging to our allies; that is, the expense of clothing and supporting the Russian prisoners. All might remember what a parade was made on this subject, and that it was represented by the French as a compliment paid to the Emperor Paul; so that we were made to pay for the very clothing and maintenance which were the lure to decoy that sovereign from our alliance. In vindication of

government, reference was made to the treaties in 1763 and 1783, which contained articles on this subject, in accordance with humanity and justice, and sanctioned by Vattel and other modern authors on the law of nations; but the French disputed that principle in the late negotiation, alleging that they did not grant it to any of the other powers. When, therefore, they acceded to it, we could not refuse to allow a deduction for the subsistence of the Russian soldiers, who were in our pay and under our disposal when made prisoners.

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Powerful observations were made on the situation of the Prince of Orange. Through his unshaken attachment to this country, he had been compelled to fly with his consort and the wreck of his family; and, while he was driven from his dominions, his private property was seized and confiscated, and his family left destitute. Notwithstanding the boasts of those who formed the preliminary treaty, that ample compensation had been stipulated for him, and the article to that effect, the agreement was violated almost in the very moment of its formation; for, in the same room where the Noble Marquis executed the definitive treaty, a distinct article was immediately entered into between the minister of France and the Dutch plenipotentiary, by which the French government engaged to guarantee Holland against contributing to the compensation of the Stadholder; an act of perfidiousness which must excite indignation in every just and honourable mind, and rouse every sentiment of generous feeling for the injuries and insults thus newly meditated toward that much-wronged and illustrious personage.

Prince of
Orange.

On the other side, it was maintained that the losses of the Prince of Orange were sustained, not merely in the cause of this country, but in the common cause of civilized society; and the Marquis Cornwallis considered the explanatory article subjoined to the treaty as in no respect a violation of the pledge to the Stadholder, which, on the contrary, stood guaranteed upon

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Former
treaties.General
objections.General
defence.

a security as strong as possibly could be founded on the faith of a solemn treaty between the four contracting nations.

Much learned argument was employed on the omission to renew ancient treaties. Ministers admitted that the definitive treaty would have given them more pleasure if it had contained a stipulation for the revival of those compacts ; but strong reasons, especially with reference to the commercial treaties, prevented it.

These separate objections would perhaps be little worthy of notice, but for their speedy bearing on the events of the times and the connexion of parties. In general terms, the peace was unsparingly decried. Mr. Windham called it a grave-digging for our greatness, and an abyss opening at our feet to swallow us up ; Mr. Sheridan termed it necessary, but disgraceful ; and Lord Grenville deemed it a total surrender of national honour and national faith, considerations of much more moment than any other which could arise on such a subject ; a mark, he said, should be fixed on those impolitic and weak ministers who had negotiated, and whose counsels had concluded it. In particular, it was insisted that the definitive contained terms more beneficial to France than the preliminary treaty ; that the French so considered it, was proved by an article in a newspaper under the immediate patronage of that government, in which the proposition was distinctly advanced and supported by cogent facts*.

Ministers did not assume that the peace was great or glorious, but merely that circumstances did not afford a better ; and the points which had been so severely censured were not, separately or collectively, sufficient to justify a continuance of the war. The time of concluding the treaty was peculiarly well chosen. Delay would inevitably have produced petitions from every part of the country ; and obvious disadvantages must have attended a negotiation commenced under circumstances which would have left

* See Parliamentary History, vol. xxxvi. p. 575.

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no hope of a treaty on terms to which a government, that really valued the honour and interest of the empire, could possibly accede.

With much reason it was urged that no advantage could result from a consideration of the treaty, nor to what it tended, unless it was meant to move a censure on ministers. It would have been a dignified and manly course, instead of the addresses which had been proposed, to have moved an advice to his Majesty to dismiss them as utterly unworthy of his confidence ; but the movers in both Houses distinctly disclaimed any desire to depart from the compact, nor did they purpose a direct censure on those who had advised it : by Lord Grenville, and other members, their unfitness for office was asserted ; but no expression of it was proposed.

Doubts of the permanency of the peace were strongly expressed, and the answers of ministers were not calculated to dispel apprehension or impart confidence. If it depended on the disposition of the Republic, Lord Grenville observed, we should not enjoy it even for the length of time that the debate would occupy. Should hostilities be renewed, the country would labour under every disadvantage. If, at the end of three campaigns, we recovered what we had given up, he should think we had made a most glorious war. Lord Auckland hoped and trusted that France, for her own sake, would shew herself capable of maintaining the relations of peace and amity ; and that, with the name of Peace, we should gradually obtain all its good effects. If France was fairly disposed to heal the wounds of war, and to make compensation for the calamities which she had, during so many years, accumulated on mankind, she would act toward us, in every part of the world, with the same spirit of conciliation and the same good faith which she was sure to experience at our hands ; still he would watch her conduct with jealousy, but without acrimony. Lord Castlereagh expressed similar sentiments of dubious confidence and careful vigilance. Lord Hawkesbury said he was ready to confess that the state of the

Permanency
of the peace
doubted.

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world was such as could not prevent us from considering the peace as insecure; but all history, and even his own experience, taught him that the apprehension of that insecurity should be no obstacle to the conclusion of peace, when peace could be concluded on honourable terms; and Mr. Addington, with extenuations cautiously guarded, said, "God grant that peace may be preserved! It is my earnest prayer that we may long enjoy its blessings, and that France may not use her power in such a way as to compel us to arm against her; but if war should again take place in two or three years (and I hate to state the supposition), I would say, that it will even then be matter of great consolation to every man in this House that he has done every thing in his power to avert the calamity. We must not suppose," he added, "that France is free from the disposition to take advantage of our weakness, if we should appear at any time to be weak; but let us guard against weakness, and give ourselves that security which we have the means of obtaining. I know of nothing, in the circumstances of the present time," he added, "in the disposition of the government of France, nor in the person at the head of that government, to warrant any apprehension that the peace may not be lasting."

General view
of the dis-
cussion.

Such is the outline of debates on the main question. Beside several motions in anticipation, they occupied the Lords from the time of their sitting to the unusual hour of seven in the morning; and the House of Commons during two successive days. Ministers, assailed on every ground, charged with bad policy, feebleness, timidity, and bad faith, defended themselves successfully against these accusations, but could not take the high ground of maintaining that the peace reflected glory on the country: it was necessary, it was honourable, it was as good as, under all circumstances, could be obtained*. A third party,

* The propositions condemnatory of ministers were maintained in the upper House by Lord Grenville, the Earls of Carnarvon and Darnley; in the House of Commons, by Mr. Windham, Lord Folkestone, Mr. Thomas Grenville, Sir William Young, Earl Temple, Dr. Laurence, and Mr. Wynne. Speeches in

The old
opposition.

1802.

Mr. Sheridan.

consisting chiefly of the members of the old opposition, would not censure the peace, because they thought any termination preferable to a continuance of the war; yet their observations on ministers were replete with terms of censure and sarcasm, while their sentiments on the beginning, conduct, and unsatisfactory termination of the contest, were expressed with their accustomed severity and acrimony*. The sense of this portion of the House may best be gathered from a speech of Mr. Sheridan, in which more than usual correctness of reasoning was illuminated by his never-failing brilliancy of wit and felicity of illustration. "Among the strange things we are continually witnessing," he said, "is the strange divided vision of parties in the House. I have heard it said that there are about twelve or thirteen different parties among us; nay, some carry the number much further. Now, I scarcely expect a single vote with me beyond that little constitutional body who have, for the last ten years, been the object of so much unqualified abuse; but they are the men whose every prediction has been fulfilled, and every fear realized. My friends must feel poignant shame and deep humiliation at the situation to which this country is reduced, but which they have steadily laboured to avert. I support the peace, because I feel confident that, considering all circumstances, ministers could not have obtained better terms. Their predecessors had left them no choice but between an expensive, bloody, and fruitless war, and a perilous and hollow peace. The ex-minister has now found out that it was necessary to stop. Pray, why not

justification of ministers were made by Lord Pelham, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Auckland, the Earl of Westmorland, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Rosslyn, Earl Camden, Lord Hobart, and the Lord Chancellor, who shewed on this occasion the power of persevering resolution over corporeal infirmity, by addressing the House at two hours after midnight, in an eloquent and learned speech of two hours' duration, when, from illness and the fatigue of business in his court during the day, he was so exhausted that his friends found it necessary to carry him to his place (*Life of Lord Eldon*, by Horace Twiss, Esq. vol. i. p. 405). In the House of Commons were Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Wellesley Pole, Mr. Dundas, General Maitland, the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Bond, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

* The speakers who adopted this line were the Duke of Richmond, Mr. Grey, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Tierney, Mr. W. Smith, Mr. Hobhouse, and Mr. Whitbread.

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" have stopped a little sooner? why not, for instance,
" when Bonaparte made an offer? Now, however, he
" finds the necessity of peace; but is this such a peace
" as will give real repose? Consider your debt and
" taxes, and the necessity which seems to be at length
" coming upon you of keeping up a peace establish-
" ment unknown in this country. It is lamentable to
" see you all split into miserable parties when your
" great enemy is uniting every possible means of ex-
" tending his power. The events of every day seem
" to call more and more for the expression of a public
" feeling, that the time will come when French en-
" croachments and oppressions must cease, and when
" the voice of this country must be loudly raised
" against their atrocities and tyrannical conduct.
" 'This,' says the ex-minister, 'is a peace in which we
" ' relinquish nothing and gain much!' I defy any
" man of common sense to name the single object,
" ever varying, ever shifting, unrelinquished. What
" did we go to war for? to prevent French agran-
" dizement. Have we done that? No. Then we
" were to rescue Holland! Is that accomplished?
" No. Brabant was a sine qua non! is it gained?
" No. Then come security and indemnity! are they
" obtained? No. The late minister told us that the
" example of a Jacobin government in Europe, founded
" on the ruins of the holy altar and the tomb of a
" martyred monarch, was a spectacle so dreadful and
" infectious to Christendom, that we could never be
" safe while it existed, and could do nothing short of
" our very last effort for its destruction. Now let us
" see what we have laid out for these fine words, which
" at last gave way to 'security' and 'indemnity'? Why
" nearly two hundred thousand lives, and three hun-
" dred millions of money! And we have got Ceylon
" and Trinidad. I should propose, that as we have
" given to our heroes, titles from the places where their
" laurels were won, our St. Vincents and our Nelsons
" of the Nile, so we should name Ceylon, Security
" Island; and Trinidad, the Island of Indemnity!
" A great deal, too, is said to be gained by the dis-
" position of France to renounce Jacobinism, and the

" grand consolation is in looking to Bonaparte as its extirpator. So now this 'child and champion of ' Jacobinism' is to become a parricide. The child of "sin is to destroy his mother. Suppose you make "him king of Europe at once, he will soon extirpate "all the Jacobinism with which it is infested." To create alarm against Jacobins, the people of this country had been supposed so miserably infatuated as to fall in love with dirt, and blood, and guillotines, with all the atrocious deformities of the system of Robespierre ; yet that now, when France was covered with glory, though certainly without liberty or any thing that resembled it, there should be nothing to dazzle and captivate, was out of his comprehension. Having descanted on the ambition, the hypocrisy, and cruel rapacity of Bonaparte, he proceeded to treat with ridicule the notion that the enjoyment of colonies, trade, and wealth, would divert his mind from war, and be a pledge for future peace ; that with his military education, and the sort of company he had kept, Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Cochin, and Martinico, were not cessions ; they were so many traps and holes to catch this silly fellow and make a merchant of him.

Mr. Sheridan also descanted with much wit and humour on the position of the present and late ministers ; it was a problem whether those who appeared to have retired did not still direct the government ; their system was applauded, their acts maintained ; indemnities were secured, and encomiums lavished ; and even in the present, apparently hostile, discussions, the parties styled each other "their honourable friends." " I should like," he proceeded, " to support the present minister on fair grounds ; but what is he ? a sort of outside passenger ; or rather a man leading "the horses round a corner, while reins and whip, "and all, are in the hands of the coachman on the "box ! [Looking at Mr. Pitt's elevated seat three or "four benches above that of the treasury]. Why not "have an union of the two ministers, or at least some "intelligible connexion ? The only way in which I "can solve this strange division of parts is this : Aris-

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" tophanes, a Greek author, whom a noble lord (Belgrave) will understand, but whom I must translate " for the benefit of the country gentlemen, tells a " story somewhat in point ; he says that Theseus* sat " so long in one posture (perhaps as long as the ex-minister sat on the treasury bench), that he adhered " to the seat ; and when Hercules came to snatch him " away, in the sudden jerk, a certain portion of his " sitting part was left behind him." As to the resignation of the late ministers, on account of Catholic emancipation, he no more believed it than that it was because they had discovered the longitude ; but the paper circulated in Ireland, attributing the failure to resistance in a certain quarter (and that quarter was their sovereign), approached very near to, if it fell short of, high treason.

In both Houses, the numbers dividing against government were remarkably small† ; nothing could be said to have been gained by these protracted debates, but opportunities for the expression of violent opinions‡.

Proper means were taken for securing the country from all attempts, domestic or foreign. The army estimates for sixty-one days, comprising sixty-one thousand one hundred and seventy-six men, were voted at an early period of the session, obstructed only by some observations of a temporary nature, and by some petty calculations of Mr. Robson, on the expenditure for corn, hay, candles, and beer, in barracks and in the Isle of Wight ; and a rash, malignant, and unfounded assertion, by the same member, that the finances of the country were in a desperate situation, because a bill for £19 : 7s., duly accepted, had been presented at

* Probably from a mistake of the reporters, who did not hear distinctly, Nycias was the name printed in the newspapers, and from them transferred to the Parliamentary History, to the Annual Registers, and other works ; it is corrected in an erratum to Rivington's Annual Register for 1802.

† Lords, 16 to 122. Commons, 20 to 276.

‡ They occupy two hundred columns in the Parliamentary History ; and, beside the speeches of Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, which were published at length, many pamphlets issued from the press, among which may particularly be mentioned the reproduction of Mr. Fox's letter to the electors of Westminster, with triumphant annotations by Mr. Robert Adair, and Eight Letters by Sir Frederick Morton Eden.

Army
estimates.

March 3rd.

4th.

the Sick and Hurt Office, and not paid. Mr. Yorke, the Secretary at War, observing that, from the extent of Great Britain, and the number of points which required to be defended, making every allowance for the co-operation of the navy, this powerful island would require, at the commencement of a war, for the purpose of defence, one hundred thousand regulars and seventy thousand militia, moved for a bill for augmenting the militia accordingly. Mr. Sheridan entirely approved the measure; but, that his sweetened cup might not be without a dash of bitterness, added his hope that the militia would no more be broken in upon for some momentary expedition; and that gentlemen, who had spent their lives in training, forming, and acquiring the love and attachment of their men, might not find themselves on a sudden turned into mere drill serjeants. The bill passed without impediment; as did one for enabling his Majesty to avail himself of the offers of certain yeomanry and volunteer corps to continue their services.

Not by Mr. Sheridan alone, but by several other speakers, were the composition of the existing administration and the merits of that which had retired put in contrast, and the present character and conduct of Mr. Pitt applauded or impeached. The Duke of Norfolk declared that the late ministers had involved this country in all the calamities which she had so long experienced, and applauded the act of royal authority by which they were dismissed and disgraced. The Earl of Darnley thought the present government deserving of approbation for the spirited manner in which they had undertaken to manage the affairs of the country in a period of unexampled difficulty. Lord Holland, in an ineffectual motion, revived the censures on the rejection of Bonaparte's offers to treat; while, on the other hand, the Earl of Westmorland observed, that, at the periods alluded to, we had fortunately a great and able statesman at the head of our affairs; and if every other power engaged in the war had had such ministers, we

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April 12th.
Augmentation
of the militia.Yeomanry and
volunteers.Attacks on
Mr. Pitt.The Duke
of Norfolk.Earl of
Darnley.

Lord Holland.

Earl of West-
morland.

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should not now have to regret the desolation of the greater part of Europe.

1802.
April 12th.
Motion by
Sir Francis
Burdett;

Before these observations were made, the character of Mr. Pitt, and the merits of his administration, had been twice amply discussed in the House of Commons, on a motion by Sir Francis Burdett for a committee of the whole House, to enquire into the conduct of the late administration during the war. This motion had been promised from an early period of the session*, and, for various reasons, to the great dissatisfaction of many members, several times postponed. The honourable baronet's speech was of considerable ability as to its mere verbal structure, but void of all useful application to any purpose within the reach of Parliament : it was a bitter invective against every act of government, every vote of the House, from the beginning of hostilities to the present time ; every act of foreign policy, every regulation of domestic government, was alike stigmatized, and it was justly denominated by Earl Temple the most extravagant speech ever uttered within those walls ; replete with assertion, but void of proof, and fraught with arguments repeatedly urged, year after year, and as constantly refuted†. Lord Belgrave proposed, as an amendment, a vote of thanks to the late ministers, for conduct which had maintained the national honour and preserved the constitution ; but withdrew it, on being informed from the chair that, although consistent with the forms of Parliament, such an amendment was extremely unusual. Many members spoke, and, on a division, the original motion was negatived by a large majority‡.

rejected.

May 7th.
Motion by
Mr. Nicholls.

Mr. Nicholls reproduced the subject by moving an address to thank his Majesty for having removed Mr. Pitt from his councils. His speech was quite as acrimonious as that of Sir Francis Burdett, but not equally adorned with the graces of oratory. In treating of the origin of the war, the alarm about Jacobinism, and the prosecutions for high treason, he called Mr.

* 13th November, 1801.

† It was printed as a pamphlet, with some suppressions, deemed necessary for the safety of publishers.

‡ 246 to 39.

Pitt a political Quixote, a hero who fought windmills, while he exposed the country to real evils. In like tone and taste, he descanted on the disasters and expenses of the war, the stoppage of the Bank, the income tax, the redemption of the land tax, the corruption by which Mr. Pitt had been enabled to carry on his government, his lure held out to the Catholics, and his criminal or even treasonable attempt to cast on the King the odium of resisting their claims. Lord Belgrave, after observing that he could hardly think Mr. Nicholls meant seriously to press his motion, as it was notorious that Mr. Pitt had not been dismissed, but had resigned, and therefore thanks would be offered to his Majesty for doing what he had not done, proceeded to the easy task of examining and refuting the bold assertions which had been advanced, and concluded by proposing, as an amendment, a declaration that, by the wisdom, energy, and firmness of his Majesty's councils, during the late arduous contest, supported by the unparalleled exertions of our fleets and armies, and by the magnanimity and fortitude of the people, the honour of this country had been upheld, its strength united and consolidated, its credit and commerce maintained and extended, and our invaluable constitution preserved against the attacks of foreign and domestic enemies.

In this debate, great party animosity, with little political wisdom, was displayed. Mr. Grey and Mr. Fox treated Lord Belgrave's amendment as irregular; but that point was decided against them. Sir Henry Mildmay proposed, as an amendment upon the amendment, that Mr. Pitt had rendered great and important services to his country, and deserved the gratitude of the House; but the Speaker ruled that this could not be received until the previous amendment should have been disposed of; Mr. Erskine solemnly adjured the House, whatever might have been their opinion as to the origin of the war, or however their support of the late administration might formerly have been justified; by the respect they must bear for their character and honour in all future times, not to sanction a proposition

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1802.

Lord Belgrave
moves an
amendment.

Debate.

Mr. Erskine.

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so monstrous as that recommended by the amendment. The very manner in which it originated was sufficient for its condemnation. If the original motion asserted what was not consistent with the fact, or was subject to objections on any other account, why were they not used as a ground at once for its rejection, instead of making them the pretext of such unfounded and fulsome eulogiums? The noble lord considered our situation as triumphant; according to him, the vessel of the state might be taken to be in port, with her flags and streamers flying; but if even this were the case, what did he propose? Not to praise and thank the men who had brought her into the harbour, but those who, when she was labouring and almost sinking in the tempest, took to the boats and left her, for any thing they knew, to be dashed to pieces among the rocks. Mr. Erskine concluded an animated speech by proposing, as an amendment, a committee to enquire into the conduct of the late administration: but, in obedience to the forms of the House, it was withdrawn. After some observations by Mr. Grey, Mr. Fox, and Lord Hawkesbury, divisions were taken on the several amendments; that of Lord Belgrave was carried, which of course destroyed the original motion; the acknowledgment of Mr. Pitt's services was embarrassed by an invidious amendment, proposed by Mr. Fox, for adding the names of Lord Grenville, Earl Spencer, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Windham, and the Earl of Rosslyn, as they were Mr. Pitt's colleagues in the conduct of the war. Mr. Thomas Grenville considered this amendment not seriously meant as a mark of respect to his noble relative; Mr. Addington entreated Mr. Fox to withdraw it, but Mr. Fox persevered. As the House, he said, so warmly approved of the war, those men who clung to it with so much fondness, were as well, if not better, entitled to thanks than the right honourable gentleman who had deserted it. The amendment was negatived. Another was proposed by Mr. Grey, by inserting in the question, after the word "country," the words "by which the present government has been enabled to conclude a

Other
members.Lord
Belgrave's
amendment
carried.Mr. Fox
moves one;negatived.
Also one by
Mr. Grey.

"safe, honourable, and glorious peace," which also passed in the negative. Then the main question, "That the Right Honourable William Pitt has rendered great and important services to his country, "and especially deserves the gratitude of this House," was carried by a great majority*.

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1802.

Main question
carried.

This tribute to Mr. Pitt was not paid by that House alone which he had so long impelled by his judgment, and charmed with his eloquence. In honour of his birth-day, a dinner was celebrated in the city of London, at which nearly twelve hundred persons attended, including men of the highest rank and distinction in the state, of the greatest wealth and importance in the metropolis, and individuals eminent for their literary and scientific attainments. No tavern being found sufficient for their reception, the hall of Merchant Taylors was lent for the occasion ; Earl Spencer presided ; and the expressions of enthusiastic admiration for Mr. Pitt, and gratitude for his services, were unbounded. The Right Honourable George Henry Rose and the Right Honourable George Canning contributed songs ; both were highly applauded, but particularly that of Mr. Canning, in which Mr. Pitt was invoked as "the pilot that weathered the storm."

Public dinner
in honour of
Mr. Pitt.

May 28th.

In the debate on Mr. Nicholls's motion, Sir Robert Peel observed, that the late minister had been the benefactor of his country, and neglected no one's interest but his own. It would be disgraceful to the nation, he said, to allow such a man to retire to languish in poverty. He, for one, would be happy in contributing to avert such an event, not from personal motives, but on account of his important services. In conformity with the spirit of this observation, a deputation from the merchants of London waited on Mr. Pitt, saying that they had subscribed for his use a sum of one hundred thousand pounds, which should be paid into any banking-house he would name, in such a manner that he should never know who were the con-

Proposed do-
nation to him ;

* 211 to 52. The same exact number formed the minority on two other divisions, while the majority fluctuated between 224 and 211. The House did not rise till five o'clock in the morning.

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CXXII.1802.
declined.April 7th.
Bill for enforc-
ing residence
of the clergy;

tributors. Mr. Pitt declined this noble offer. If he were again to be in office, he said, he should always feel abashed and constrained when any request was directed to him from the City, as not knowing but that by non-compliance he might be thwarting the wishes or opposing the interests of his benefactors*.

Sir William Scott brought in a bill for amending and rendering more effectual an Act of Henry the Eighth, respecting non-residence, pluralities, and farming by the clergy. His speech was most learned and luminous, detailing the history of the restraints imposed, their motives, and their effects. The objects he purposed to accomplish were, to guard against the abuse by clergymen in farming; to enforce the duty of residence by increasing the authority of the bishops; and regulating the proceedings by common informers; for which ends many means were offered. With the moderation which ever accompanies true greatness, the learned advocate disclaimed the vanity of supposing that any bill which he could construct, on a subject so loaded with practical difficulties, could find a ready acceptance amidst the various opinions which prevailed. If, with the improvements the bill might receive, it should finally succeed, he should be glad to have been the instrument of introducing it; if it should fail, he should write satisfi on his mind and conscience. The bill received many alterations in a committee; but the tardiness of its progress affording no hope of an useful termination during the session, it was withdrawn.

May 31st.

withdrawn.

June 9th.

March 3, 16.
American
trade.

Corn trade.

April 2nd.

Some regulations were introduced relative to prohibitory restrictions in the treaty with the United States of America; and a committee was appointed to enquire into the state of the corn trade with Ireland, with a view of placing the two countries on an equal footing with respect to agriculture, as the only means for securing the enjoyment of the entire advantages of the Union.

Mr. Canning moved for some papers relative to

* From the information of a gentleman in the first line of mercantile eminence, who was present at the interview.

the grant or distribution of lands in Trinidad, with the avowed purpose of directing attention to the slave trade. Often, he said, as that question had been discussed, he had never heard any one maintain, that if the trade did not now exist, it ought to be commenced. The papers having been readily granted, Mr. Canning addressed to the House a long speech on the trade in African negroes. The grant of lands in Trinidad, he said, would introduce a new slave trade, inconsistent with the declared resolutions of the House, as, calculating on the basis laid down by Mr. Bryan Edwards in the History of Jamaica, a million of negroes would be required to force into fruitfulness and keep up the slave population in our new acquisition. Mr. Addington denied the correctness of this statement. Forty negroes in Trinidad could effect as much cultivation as one hundred in Jamaica; so far from intending, as was imputed, to make grants of lands for the sake of revenue alone, government had sent out a commission, confided to men of great talents and enlightened minds, to pursue proper enquiries; and no grants would be made but in pursuance of their reports. Mr. Canning declared that, after this explanation, he did not wish to press his motion to a division, and it fell lightly to the ground on a refusal of the previous question.

Another appeal was made to humanity by Sir Richard Hill, who re-introduced the bill for preventing bull-baiting and bull-running. He added to the usual invocations of benevolence toward unmerited distress and misery, a recital of many acts of cruelty which had occurred at bull-baitings, and referred to the petitions and feelings of individuals, of corporations, and particularly the ladies. Mr. Windham treated the measure as a combined effort of methodism and jacobinism, in itself totally unworthy the dignity of the House, and a portion of that spirit which was exerted in depriving the common people of their accustomed recreations. Mr. Courtenay and Mr. Sheridan enlivened the debate by flashes of wit and humorous quotations, while General Gascoyne, in a more solemn

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CXXII.1802.
Trinidad.
Slave trade.

Bull-baiting.

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tone, inveighed against the practice. The bill was lost on a motion for a second reading*.

In a committee of finance, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced the necessity felt by government of raising, by loan, twenty-five millions, which had been contracted for on terms exceedingly moderate and advantageous to the public; the interest was to be provided by an advanced duty on malt and beer, by an increase of the assessed taxes, and of the duty on exports and imports; but, at the same time, he gratified the House and its constituents by declaring that the income-tax would not be required. The renewal of the long-accustomed mode of supply, a lottery, occasioned some animadversions on the practice of low insurance, of which it formed the foundation; but Parliament was not yet disposed to renounce an easy mode of voluntary taxation, merely because it generated an abuse which, as yet, had eluded all attempts at its suppression. The bills for carrying these measures into effect occasioned little debate; and, in like manner, when Mr. Tierney presented, as usual, his financial resolutions, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer his counter-resolutions, the former were, as usual, rejected, and the latter voted. Mr. Addington also brought in a bill for giving additional force to the means already provided for extinguishing the national debt. Feeling most strongly the obligation to preserve inviolate the system established in 1786, he proposed to increase the vigour of its operation by consolidating the sums, then and subsequently bestowed, into one sinking fund, and adding an annual sum of two hundred thousand pounds, beside the one per cent. to be reserved on all loans. He stated that, although the plan would not be productive of immediate advantages, yet the effect would be, within a given time, to promote the liquidation, and ultimately to produce the extinction of the national debt. The measure, highly approved of by Mr. Pitt, passed with few observations and without any direct opposition. From the state

1802.
April 5th.
Loan.

Lottery.

June 17th,
Finance.

April 14th.
Sinking fund.

*1802.
Bank restric-
tion continued.
April 9th.

of exchange on the Continent, and the known fact that persons were engaged in purchasing guineas for the purpose of exportation, it was deemed necessary to continue the restriction on the Bank, a measure which could be productive of no inconvenience. Bank notes had always been received cheerfully: when the Bank was allowed by act of Parliament to withdraw from circulation the notes of one and two pounds, and pay them in specie, the paper called in amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds; of that sum, upwards of four hundred thousand pounds was received in paper in preference to money. From that, and a similar occurrence in the last year, it was inferred that there could be no just cause to doubt the credit of the Bank, and that to continue the restriction would rather raise than depress it. Not without observation, but without any semblance of serious opposition, the bill passed.

Early in the session, a message from the King informed the House of Commons that a considerable debt on the civil list had been unavoidably incurred; on the following day, the accounts were presented, and, on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, referred to a special committee for examination. The arrear was stated to be upward of £990,000; and, in accounting for it, Mr. Addington requested the House to recollect that sixteen years had elapsed since the arrangements and schedules were made with reference to the various branches of the civil list to be provided for by Parliament; but the events of that period had operated largely on the numerous articles of expenditure of which that civil list was composed: if gentlemen would advert to their own domestic concerns, they would not be at a loss to account for a very large portion of the debt. When the report was before the House, in a committee of supply, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved for the required sum. It was impossible, he said, to contemplate the total without regret, but its amount was not owing to profusion; none of it had been corruptly expended; a large portion was applied to the necessary purposes of the civil government, and not at all appropriated, as some had

Feb. 15th.
Arrears of the
civil list.

17th. •

March 29th.

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CXXII.

1802.

erroneously supposed, to his Majesty's personal use or household establishment. Was there to be found in any part of the expenditure the character of profusion ? Certainly none. We had seen one sort of abundance on the part of the chief magistrate of the community ; every virtue belonging to that character abounded in him ; but, with respect to outward splendour, the loyal feelings of the people would have gone much further, if desired, than had been hitherto required ; they had rather been disappointed for want of more, than satiated with too much, of that splendour. Although it was not his intention, at that time, to propose any permanent addition to the civil list, he had no difficulty in saying it would, in the present condition of things, be impossible to maintain, without further aid, the necessary splendour of the crown ; and, to support the inevitable expenditure, he hoped that some relief would, at a future period, be afforded by removing some charges which did not belong to it, and laying them on the consolidated fund.

Mr. Fox strongly resisted the vote, giving an historical view of the hereditary revenue, and the duties entailed upon it, until it was commuted for the civil list as now established, and recommending that the motion should be rejected, and an address substituted, praying his Majesty to confine the expense of the civil list within £900,000, and establish such savings and reforms as would create a sinking fund to pay off the debt contracted by the misconduct of his ministers. Mr. Pitt severely reprehended this style of argument. Mr. Fox, having alluded to Mr. Burke's bill, was reminded that the first subsequent excess arose in the year ending the fifth of April, 1784 ; at that time he (Mr. Pitt) had been three months in office, and the other nine ; the right honourable gentleman himself was Secretary of State ; Mr. Burke, Paymaster ; and Lord John Cavendish, Chancellor of the Exchequer. It appeared distinctly on the journals that, in each of the last three quarters of 1783, when those gentlemen were in office, there was an exceeding on the civil list to the same amount as in the first quarter of 1784 ;

a supply was voted without any objection of this kind being urged ; and, therefore, it was evident that the construction now contended for was not then considered as the real construction of the act. Mr. Fox had also spoken of the expenses in former reigns ; but if he took into consideration the grants to the crown, and the debt in the three reigns preceding that of his present Majesty, he would find that in the first sixty years of the last century the average annual expenditure was £ 794,000. Now, allowing for all the sums which had been, and that which was now proposed to be, granted in aid of the civil list, the expenditure for the last forty years was not, upon an average, above £ 918,000. The value of money, during the period of which he had been speaking, had increased in the proportion of from two to three, and the expenditure of the civil list only as eight to nine. It would also be fair to look at the state of the hereditary revenue : the average amount of that revenue, during his Majesty's reign, was £ 1,200,000 a year ; in 1800, it amounted to £ 1,800,000 ; and this great increase of these revenues was an additional proof of the increased prosperity and wealth which the people had acquired during his Majesty's reign. Mr. Tierney, approving in part, but not acceding altogether to Mr. Fox's observations, moved, as an amendment, that the chairman should leave the chair, report progress, and ask leave to sit again. This amendment was rejected*, and the original motion carried†.

In the House of Lords, a similar address was moved by Lord Pelham, and an amendment proposed by Earl Fitzwilliam, purporting that the House would immediately examine into the causes which led to the application. The debate did not rival in length or vigour that which was maintained in the other House. Lord Pelham having recapitulated, under nine heads, the objects of expenditure, Lord Holland successfully ridiculed this, as similar to that of a man who, finding himself living beyond his income, determined, as a check upon his disposition to extravagance, to keep an exact account of his expenditure. He purchased an

^{29th.}
House of
Lords.

CHAP.
CXXII.

1802.

account book, but on opening it, at the end of a week, it contained but two items,—“ a lead pencil, 8d. ; sundries, £ 150.” Thus it was with the accuracy of ministers: in details of trivial moment, they were extremely minute; but, on the great head of extravagance, they lumped off an enormous sum under the head of occasional payments. The amendment was negatived*, and the address voted. The peers in the minority recorded the reasons of their dissent in a short protest.

Feb. 17th.
Claims of the
Prince of
Wales.

On the first discussion of his Majesty's message, Mr. Manners Sutton, Solicitor General to the Prince of Wales, called the attention of the House to the claims of his Royal Highness in respect of the arrears of the duchy of Cornwall, recapitulating, in what Mr. Fox justly termed a very clear and able statement, the history of that inheritance, the opinions of eminent lawyers, and the sums still due to the Prince, adding that, on investigation, it would be found that his Royal Highness had not received more than he was entitled to, but that, on the contrary, a considerable balance was due to him, and that he was the creditor, and not the debtor, of the public. The matter was taken up by Mr. Fox, with a vivacity which promised an animated discussion on some future day; but Mr. Manners Sutton prevented it, for the present, by declaring that he was authorized by his Royal Highness to intimate that he should defer bringing forward the subject until after the question relative to his Majesty's civil list should be determined.

22nd.

21st.

When that event had taken place, Mr. Manners Sutton again addressed the House, moving for a select committee to enquire what sums were due to his Royal Highness from the duchy of Cornwall; by whom, and by what authority, its revenues had been received from his birth until he attained the age of twenty-one, and how these sums had been applied? Also, what sums had been advanced to him from the time he came of age until the twenty-seventh of June, 1795, for the discharge of his debts? With the most ample acknowledgments of the candour and ability with which

the question had been brought forward, the Chancellor of the Exchequer totally disapproved the motion for a committee, and moved the other orders of the day. Mr. Erskine, the Master of the Rolls, and several other members, entered into the question on opposite sides; but, in the end, Mr. Addington's motion prevailed*. On a subsequent day, Mr. Tyrwhitt announced that the claims of the illustrious personage, in whose service he was, had at last found their way into a court of justice. His Royal Highness's petition of right, during the time of the late Lord Chancellor, had lain in the office six years and a half, without receiving an answer. If the learned judge who now held the seals should be against his claims, they must rest for ever; if otherwise, he should deem it his duty to lay the result before the House. He took that opportunity of stating that, since the year 1795, £ 525,000 had been paid of his Royal Highness's debts, not from the public purse, but from a portion of his income set apart for that purpose.

Public business being finished, the Speaker, attending his Majesty with the bills for his assent, adverted, in a wise, eloquent, and temperate speech, to the important labours which had been accomplished, and mentioned the grant recently made to relieve the demands on the civil list, as conducive to the general welfare of the country, which had not now to learn that its monarchy is the best and strongest security for its liberties, and that the splendour of the throne reflects lustre and dignity on the whole nation. In pronouncing the prorogation, the King said that, as he thought the election of a new Parliament expedient, he should forthwith give the necessary directions for that purpose; at the same time, assuring the members that he could not suppress the sentiments of entire approbation with which he reflected on every part of their conduct since their first meeting.

As the Parliament had already existed six years, this announcement was not unexpected, and it was immediately carried into effect by a proclamation.

CHAP.
CXXII.

1802.

May 10th.

Close of the session.

June 28th.

Intended dissolution announced.

Dissolution.
29th.

CHAPTER

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THREE.

1801—1802—1803.

State of the French colonies.—Constitution of Saint Domingo.—Toussaint appointed Governor.—His origin and conduct.—French expedition.—Toussaint's children.—Arrival of the French.—Their proceedings.—Proclamation.—Bonaparte's letter to Toussaint.—Toussaint's children brought to their parents.—Le Clerc's proclamation.—Progress of hostilities.—Disunion of the people of colour.—Surrender of Toussaint.—Tyranny of Le Clerc.—Sickness of his army.—Treachery and cruelty toward Toussaint.—Death of Le Clerc.—Guadaloupe.—Tobago.—Dominica.—Jamaica.—State and ambition of France.—Abdication of the King of Sardinia.—Piedmont annexed to France.—Spain.—Holland.—Switzerland.—State of Germany.—State of the French government. Re-introduction of Christianity.—Concordat.—Bonaparte made Consul for life.—Legion of honour established.—Bonaparte's assumption of dignity.—Civil code framed.—Emigrants.—Splendour of the consular court.—Influx of English travellers.—Mr. Fox.

CHAP.
CXXIII.

1801.
State of the
French colo-
nies.

WHEN, after the signature of the preliminary treaty, the French fleet sailed for the West Indies, the state of their colonies evidently called for speedy and determined exertion. The precipitate abolition, not of the slave trade, but of slavery itself, by the Constituent

Assembly, had generated the evils incident to changes made without a due preparation of those on whom they are to operate; and the promulgation of doctrines of equality and rights of man, among people who had never before been viewed but as a mere servile property, transferrable at pleasure, had created a fierce spirit of self-will, not unmixed with resentment for past oppressions, while the arming and training of a large body of these men, although it produced the immediate good effect of expelling the English, created a power difficult to manage, and with which it was impossible for any but a strong, determined, and unanimous government to contend. While the French were unable, from their maritime inferiority, to send armed supporters of their cause across the Atlantic, the emancipated slaves, particularly in St. Domingo, surmounted all opposition, and established their own absolute freedom. The negroes of this colony, by an act framed on the model of modern constitutions, declared that Saint Domingo and some adjacent isles formed the territory of a single colony, making a part of the French empire, but governed by its own particular laws. Slavery was abolished for ever; all men born there were to live and die freemen and Frenchmen. Beside regulations for religion, morals, property, agriculture, commerce, and finance, and for representative assemblies; in consideration of the important services rendered to the colony by citizen Toussaint L'Ouverture, the reins of government were committed to him for the whole of his glorious life, with power to appoint a successor, not publicly, but by writing, enclosed in a sealed packet, to be opened only by the central assembly, in presence of all the generals of the army*.

Toussaint L'Ouverture was born in the ordinary rank of a field or plantation slave; he displayed an early propensity to the acquisition of knowledge, which his benevolent proprietor encouraged, by affording him leisure and means to make proficiency. When the

CHAP.
CXXIII.

1801.

Constitution
of Saint
Domingo.1801.
May 9, July 2.Toussaint
appointed
Governor.His origin and
conduct.

* Historical account of Hayti, by Marcus Raynsford, Esq. p. 529, and the Constitution at large, Annual Register, vol. xlivi. p. *407.

CHAP.
CXXIII.

1801.

progress of events had given him military elevation, the insular revolution in which the freedom of the slaves was asserted, took place, accompanied with the horrors of conflagration and massacre which the Abbé Raynal predicted, and rather encouraged than deprecated. Toussaint discountenanced these atrocities : he was the friend and protector of the white men, and shewed his gratitude to his master, not only by securing to him a safe retreat in America, but by liberally contributing to his support ; he re-established cultivation, and while he placed himself at the head of his new-formed government, far from renouncing or denying the authority of the Republic, he submitted the new constitution to the approbation of government. He had married a woman of his own degree in society, and to gain for his children the advantages of which he felt the want, sent them to France for education*.

French
expedition.

Bonaparte had never concurred in the opinions of those who sought the abolition of slavery ; he considered its re-establishment essential to the interests of France, and as a measure on which the value of St. Domingo and the neighbouring islands was entirely dependent†. To effect this end, the squadron already mentioned sailed from Brest, while reinforcements were preparing at Rochefort, L'Orient, and other ports of France and Spain. Of the land force, Le Clerc was commander in chief ; and it is said that, for the sake of his favourite, Bonaparte intended that regal honours and authority should be confided to him. The First Consul's younger brother Jerome, with Bénézet and Fréron, went as colonial prefects ; and in subordinate command were Generals Rochambeau, Kerversan, and Boudet ; and the children of the negro chief were carried out under the denomination of hostages. After a voyage of forty-six days, Villaret reached Cape Samana, near Hispaniola, and proceeded to Saint Domingo, intending to land at Cape Town ; but, being unexpectedly resisted, he opened a correspondence of

Toussaint's
children.1802.
Jan. 29th.
Arrival of
the French.

* For ample details concerning this negro chief, see Raynford, p. 239. Also see *Homme d'Etat*, tome viii. p. 171.

† *Capefigue*, tome iii. p. 394.

mixed cajolery and menace with Christophe, who, in the absence of Toussaint, commanded at Cape François. Finding this effort ineffectual, he published an insidious proclamation, devised by Bonaparte, flattering all classes by telling them that, whatever their origin and colour, they were all Frenchmen ; that internal discords and foreign wars being at an end, General Le Clerc, at the head of a great force, was come to protect them ; France would never deprive them of their liberty ; but, if they misconducted themselves, the wrath of the Republic should devour them as fire devoured their dry canes.

With similar contrivance, Bonaparte addressed a letter to Toussaint, acknowledging that, if the colours of France waved in Saint Domingo, it was owing to him and his brave blacks ; approving, in many particulars, the constitution he had made, but complaining that, in others, it was contrary to the dignity and sovereignty of the French people. He offered freedom to the blacks, and to Toussaint himself, rank, honours, and fortune, to the extent of his desires.

For a time, Christophe prevented the disclosure of Bonaparte's proclamation ; but, at length, it was promulgated through a negro named César Télémaque. Convinced that the lures which had been held out were insufficient to produce general submission, Le Clerc ordered landings, which were effected at various points, the resistance offered being unskilful and feeble. In hope to influence the conduct of Toussaint by an appeal to his feelings, his children were brought into his presence, and separately into that of their mother, with promises of their restoration, if he would submit ; the mother betrayed some natural female weakness, but the father remaining inflexible in what he considered his duty, the children were continued in captivity.

Secure of a footing in the country, Le Clerc issued a proclamation, treating those who opposed the uncontrolled dominion claimed by the French as traitors and enemies, and Toussaint as a frantic monster ; he and Christophe were put out of the protection of the law ;

CHAP.
CXXIII.

1802.
Feb. 3rd.
Their pro-
ceedings.
Proclamation.

Bonaparte's
letter to
Toussaint.

Toussaint's
children
brought to
their parents.

Le Clerc's
proclamation.

Feb. 16th.

CHAP.
CXXIII.

1802.

Progress of
hostilities.

March.

April 24th.

Disunion of
the people of
colour.Surrender of
Toussaint.

all citizens ordered to pursue them as rebels ; and the same designation was given to all who should obey other orders than those issued by the generals of the French army.

It is not intended to pursue the conflict which ensued through all its details ; the French were sometimes so languidly opposed as to occasion suspicions of treachery, an opinion which was strengthened by frequent revolts of the negro troops, but at others, especially where Toussaint commanded in person, vigorously resisted. Cape Town was set on fire by the blacks, when forced to abandon it, the French with great difficulty saving a part from the flames. After the capture of a fort called La Crête à Pierrot, in the course of which his troops sustained considerable loss, Le Clerc, expecting that he had no further effectual resistance to apprehend, issued a proclamation for establishing an assembly, to make a preliminary organization of a government, the basis of which should be liberty and equality, without regard to colour, but it was not to be definitive until approved by the Consuls ; and he would not allow the assembly to be deliberative, knowing too well the evils which such bodies had already brought on the colony.

Frequent reinforcements from France replenished the ranks which had been thinned by conflict or by disease ; rivalry, discontent, and disunion, distracted the operations of the negroes. Some of the chiefs, on offers of amnesty and promises of personal consideration, submitted to, or joined Le Clerc ; and, at last, Christophe, the relative, the valued and trusted friend of Toussaint, yielding to the same motives, surrendered to the French general.

Supported by Dessalines, who was not to be seduced or awed, Toussaint, for a time, persevered in resistance, and might have maintained an obstinate conflict ; but, as his views tended only to the public good, he dreaded the evils of a protracted hostility, and, in a letter to Le Clerc, represented the pain he felt at continuing a war without object or end ; and, although he was in sufficient force to ravage and de-

stroy the country, and to sell dearly a life, which, on some occasions, had been useful to France, he tendered a submission which was most acceptable ; his amnesty was granted, and, with assurances of safety, he was allowed to retire to his estate at Gonaives.

Having thus acquired undisputed ascendancy, Le Clerc aspired at despotic authority. Whether or not it is true that, under favour of his wife's all-powerful brother, he meant to establish a sort of West Indian Empire, of which Saint Domingo was to be the centre, many of his acts favour the opinion. He assumed the title of General in Chief, in addition to that of Captain General ; limited the press to the publication of a single newspaper ; and by a decree, contrary to the tenor of all laws passed since the sitting of the Constituent Assembly, and the faith pledged in the proclamations issued since his own arrival in the colony, re-established slavery on its ancient footing, and alarmed, disgusted, and irritated the people of colour, by ordering them all to repair to the estates from which they had been emancipated. The dissatisfaction occasioned by this proceeding portended a renewal of hostilities ; and Le Clerc's apprehensions were augmented by the extensive ravages effected in his army by a contagious malady, which there were no hopes of mitigating, until the month of September should bring a more favourable state of the atmosphere. He was himself assailed by the disease, and obliged to retire to Tortuga for his health.

It was probably arranged before Le Clerc left France, that if Toussaint, whose talents and influence were equally dreaded, once fell into his power, he should not remain in his native island. The resolution, whenever formed, was executed with equal perfidy and barbarity. In a month after he had retired, under the faith of a treaty, to a state of domestic privacy, the Cr  ole frigate, escorted by the Hero, of seventy-four guns, from Cape Fran  ois, stood in close to the shore of Gonaives, a strong military force was landed, his house was surrounded, his chamber entered, and his immediate surrender demanded. To resist was hope-

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1802.

May 8th.

Tyranny of
Le Clerc.Sickness of
his army.Treachery and
cruelty toward
Toussaint.

June 9th.

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1802.

less ; the unfortunate victim surrendered, and was conveyed on board the frigate, separated from his wife and family, who, notwithstanding his earnest entreaties, were also carried away. Two men, who, on the sudden alarm, made an effort in their favour, were seized and shot; and about a hundred more, guilty of no crime but that of being friends of Toussaint, were put on board ship and never heard of more ; their fate may easily be guessed. For this act of tyranny, the only cause assigned was an intercepted letter written by Toussaint, which, under the most forced construction, is nothing more than ambiguous ; but it is not pretended that he was ever cited before any civil, or even military, tribunal to avow, disavow, or explain it ; his accusation, his sentence, and its execution, were the work of one moment. In his voyage to France, he was treated with the utmost rigour ; not allowed any communication with his family until their arrival at Brest, where, a momentary, agonizing interview having been permitted, he was hurried away to the castle of Joux in Normandy, and his family, after a detention of two months at Brest, were imprisoned at Bayonne. Le Clerc, the unprincipled perpetrator of all this wickedness, did not long survive ; his health could never be restored, and, after a dominion of eleven months, he expired, and was succeeded in command by General Rochambeau*.

July 11th.
Death of
Le Clerc.

Nov. 1st.

Guadaloupe.

1801.
April.

In proportion to its extent and population, Guadalupe was the scene of as great commotions and atrocities as St. Domingo. Liberated slaves, impelled by Jacobin agitators, had made the island a scene of desolation, by the murder of the white inhabitants, and had assumed to themselves a right to govern, sometimes distinguishing their sway by wild anarchy, at others by rigid tyranny. To terminate this dreadful state of affairs, Rear Admiral La Crosse, who, with a small squadron, was dispatched from L'Orient as Captain General, issued a proclamation, promising to the people the

* Chiefly from Raynsford, 259 to 322. Annual Register, vol. xliv. c. 17, and State Papers in the same volume. Capefigue, tome iii. p. 390, et seqq. ; and Homme d'Etat, tome viii. p. 171.

equal benefits of the French constitution, and exhorting the planters and merchants to rally around him, forgetting the divisions occasioned by the revolution.

Had a proclamation been a probable means of inspiring courage in the oppressed, restoring confidence to the timid, or restraining the enterprizes of the violent, La Crosse, who had himself appeared ten years before, under the title of a friend to the blacks, the advocate of insurrection, and the instigator of violence, was not the man whom the prudent would confide in, or the licentious fear. In the exercise of his authority, he transported to France for trial, or banished from the island, upward of seventy disturbers of order; but, according to his own account, a factious party calumniated his legal authority, seduced or led astray the armed forces, imprisoned the officers who remained faithful, and, finally, seized his own person, and put him on board a Danish vessel, to be landed at Copenhagen; fortunately, he was met by a British frigate, the Tamer, the captain of which, on his claiming protection, landed him at Dominica. The successful insurgents, although apprized of the peace, armed privateers, and issued letters of marque, as if they intended to establish in Guadaloupe a centre of piratical depredators*. Their chief was Pelage, a mulatto, who had been a follower of La Crosse himself in the paths of insurrection, and had gained possession of an estate by murdering his mistress. The people of colour dismissed all white men from public employ, and assumed the entire command, both civil and military. When assured of the approach of troops from the mother country, they massacred the few white persons who remained among them, or who had ventured to return, and prepared for resistance. A body of military, under General Richepanse, having effected a landing at Point à Pitre and at Gosier, Pelage tendered immediate submission; but another commander, named Ignace, made a show of resistance. The men of colour, vainly resisting disciplined troops, were slain in great numbers,

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1801.

Oct. and Nov.

1802.
May 7th.

* Memorial of La Crosse, Lescallier, and Coster, dated Roseau, Dominica, 3rd Dec. 1801. Annual Register, vol. xliv. p. *358.

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1802.

Tobago.
1801.
Dec.1802.
Oct. 24th.Dominica.
April 9th.

Jamaica.

and increased their own destruction by blowing up their powder magazines. At last, the French remained masters of an impoverished and almost depopulated island, the remaining insurgents having fled to the woods to form a society similar to that of the Maroons.

When, according to the treaty of peace, Tobago was to be restored to the French, the negroes prepared an insurrection, in which nothing worthy of notice occurred, except a *ruse de guerre*, equally humane and successful, exercised by General Carmichael. Apprized of their intention, he seized thirty of the ring-leaders, hung one at the signal staff of the fort, and caused his body to be lowered and hoisted about thirty times, and a gun fired at each new elevation. The insurgents, believing that all their chiefs had suffered, and hoping for no mercy, dispersed in despair. When the French came, a slight attempt at insurrection was made, but easily quelled. Dominica was a scene of much greater alarm, from the revolt of a regiment of blacks, who, without alleging any ground of complaint, or tendering any remonstrance, suddenly rose and butchered several of their officers, but were finally reduced to subjection by the vigour and prudence of Colonel, the Honourable Cochrane Johnstone.

In Jamaica, Saint Domingo was calculated to excite alarm. The protective precautions of government obviated all danger from the French armament; but neither the success of Toussaint, and the establishment of a government of blacks, nor the facility which their total conquest would afford to the French in employing them as a disciplined force for purposes of invasion, could be regarded without apprehension. Government had sent out a considerable reinforcement drawn from the German legion and the Dutch artillery men; but the legislature of Jamaica refused to vote supplies for their pay, or, in compliance with a message from the Lieutenant Governor, to intrust him with the management of the barrack department for the purpose of forming a corps of black artificers. Events shewed that the proposed measures were not for the present necessary; and their rejection being accompa-

nied with no marks of disrespect or ill will, evinces only the absence of all fear from the legislators*.

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CXXIV.

It might justly have been thought, that, after the peace of Amiens, France had nothing to desire but leisure to re-establish useful institutions, to consolidate her dominions, and give activity to her commerce. Her colonies were restored; she retained possession of the Austrian Low Countries, Dutch Flanders, with the course of the Scheldt, a part of Dutch Brabant; Maestricht, Venloo, and other important fortresses; all the portion of Germany situated on the left bank of the Rhine and placed between the Dutch and Swiss territories, and Alsace; she had also Avignon and the Comtat, almost the entire bishoprick of Bale, with Savoy, Geneva, and Nice. Beside these possessions, she extended a controlling sway, amounting to sovereignty, over Parma, and all the continental possessions of the King of Sardinia, Tuscany, or the kingdom of Etruria, the Italian, Helvetian, Ligurian, and Batavian Republics†. But the inordinate love of power still suggested new encroachments on the independency of other nations, which were eagerly pursued during the negotiations at Amiens, and after their conclusion. In the Italian Republic, despotic power was exercised without impediment or observation; far from feeling their wretched state of degradation, when Verdier, a missionary of Bonaparte, issued at Bologna decrees which reduced the people to a condition even below that of slavery, prohibiting them, under pain of military execution, from carrying any arms, even so much as a stick, the Consulta, by their decree, sanctioned that of Verdier; and the government, in a report of their state, expressed hope for themselves, and confidence in the genius and fortune of Bonaparte.

Pressed on all sides by overpowering armies, overbearing insolence, and rapacious demands, which reduced his people to poverty, while an abusive press, instigated, supplied, and paid by France, exposed his person and his authority to contempt, Charles Emanuel,

1802.
State and
ambition of
France.

July 27th.

Sept. 1st.
Abdication of
the King of
Sardinia.

June 4th.

* Annual Register, vol. xliv. pp. 331 to 337.

† Montgaillard Revue Chronologique, p. 355.

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CXXIII.

1802.

June 29th.
Piedmont
annexed to
France.

Sept. 11th.

Oct. 9th.

Spain.

Holland.

King of Sardinia, abdicated his throne, appointing as his successor, his brother Victor Emanuel, Duke of Aosta, who had for some time resided as governor in the island of Sardinia, conciliating the affections of all people by his equity, mildness, and benevolence. Bonaparte seized this opportunity to accomplish the long-meditated union of Piedmont to France, which was effected by a decree, denominating it the twenty-seventh military department of the Republic. The ostensible pretext was, that the King having now, for the second time, abdicated, his subjects were absolved from their allegiance. The territory was united to the French Republic, as the departments of Po, Doire, Marengo, Sezia, Stura, and Tanaro, each sending to the legislative body a certain number of representatives. The grand Duke of Parma, dying soon afterward, his dominions were seized by the all-grasping Republic as belonging justly to them*.

On every side, France was enforcing obedience and exacting sacrifices. Spain, in a state of abject vassalage, could be regarded only as a submissive tributary. After various changes in the form of government, miscalled constitutions, the formerly opulent, free, and independent states of Holland were placed under a system which deprived them of every chance of wealth, and left them without a hope of independence. Under the rule of a regency of state composed of twelve, and a legislative body of thirty-five, members, they were in fact, although not nominally, helplessly under the dominion of France. Her troops which, after the definitive treaty with England, ought to have been removed, continued to oppress, control, and plunder the country; remonstrances were answered by the fiction of a Jacobin plot, in which no one believed, but the effect of which they had no power to resist. No beneficial interference from the great powers of the Continent could be expected; each of them had its reasons for regretting the state of the United Provinces; but each had interests of its own to discuss, jealousies to stifle, and precautions to devise,

* Annual Register, vol. xliv. p. 347.

which would not permit a hope of general union, and would prevent any separate spontaneous effort. The Stadtholder no longer possessed or claimed any authoritative influence : by a treaty with the French Republic, the Prince of Orange had formally renounced that dignity, and all rights, claims, and pretensions derived from it, and all domains and landed property in the Republic or its colonies ; he was to retain his rents ; and, in exchange for the ceded rights, he obtained the bishoprick and Abbey of Fulda, and some other ecclesiastical territories, which were declared to be secularized, and, on failure of his heirs, to descend to those of the King of Prussia*.

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1802.

May 21st.

A deeper feeling of disgust than that occasioned by the transactions in Holland pervaded all Europe, in considering the conduct of France toward Switzerland. By the second article of the treaty of Luneville, dictated by Bonaparte himself, the independence of that country, and its right to form its own government, were guaranteed. A new constitution having been framed, the sanction of the First Consul was sought ; but he fraudulently required that it should be reconsidered, and six dissident members readmitted to the deliberation : these men, having assembled together during a day of recess, in the absence of their colleagues, who formed the majority, made an illegal decree for a Republic, one and indivisible. The members for the smaller cantons, attached to their ancient form of administration, under the guidance of Aloys Reding, their grand landamman, took up arms. They applied at Vienna and Berlin for the intervention which their interests, as well as the treaty in which they were named as guarantees, rendered proper ; but the applicants were not even acknowledged. England alone tendered them a protection, which they rendered ineffectual ; for, before any representations on our part could take place, Reding had published, at Berne, under the title of General Organization of Switzerland, a plan of government sent for sanction to the communal

1801.
Aug. 1st.

Oct. 8th.

1802.
Feb. 27th.

* *Homme d'Etat*, tome viii. p. 293. For the treaty, see *Annual Register*, vol. xliv. p. *389.

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1802.

April 7th.

May 19th.

Sept. 27th.

1803.

Feb. 19th.

State of
Germany.

assemblies. By his own authority, Bonaparte annulled this legally formed constitution. A new one was prepared, and most artfully the French troops were withdrawn from the territory ; but it was only that the growth of discontents previously sown might afford a pretext for re-introducing them to quell the troubles of the country. Under this constitution, Reding remained, for a while, at the head of twelve cantons ; and, having conquered Berne, the only one remaining, reassembled the ancient government. His opponents fled on every side ; but the end desired by Bonaparte was attained. His aide-de-camp, General Rapp, announced him as the mediator between the parties ; and General Ney, at the head of forty thousand men, presenting himself to support this mediation, which no persons legally authorized had desired, the hitherto successful party were too feeble to resist, and all Switzerland was disarmed. The brave patriot Reding, disdaining to avoid the fury of tyranny by flight, was consigned a prisoner to the Castle of Aarburg, and afterward to that of Chillon, and detained in close and secret confinement until the liberty of his country was quite overthrown. Bonaparte assembled in Paris a body of real or pretended Swiss, including the porters and other menials distinguished by that denomination, gave through them a new constitution to the country, formed with them a treaty of alliance, and took upon himself the title of Mediator of Switzerland*.

If it appears surprising that these important changes, evidently endangering the future safety of Germany, should occasion no remonstrance, except from England, it is necessary to consider the state of the different powers in that empire. A diet was held at Ratisbon, for the purpose of settling the indemnities to be granted in pursuance of the treaty of Luneville, the appropriation by France of such ample territory on the left bank of the Rhine, the secularization of many ecclesiastical states, and the changes in the forms of government which must ensue. By adroit

* Homme d'Etat, tome viii. p. 294 ; and for the Constitution, Annual Register, vol. xliv. p. *201.

1803.

contrivance, France obtained for herself, in union with Russia, a commanding influence in this diet ; and, far from interfering with the late usurpations of authority, or the numerous infractions of the treaty of Luneville, the great powers of the German empire employed their attention on views directed by mutual jealousy, instead of opposing a firm and immediate resistance to the encroaching power which menaced them all. Thus the secularizations and indemnities proceeded, not without much discussion and opposition, but always to the end desired by France, the condition of which was also improved by treaties with the Porte, and by spirited exertions against the piratical states of Algiers and Tunis, which together gave her a beneficial commercial footing in the Black Sea and in the Mediterranean.

At home, France was rapidly approaching that change to which all late transactions visibly tended. When the established government was overthrown in 1789, liberty was the pretext; but liberty had never been for a single day enjoyed in France; and now the semblance of it, supposed to be retained by the abolition of monarchy and nobility, and the establishment of a Republic, was vanishing. The progress of change was rapid, but the effect was not sudden. There could be no doubt that the foresight and judgment of Bonaparte, engaged on an object so dear to his heart as supreme authority, would prevent him from frustrating his own ends by rashness or indiscretion, while his uncontrollable energy and ardent activity would equally prevent any delay which, by appearance of languor and indecision, would afford hopes and give solidity and strength to opposition. He had already achieved an important point by re-establishing religion. After the battle of Marengo, he had given up Rome to Pius the Seventh, and assented to his installation, although with reduced splendour and limited authority; this was less a tribute to the Pontiff than a manoeuvre against the policy of Austria, which, to that period, had confined his residence to Venice*.

State of the
French
government.

Re-introduc-
tion of Chris-
tianity.

* Montholon, *Memoirs*, vol. ii. p. 15.

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CXXIII.

1803.
Concordat.

1801.
June 29th.

1802.
April to
August 15th.

Not from any particular regard to the Catholic religion, or even to Christianity, Bonaparte determined on the re-establishment of the old form of worship in France. The public mind being, in the usual manner, prepared by proclamations and resolutions of the Pope in council, and by paragraphs and pamphlets known to be dictated and sanctioned by government, a council of forty constitutional, or intruding, bishops, and as many priests of the same description, held in the long-profaned and desecrated church of Notre Dame, formed a treaty between his Holiness and the French Republic, which was finally ratified, and published under the title of a Concordat. In this compact, the ancient thunder of the Church, which kept the Christian world in awe, was reduced to an humble whisper ; the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion being acknowledged to be that of the great majority of French citizens, and having derived, and still expecting, the greatest benefit and splendour from the establishment of the Catholic worship, and from its being openly professed by the Consuls, it was agreed that it should be freely exercised in France, and its service publicly performed, conformably to such regulations of the police as the government should think necessary for the public tranquillity. Bishops were to take an oath before the First Consul, and inferior clergymen before the civil authorities, binding themselves to be obedient to the government, to carry on no correspondence, to be present at no conversation, and to form no connexion within the territories of the Republic, or without, which could disturb the public tranquillity, and to give immediate information of anything they might discover, which had that tendency. The manner of appointing to ecclesiastical dignities and benefices was established, and forty-four articles were appended for regulation of the Catholic church, as connected with the policy of the state. This arrangement did not pass through the French legislative bodies without marked, though ineffectual, resistance ; and the bishops, whom the tyranny of anti-christian governments had expelled from their

sees and driven into exile, refused to abdicate the rank to which they had been consecrated, and addressed remonstrances to the Pope, who, if he had been inclined, was unable to assist or redress them. Thus was religion said to be restored in France; but, as if it had been determined to repress pride by the infliction of miserable poverty, the higher clergy were forbidden to assume any title: they had their choice between Citizen and Monsieur; the salary of an archbishop was fixed at fifteen thousand livres (£625), of a bishop at ten thousand (£418), neither of them sufficient to maintain the establishment and equipage becoming a man of rank; while the curés or rectors, divided into two classes, were to be rewarded by appointments of fifteen hundred and one thousand livres (£63 and £42) a year, a remuneration hardly sufficient for a clerk or a porter*.

In the conception, arrangement, and conclusion of this whole affair, the ascendancy of Bonaparte was conspicuous; and many public transactions had demonstrated that the predisposition of the French to grant, kept steady pace with his own inclination to assume, absolute and permanent power. The limitation of his present government to ten years was highly unsatisfactory; he had been examining the probability of extending the term; and some, who perhaps were not

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1802

Bonaparte
made Consul
for life.

* All histories are agreed on these facts: ample details are in Capefigue, tome iii. c. iii. p. 82; and for documents, see Annual Register, vol. xliv. pp. *373 to *383. Goldsmith, Recueil, &c. tome i. pp. 274, 322, 338, 367, 374, 381, 383. Also *Les quatre Concordats par l'Abbé de Pradt*, tome i. with observations by Bonaparte, dictated to Montholon, Mémoirs, vol. i. p. 118. Many pamphlets appeared on the occasion: among them may particularly be noticed, *Concordat et Pièces y Relatives*; *Lettre de plusieurs Evêques*; *Mémoires des Evêques françois*; and *Lettre de l'Evêque de Narbonne au Pape*. One curious sequel attended this arrangement; it was a brief addressed by the Pope to his very dear son, Charles Maurice Talleyrand, importuning that his Holiness being touched by the desire expressed by Talleyrand to be reconciled to him and to the Catholic church, and expanding, in his behalf, the bowels of his paternal charity, liberated him, by his plenary power, from the bonds of all excommunications, imposing on him, as a consequence of his reconciliation, alms for the relief, particularly, of the poor of the church of Autun, of which he had been governor. The Pope granted him power to wear a secular habit, and to act in all civil affairs, whether he might choose to retain his present employments, or exchange them for others to which he might be appointed. This miserable piece of jargon, dated the 29th of June, was recognized and authenticated by the French government on the 19th of August. Montgaillard, p. 362; Goldsmith, tome i. p. 538.

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1802.

May 8th.

9th.

Aug. 4th.

cordially disposed to the grant of an authority of too long duration, thought, by a dexterous compliment, to compromise the matter. Accordingly, when the treaty of Amiens was presented to the tribunate, it was voted that a splendid pledge of national gratitude should be paid to him ; and the conservative senate framed a decree, replete with bombastic adulation, re-electing him First Consul for the ten years which should immediately follow the expiration of those already granted by the constitution. If the expressions in this decree were agreeable to Bonaparte, its effect was far from satisfactory : he evaded the harshness of a positive refusal, by declaring, that although the honourable proof they had given of their esteem would ever be engraven on his heart, yet, as the suffrage of the people had invested him with the chief magistracy, he should not consider himself sure of possessing their confidence, if the act, which was to retain him in that situation, was not similarly sanctioned. The question to be submitted to them, by direction of the other Consuls, was, whether Napoléon Bonaparte should be Consul for life ? and the mode of collecting opinions was arranged. It was an argument easy of comprehension, and sure of reception among the people of France, that they ought not to shew less gratitude or confidence than the Italian Republic at the Consulta of Lyons ; and accordingly the return to the question shewed an immense majority in the affirmative*. The title as well as substance of absolute rule was claimed for Bonaparte, in a printed bill generally circulated, the author or publishers of which were neither punished nor censured, declaring that the gratitude of the nation, and its protection against future revolutions, required that he should be proclaimed Emperor, with succession to his heirs, according to the regulations of the salique law. If this proposal was not at once adopted, the effect of it was in great part conceded : a *senatus consultum* was

* 3,568,885 to 8,374. It was considered that none but determined Jacobins entered into this minority ; and the supposition received support from the fact, that Carnot placed his name in the list, with an observation that he knew he was signing his own proscription.

framed for organizing the constitution, in which the Consuls were all established for life, but when a vacancy should occur, the Chief was to present a successor; the senate might reject two nominations, but over the third they had no power. He was to appoint his own successor, but might do it secretly, by depositing among the archives, in presence of the other Consuls and certain public authorities, a sealed paper, containing the record of his wish.

While thus established in real, and grasping only at titular, power, the activity and judgment of Bonaparte were displayed in several preparatory measures. He anticipated with distaste the possible opposition to his views which might arise in the tribunate and the Conservative senate: he hated all deliberative bodies, and meditated the restriction, if not the abolition of powers, which, if they could not effectually thwart his projects, at least rendered their progress tardy or insecure. As a first support to his power, he established a Legion of Honour, composed of military men who had already obtained arms of honour, but capable of receiving among its numbers any whom public services might render worthy. They were to consist of about seven thousand men, divided into cohorts, dispersed in different parts of the Republic; in each cohort were to be great officers, commandants, subalterns, and three hundred and fifty privates, to each of whom were assigned pensions of moderate amount, from two hundred to five guineas, and they were all to hold for life. This did not appear a splendid commencement of a new nobility; but its emoluments, although insignificant, did not, like those of the clergy, form the whole subsistence of the party receiving them, and the title and decorations would be highly valued as a distinction, elevating their possessor above those who had been his equals. This project was not adopted by the legislative bodies without vehement discussion, and a close division; it was opposed as destructive of the principles of equality and republican morality, and as a plan to prop the Consular throne by a chivalric order*.

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1802.

Legion of
Honour
established.

May 19th.

* Histories. Goldsmith, vol. i. p. 426. Montgaillard, Revue, &c. p. 361.

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CXXIII.

1802.
Bonaparte's
assumption
of dignity.
Aug. 15th.

Civil code
framed.

Emigrants.
April 29th.

In one conspicuous instance, Bonaparte exhibited to the public his readiness to assume the externals of Royalty. The legislature selected, for a public announcement of the extended authority recently conferred, the birth-day of the First Consul, which was also one of high solemnity in the Romish rites, the ascent into Heaven (Assumption) of the Virgin Mary. The scene was the church of Notre Dame, the ceremony was grand, and the audience as great as the edifice could contain. Bonaparte distinguished himself in the attitude of royalty, taking for his seat the throne always before occupied by kings.

Great progress was also made in regulations for the benefit of the people. The laws, both criminal and civil, disturbed as they had been by the ungoverned passions and precipitate follies which had distinguished all periods of the revolution, demanded particular care and attention, and committees were formed to reduce the scattered principles into method and order. In all their deliberations, Bonaparte was an active participant, and made himself conspicuous, not only by the surprising extent of his information and the correctness of his judgment, but by his patience in hearing and weighing arguments, and his forbearance and amenity in bearing opposition and contradiction. The civil code was finished, and contained, with some objectionable matter, much which was entitled to the highest approbation. Public instruction was also considered, and establishments formed, in many respects too shewy, but, in others, justly claiming applause. On the subject of emigrants, Bonaparte shewed a spirit and sagacity which is said by some to have had its foundation on his hatred of the revolutionary leaders, their principles, and practices, but which may fairly be ascribed to higher and better principles. On condition of returning within a specified period, and making declarations required for the safety of the Republic, all these persons were allowed to remain in quietude and safety, although for ten years under the inspection of the police; they were to take oaths of fidelity to the government, and to renounce all places, titles, decorations, gratuities, or pensions, conferred on

them by foreign powers. None were excepted, but those who had borne arms against the Republic, or received rank in the armies of her enemies, formed the household of the French princes, representatives declared guilty of high treason, and the archbishops and bishops who had refused to give in their resignation*.

Among those who are ever ready to assign bad motives for the conduct of public men, the anxiety shewn by Bonaparte in behalf of the emigrants was ascribed to his desire of collecting about his own person, and to the court of his wife, as much as possible of the old nobility. The display of the Consular court rendered this malicious conjecture not absolutely untenable. The palaces of the First Consul, at the Tuilleries and St. Cloud, exhibited a scene of luxury and magnificence not surpassed by the old court of the sovereigns, nor by any existing establishment of royalty. Bonaparte himself was not qualified, by early association or acquired habits, to give animation to these scenes; but his lady and his family were conspicuous in their bland manners and polite deportment; and the First Consul, if he did not enter with joyous animation into their sportive elegancies, never thwarted or restrained them by cynical animadversion or an offensive display of ill humour. All the recreations of superior society, not omitting private theatricals, were pursued; the social humour diffused itself, and the general pursuit of pleasure seemed to announce the full return of the French character. Numerous English families, long excluded from the Continent, hastened to gratify curiosity, or extend knowledge, by visiting the countries now opened to them; they abounded in Paris, and spread in every direction, to the Alps and to Italy†. The most remarkable of those who visited the French capital was Mr. Fox. Beside his love of the arts and the elegancies of polite life, being engaged on an historical work, he was de-

Splendour of
the Consular
court.

Influx of
English
travellers.

Mr. Fox.

* See the decree, Annual Register, vol. xliv. p. *328; and for the facts, Capefigue, tome iii. pp. 234, 249.

† It is said that the number of English families in France, in 1802, exceeded eight thousand. Capefigue, tome iv. p. 432.

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sirous to inform himself by the perusal of papers in the French archives. He had two interviews with Bonaparte; from neither of them, as they are described by Mr. Fox's private Secretary, he could have derived or confirmed, if he previously entertained it, an exalted opinion of him. In the first, he received a personal compliment, mixed with some vapid, general reflections; at the second, Bonaparte, with equal want of truth and good taste, accused Mr. Pitt's ministry, and particularly Mr. Windham, of having instigated, and been privy to, plots against his life. Mr. Fox, with the becoming feeling of an English gentleman, repelled this base and illiberal insinuation, by positive contradiction and strong expressions of disbelief; but he considered Bonaparte as a young man intoxicated with his success and surprising elevation, although he thought him sincere in his desire to maintain peace*.

* Trotter's Memoirs of the latter years of Mr. Fox, pp. 266, 316.

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1802—1803.

State of England.—Colonel Despard's conspiracy.—His arrest—trial—character—execution.—General election.—Contest for Middlesex.—Meeting of Parliament.—King's speech.—Addresses.—Mr. Elliot.—Recall of Mr. Pitt recommended.—Lord Grenville.—Mr. Yorke.—Mr. Fox.—Mr. Windham's reflections on Mr. Fox.—Observations.—Navy and army estimates.—Sir Sidney Smith.—Mr. Perceval.—Observations on Bonaparte—by Mr. Sheridan.—Conduct of Bonaparte.—Seizure of the Fame packet.—Other seizures.—Complaints of Libels—of M. Peltier.—French libels.—Emigrants.—Correspondence with M. Otto.—Demands of France—Violence of the French press.—Lord Hawkesbury's answer to M. Otto.—Libels encouraged in France.—Restoration of the Cape of Good Hope.—Malta.—Spies employed.—Sebastiani's report on Egypt.—Discussions on Malta.—Interview of Lord Whitworth with Bonaparte.—*Exposé* of the French.—Prosecution of Peltier. Further correspondence.—The King's message on the armaments.—Addresses.—Augmentation of the military and naval force.—Attack on ministers.—Demand of Andréossy.—Talleyrand's communication with Lord Whitworth.—Note verbale.—Conduct of Bonaparte.—Further correspondence.—Lord Whitworth leaves Paris.—Message to Parliament.—The King's declaration.

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State of
England.

WHILE permitted to enjoy the blessings of peace, England was making every effort, by the re-establishment of commercial correspondence and connexions, and more particularly by the mitigation, for their extinction could not be expected, of political animosities, to regain or renew the advantages that had been lost or suspended, and to revive that spirit of general confidence, without which no community, however favoured by extensive or adventitious circumstances, can be truly great or happy. The temper and system of government, firm without arrogance, liberal without meanness, was well calculated to produce this effect. The great delusions which had misled so many had ceased to produce their effect; no man, who pretended to a love of liberty, could look to France for an example; none, who could derive wisdom from daily experience, could hope for benefit from French alliance or interference. Many, who had been deluded by fallacious theories and unfounded expectations, were happy, under a mild and forbearing government, to renounce their errors, when they could do so without the meanness of personal fear, and to re-unite themselves to a government which would receive them without insult or reproach. The furious hostility of adverse factions had ceased, and the desire of reform, no longer seeking the wild resources of untried speculation, confined itself within the bounds which were considered to be defined by the true sense of the British constitution.

Colonel
Despard's
conspiracy.

One only conspiracy against the state was disclosed in the year, and that was in its nature so feeble and contemptible, although intended to produce for the moment an appalling effect, that, when it was detected, the greatest sensation excited was that of astonishment that it should be under the guidance of a man of respectable military station and good private character, who had served his country faithfully and bravely for thirty years; of Colonel Edward Marcus Despard. Disappointed in some professional expectations, or seduced by the theories so copiously promulgated, he had engaged in the projects of traitors, been three

years imprisoned on suspicion, during which time numerous allusions to his case, and to his treatment in the prison of Cold Bath Fields, had been made in Parliament and through the press. When discharged from confinement, he appears to have lived in a state of great poverty, and, harbouring in his mind the sentiments which had occasioned his detention, and his spirit being inflamed by the sense of his sufferings, he became exasperated, and formed a wild, incoherent, and impracticable plan for murdering the sovereign and his family, seizing the Tower, the Bank, and the public offices, while simultaneous efforts should be made in the cities and great manufacturing towns throughout the kingdom, and thus overturning the whole system of government. To effect these mighty purposes, the means possessed were contemptibly ridiculous ; the genius of extravagant, or the exaggeration of burlesque, poetry never was carried to a greater excess. Forgetting what was due to his rank in society, his education, and his connexions in the better part of his life, Colonel Despard placed himself at the head of a small collection of miscreants ; foot soldiers, labourers, and workmen of the most inferior class. They met at low alehouses, in obscure and disreputable neighbourhoods, in a number not exceeding thirty, regaled on the meanest fare, and boasted of a collection of fifteen shillings and sixpence toward the payment of delegates to be dispatched into the country, and for printing affidavits, to be sworn by those who should join their associates. The oath contained in these papers imported an obligation to use all possible efforts to recover those rights which the Supreme Being had given to all men ; to establish a constitution and independence for Great Britain and Ireland ; an equalization of civil and religious rights ; and not to be induced by hopes or fears, rewards or punishments, directly or indirectly, to give any information concerning the business, or of any member, of the Society.

As it was expected that, on its first meeting, the King would go to open the session of Parliament, Colonel Despard suggested that the opportunity should

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then be seized to destroy him. The plan was not more atrocious than absurd : the conspirators were to gain possession of the great gun in St. James's Park, to load it with ball, and discharge it at the royal carriage as it passed. On the achievement of this exploit, the whole success of the confederacy was to depend ; Despard insisted on its execution in terms partaking not of desperate fury alone, but apparently mingled with insanity. To the suggestion that many would be destroyed whom it was not intended to injure, he answered, " Let them keep out of the way ;" to the observation that the King might escape the aim of the cannon, he answered, " then he must be man-handled ;" and, finally, he declared that nothing should alter his resolution, " his heart was callous."

His arrest.

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Trial.

It was not to be expected that a confederacy so feebly formed and so rashly conducted could long remain undetected ; information of all their movements was given to government, and, on the day when it had been expected that the King would go to Parliament, a strong detachment of police went to an alehouse, called the Oakley Arms, in Oakley Street, Lambeth, and captured Colonel Despard, with thirty-two obscure individuals. They were committed to different prisons, and, a special commission having issued, twelve, beside the Colonel, were brought to trial. The facts against them were copiously and clearly proved. The learned counsel for Colonel Despard, Mr. Serjeant Best and Mr. Gurney, exerted in vain their talents and judgment in cross examining the witnesses, and addressed the jury in eloquent speeches ; they displayed, in the strongest manner, the improbability of the imputed plot, and the danger of trusting to the evidence of accomplices ; but no circumstance appeared to shew that those accomplices, if justly they might be termed so, had any motive, from personal ill-will, or from promise of reward, to commit an act so basely wicked as the rejection of their testimony would have supposed ; nor could government have any motive for hunting to destruction persons so unimportant in the state as the prisoners. Their leader and eight

others were incapable of creating or combining a party which, except in one desperate act, attended with no further consequences, could be injurious to the public ; and it is impossible to view, without regret, such a man precipitating himself into the gulph of destruction. On his trial, it appeared from the evidence of Lord Nelson, Sir Alured Clarke, and Sir Evan Nepean, who respectively had known him thirty years ago, in his paternal abode, and in the public service in Jamaica and in other parts, that he bore the character of a loyal and good officer, and no man ever shewed a more zealous disposition for the service of his king and country. No one of these most honourable witnesses had known any thing of him for the last thirteen years. It appears that, at the period of the dispute between this country and Spain respecting Nootka Sound, he was in a situation of command at Honduras; but, in consequence of measures he had taken for the abolition of the existing system of police, it was thought proper to suspend him, and authorize Colonel Hunter to declare his orders null and void. On his return to England, he became suspected and was imprisoned, and formed the plans and associations which occasioned his fall. With nine others, he was found guilty of high treason, and they were hanged and beheaded, the residue of the sentence, pronounced according to law, being remitted, as too barbarous for modern times*.

Had there existed in the country a force of disloyalty capable of giving serious alarm to government, it might have been called into display during the general election, which took place immediately on the dissolution of Parliament. By this event, the embers of expiring political animosity were stirred up ; but, although the flame burned vividly in some places, no art could render the conflagration general, or even extensive. Such, in fact, was the strange state of the public mind with respect to parties, that the most

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Colonel
Despard's
previous
character.Feb. 2nd.
Execution.General
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* In general, for the trial of Colonel Despard, Howell, vol. xxviii. p. 345 ; and for the transactions at Honduras, Narrative of the Dispute between England and Spain in 1790, pp. 61, 202.

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zealous opposers of the ministry were also the most inveterate assailants of those who were termed the new opposition, and, in some places, the contests proceeded on no acknowledged ground of political difference. Thus, in Norwich, Mr. Windham, a distinguished opponent of government, was defeated by Mr. William Smith, a member of the old opposition, who used against him the same resources and arts which would have been employed had Mr. Windham continued in office. The election for Nottingham exhibited a scene of tumult and riot disgraceful to the cause of freedom, about which it was said to be excited. Mr. Birch was what is called the popular candidate, or, more properly, the favourite of the populace ; and the procession, when he was chaired, occasioned much animadversion. In Westminster, the two former representatives, Lord Gardner and Mr. Fox, were opposed by a man little known, and less worthy to be noticed, named Graham, who did not resign his pretensions till he had polled about seventeen hundred votes.

Contest for
Middlesex.

Above all others, however, the contest for Middlesex excited the greatest attention. Mr. Mainwaring, who had represented the county in three Parliaments, and was generally revered as an upright magistrate and worthy man, was opposed by Sir Francis Burdett, who was called by an obscure few, from a visit to Paris, to make a contest for the county. In the publications announcing his pretensions, a course of calumny and popular irritation was begun, which was never intermitted during the term of fifteen days, to which the poll was protracted. In allusion to the prison in Cold Bath Fields, the mob were taught to shout " No Bastille ! " and, as the fourteenth of July was the second day of the election, they were excited to make it as famous in England as it had been in France. Ruffians were hired and instructed to insult and abuse Mr. Mainwaring and all his friends ; and, in the course of the contest, the members of the Whig Club, and Mr. Byng, the third candidate, who had professed neutrality, and profited by the profession, used their influence in favour of Sir Francis Burdett. Notwith-

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standing these circumstances, and the exertions of the most profligate characters, whom faction could animate or bribes procure, the real freeholders gave a decided majority to Mr. Mainwaring, till the fourteenth day, when, by an abandoned device, supported by a system of perjury the most unbounded ever known, and favoured by the sheriffs, in defiance of law, reason, and their oaths, a fictitious majority was procured in favour of Sir Francis Burdett. Whatever might be the opinion of the members of administration on these transactions, the weight of office was no where felt, and even the most inveterate opponents of government acknowledged that there had never been known an election in which influence was so little exercised*.

When Parliament assembled, Mr. Abbot was unanimously elected Speaker; and some days having been consumed in swearing the members and other preparatory measures, his Majesty opened the session with a speech, in which he expressed the highest satisfaction at the internal prosperity of the country, the bounty of Providence in affording an abundant harvest, the flourishing state of the manufactures, commerce, and revenue of the United Kingdom, and the general loyalty and attachment shown by the people. With respect to foreign powers, the King observed that, in his intercourse with them, he had been actuated by a sincere desire for the maintenance of peace; but he could not lose sight of that established, wise system of policy, by which the interests of other states were connected with our own; nor could he be indifferent to any material change in their relative condition and strength. His Majesty also expressed the utmost satisfaction at the great and increasing benefits produced by that important measure which had united the interest and consolidated the resources of Great Britain and Ireland.

In the House of Lords, an address was moved by Lord Arden and seconded by Lord Nelson; in the Commons, by the honourable Richard Trench and

Nov. 16th.
Meeting of
Parliament.23rd.
King's speech.

Addresses.

* This opinion was strongly expressed by Mr. Sheridan, in a debate on the Navy Estimates (Dec. 2).

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Mr. Curzon. In neither House was an amendment moved, or a division taken; but the debates, in the Commons especially, were long and animated. The principal observations arose out of that portion of the speech which related to foreign powers. Of the present condition of Europe, Lord Arden observed, it was difficult to think without deep anxiety. There was not a power on the Continent between whose interests and ours certain relations did not subsist. The order of dominion could not be there indefinitely changed, without endangering the security of Britain; and Lord Nelson said that the prosperity enjoyed by the country would render us inexcusable, were we to sacrifice its honour. Unsuccessful, so far as we were directly engaged, in the war of valour, of martial force, of military talents, France might, perhaps, hope to gain more by that of artifice, of circumvention, of equivocal faith: but British strength of understanding, and rectitude of intention, ever had been, and he hoped in God would ever be, more than an equal match for every less candid and ingenuous art. Hitherto, there had been nothing greater known on the Continent than the faith, the untarnished honour, the generous public sympathies, the high diplomatic influence, the commerce, the grandeur, the resistless power, the unconquerable valour of the British nation. Wherever he had served in foreign countries, he had witnessed these to be the sentiments with which Britons were regarded; and as the nation was pleased with that sincere spirit of peace with which the late treaty was negotiated, so, now that a restless and unjust ambition, in those with whom we desired sincere amity, had given a new alarm, the country would rather prompt the government to assert its honour, than need to be roused to measures of vigorous defence, suited to the exigency of the times. Similar sentiments were expressed by the honourable members who moved and seconded the address in the lower house.

Omitting the descant on some pieces of wit, such as that of Mr. Pytches, who compared the King's speech to a *Salmagundi*, it is to be observed, that the

opposition exhibited a want of combined purpose ; an union of dispersed talent, under a political head, labouring in common for some defined, intelligible end. Those who disapproved of the formation and conduct of the ministry, displayed no less hostility to each other ; and the principles sought to be established by one set of opponents were generally repudiated or refuted by another. It was agreed on all hands that the tenor of the speech and the aspect of the times denoted a return of hostilities ; and the causes which gave that tendency to public affairs, the means of averting or meeting the event, were copiously discussed.

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Lord Grenville and the party which co-operated with him were unbounded in their general censures. The cabinet was weak in its formation, and little hope could be entertained that it would gather energy in its progress. If ministers had been in a state of vigilance and activity since they last met Parliament, how came it to pass that France had been suffered to invade the rights and overturn the liberties of various states on the Continent ? If ministers had conducted themselves with manly fortitude—if they had been actuated by the true spirit of Englishmen—if they had felt for their own honour and the national dignity—they would not have looked on with a censorable indifference ; they would, by demanding satisfaction for a breach of treaty, have checked the violence and rapacity of France, and saved, perhaps, the liberties and independence of several states, once important in the scale of Europe. A storm was ready to burst upon us ; but were they the men that could enable us to escape it ? Would they not rather act as dull conductors (and so much the worse for being dull) to draw down and scatter wide the lightnings that were to consume us ? They had no right to call upon the country to go to war. When they made peace, they pledged themselves to resist the future aggrandizement of France ; but, far from keeping that promise, every step of aggrandizement on the part of France had been followed, on their parts, with a proportionate disarming. To observations like these, repeated in various forms, the rational and

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irresistible answer was, that the calamities of the Continent were produced by events which ministers did not cause, and could not control. They were charged with incapacity ; but they did not seek their situations. They were called upon to take them in a moment of great and accumulated difficulties, and ought to be judged only by their conduct. If France had extended her dominion over the greatest part of the Continent, it had been under her power long before the late ministers retired from office ; and if they had not been able to prevent such aggrandizement, they had no right to charge the present ministers with misconduct. They could not impute to them incapacity, without at the same time criminating themselves for having relinquished their post.

All the objections which had been urged in former debates against the restitution of conquests, the permission to dispatch a squadron to the West Indies, and the supineness which allowed the acquisition of Piedmont, the destruction of Switzerland, and the spoliation of the house of Orange, were renewed, and received the same answer as before.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox made a strong appeal against the renewal of war. In such an event, he said, we could only annoy the enemy by retaking the places we had ceded, or retaining those still in our hands. To violate the treaty of peace for such an object, and no other could be obtained, would render the ministers, and the last Parliament, who had formed and approved of the treaty, the ridicule of all Europe. He considered the preservation of national honour to be almost the only legitimate cause of war ; for honour was directly and inseparably connected with self-defence. In the present circumstances of Europe he saw no ground of war to this country. There were persons, but he could hardly believe them serious, who affected to entertain a dread of the French navy. It was his firm conviction, that the French people, as well as the French government, entertained a strong desire to restore their commerce to new activity, and their manufactures to new life ; and this was the field in which, if a contest

were to be carried on, they would wish the dispute to be conducted.

On the other side, Mr. Canning observed that the rivalship of France was not limited to commerce ; she waited only for a favourable opportunity of showing that her aim was not that, but extermination ; and her acts had only been restrained by the want of means. The seeds of inordinate political aggrandizement, sown in the mind of the French nation, Mr. Windham observed, were coeval with those of democratical revolution. Every succession of the revolutionary rulers had openly professed the very principles which at present so conspicuously possessed the mind of the First Consul. Extension of dominion was made at one time the pride of the revolution ; at another, its necessary defence ; but still it was, in one form or another, for one purpose or another, most constantly professed. It had been alleged, Mr. Elliot said, that Jacobinism was suppressed in France ; no one, indeed, could dare to utter a seditious sentence, or write a seditious paragraph against the government there ; but, with the determined malignity which the Prime Consul bore to this nation, he saw nothing which justified him in flattering himself that Bonaparte would neglect to avail himself of any seditious combinations which might exist either in England or Ireland for the subversion of the British empire ; and it must be admitted, that the intercourse of peace was much better calculated than the period of war, to facilitate and mature a system of organization.

A natural sequel to the contempt expressed for the present administration was a strenuous recommendation of the recall of Mr. Pitt. Europe, at this time, Lord Grenville observed, is sunk in distraction and despair ; the energy and spirit of Great Britain may arouse the states of the Continent to a glorious struggle for their liberty and independence ; but such a hope could only be found in measures of decision and firmness—in a bold and animated tone, held by a leader of courage and capacity—not by any of the men now in power, but by him to whom Europe looks up at this

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mended.

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awful hour for the preservation of their dearest rights and liberties. Other members made similar observations; and, in answer to some by Earl Temple, expressed in harsh and contumelious terms, the secretary at war, with great spirit and propriety, replied, that until he heard the noble lord's speech, he was at a loss to come to any practical conclusion on the arguments of gentlemen who had taken the same course. It had appeared that their object was a renewal of the war; but now it was disclosed to be the removal of ministers. If it was the noble lord's opinion that himself and his friends could fill their places much better, why not bring the question fairly before the house, instead of drawing a gloomy picture, and making exaggerated statements for the purpose of creating discontent? That administration the noble lord described as a maukish, milk-and-water composition. His lordship and his friends might not constitute a maukish administration; but it would not be one without insolence.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox's appearance in these debates conferred no benefit on any party; nor was it at all advantageous to his own character. After abstaining from any effort, or from even the expression of an opinion, while the measure was under discussion, and might have been modified or rejected, he now, while cordially supporting the address, said there was one expression in his Majesty's speech, referring to the blessings to be found in the union with Ireland, to which he could not assent. He had disapproved of the measure when it took place, and would not now, by his vote, be understood as giving any sanction to it. Speaking of the aggressions on Hanover by the indemnities in Germany, he said, "But we are told the Elector was particularly concerned in the arrangement of this business. Now it has been the policy laid down by all wise statesmen, that the interests of England and Hanover are perfectly separate, just as separate as those of England and Hesse Cassel, or any other state in Germany. I therefore see in the case, the Elector of Hanover only, and not the Sovereign whom we all revere. Is the business of the indemnities,

"then, I ask, in that view, an aggression against
"Great Britain?"

His speech, on the first day, drew from Mr. Windham a severe animadversion on his general parliamentary conduct for several years. "It seems," he said, "that the honourable gentleman's powers have lost all their energy, when touching upon the French revolution; the character of his mind has also lost all its feeling. At its commencement he told us there was nothing extraordinary in it, that there was nothing so simple and easy in a state as a change from one form of government to another. The ship (said he) is in stays; she is now on a tack, but you need not be afraid, she will sail safe into port without falling foul of you. This was his language in the beginning of the revolution. But when this 'stupendous monument of human wisdom' was raised, then he thought it was of importance to us; for in these great edifices, if the foundation be not good, and the walls perpendicular, they may fall and spread ruin wide around. At the beginning, it was innocent; but having become vicious by ill-treatment, it had, when grown up, destroyed all before it, as well that which did not, as that which did offend it. We may, indeed, apply the words of Shakspeare, as an image of the honourable gentleman's conduct, 'You beat the blind boy, and the blind boy beats the post.' Since the peace, France has conquered Piedmont; she has conquered even the honourable gentleman's old friend, the Duke of Tuscany; and yet he says, 'she is only a commercial rival.'

These speeches, made in a debate which terminated without a division, are of importance only as they shew the manner in which an opposition was likely to be formed against the present government, and some particular sentiments which were distinguished by their discordance with past, or memorable for their discrepancy with others subsequently uttered by the same members.

Of a similar character were the debates on the navy and army estimates. For the former, government

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required fifty thousand ; for the latter, including every species of military establishment in Great Britain and Ireland, two hundred thousand men. In the debates on these requisitions, no regular or defined opposition appeared ; the party which moved with Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham did not complain of the greatness, but rather of the inadequacy of the proposed force ; but more particularly that no defined reason, no specified cause was assigned for the maintenance of a greater fleet and army than the nation had been taught to expect. Mr. Fox, on the contrary—but very few agreed with him—maintained that it was for the interest and the wish of the French nation and government to cultivate peace ; that, with good management, without any particle of submission, peace might be preserved ; and it was sufficient for this country, by economical establishments, to fortify credit and enlarge resources for any future contingency.

Sir Sidney
Smith.

Sir Sidney Smith, in answer to the supposition that the French people were inclined to preserve peace, observed that in France changes in public affairs resembled the changes of scenery at a theatre ; every thing was done for stage effect ; and if the invasion of Britain was to be produced, it might draw four hundred thousand volunteers to join the procession. The Attorney General observed that Mr. T. Grenville and his friends, while they complimented ministers for the vote they proposed, censured them for concealing their reasons for it. The reason, when given, was perfectly notorious ; so that they were censured for being silent on what had been already spoken, reserved on what had been already communicated, and for concealing that which was universally known, namely, that they proposed this vote on the state of things, as already obvious to every man in the country. These complaints were not from those who, by their former declarations, had given to understand they expected the peace establishment to be reduced ; but from those who agreed in the vote, and thought it came at the present time with peculiar propriety. From all their conduct, he had a right to infer, that men, not mea-

Mr. Perceval.

sures, were the objects of attack ; that those so violent in their philippics against ministers, were only actuated by a violent desire for their places ; could they succeed, he was convinced, from a knowledge he entertained of their talents and zeal, they would pursue precisely the very same principles.

These debates, and the measures which occasioned them, demonstrated a warlike spirit in the country, aroused by the contemplation of present proceedings, and the apprehension of further designs. If any relied with confidence, or even with hope, on the long-continuance of peace, they must negligently have considered the character of the Ruler of France, or the acts and proceedings of the government which he alone directed. Surrounded with the pomp and splendour of supreme power, obeyed without hesitation or reserve by the army and the people, fortified in his rule by the annexation and subjection of surrounding states, it might have been supposed that Bonaparte would, for a time at least, have enjoyed the sweets of repose, and viewed with pleasure an increasing happiness in the country, derived from the growth of useful institutions, and the extension of a well-regulated commerce ; but, urged by insatiable ambition, and goaded by an irrepressible hatred of England, his mind was shut up against such views. His feelings and character were described by Mr. Sheridan, with equal truth and eloquence, in the recent debate on the army estimates. "Of the commercial talents of Bonaparte," he said, "I can be supposed to know but little ; but, bred in camps, it cannot be imagined that his commercial knowledge can be very great ; and, indeed, if I am rightly informed, he is proceeding on the old plan of heavy duties and prohibitions. But he would go a shorter way to work with us. The old country has credit and capital, and commercial enterprize ; and he may think, if he can subjugate us, that he can carry them off to France like so many busts and marbles. But he would find himself mistaken ; that credit would wither under the gripe of power ; that capital would sink into the earth, if trodden upon by the foot of a

By Mr.
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" despot ; that commercial enterprize would lose all
 " its vigour in the presence of an arbitrary govern-
 " ment. No ; instead of putting his nation apprentice
 " to commerce, he has other ideas in his head.
 " Although, in the tablet and volume of his mind,
 " there may be some marginal note about cashiering
 " the King of Etruria, yet, the whole text is occupied
 " with the destruction of this country. This is the
 " first vision that breaks upon him through the gleam
 " of the morning ; this is his last prayer at night, to
 " whatever Deity he addresses it, whether to Jupiter
 " or to Mahomet—to the goddess of battles, or to the
 " goddess of reason. But the only consolation is, that
 " he is a great philosopher and philanthropist. I be-
 " lieve this hyper-philanthropy has done more harm
 " than ever it did good. He has discovered that we
 " all belong to the Western family. I confess I feel
 " a sentiment of deep indignation, when I hear (I take
 " it from report) that this scrap of nonsense was ut-
 " tered to one of the most enlightened of the human
 " race. To this family party I do not wish to belong.
 " He may invite persons, if he please, to dinner, and,
 " like Lord Peter, say that his tough crust is excellent
 " mutton. He may toss a sceptre to the King of
 " Etruria, to play with, and keep a rod to scourge him
 " in the corner ; he may have thought at first his
 " Cisalpine republic a fine growing child, and may
 " have found it a ricketty bantling ; but I feel contempt
 " for all this mockery. Let us abstain from invective,
 " only let us speak the truth. Let us be visiting ac-
 " quaintance ; but I do implore him not to consider us
 " as one of the family."

Conduct of
Bonaparte.

Nov.

For this spirited castigation of the admirers of Bonaparte, his daily acts from the time of concluding the preliminary treaty had afforded ample grounds ; far from finding any probability of a renewed amicable intercourse, ministers had felt the continual necessity for remonstrances ; and France had omitted no opportunity of repeating insults and injuries, while she was daily uttering grievous complaints. After long delays, Lord Whitworth, a nobleman who added dignity to

his rank, by the vigour of his understanding and the politeness of his demeanour, was the ambassador at Paris; and General Andréossy was the representative of the Consular court in London. Neither of them, by his conduct or by any complaint, afforded ground of dissatisfaction; the cause arose entirely in the feelings, the system, and the principles of Bonaparte.

When he had concluded the definitive treaty, he did not conceal his determination rigidly to exclude Great Britain from all communication, political or commercial, with the Continent of Europe. Consistently with the general tone of his mind, he included, in the pursuit of his plan, the least, as well as the most important objects. Unmindful of the liberal magnanimity with which Great Britain had permitted the sailing of his mighty armament to the West Indies, he enforced, with unrelenting rigour, all the decrees passed in the most violent periods of the revolution, and in the most raging periods of the war, against British shipping approaching the French coast. An early specimen of his determination on this point, occasioned the first discussions between the two countries. Shortly after the departure of the French fleet, the Fame packet sailed from Southampton for Jersey, with stores for the garrison, and five-and-twenty passengers, merchants, officers, women, and children. After a storm of two days' duration, compassion for the sickness and suffering of these individuals induced the captain to put into Cherbourg, where, at the custom-house, he produced the necessary papers, and tendered his declaration of the causes of his coming. The declaration was not received, but the ship and cargo declared to be forfeited, by virtue of a law made a few days before the fall of Robespierre. Explanation and remonstrance were equally vain; Bonaparte insisted that the law should take its course.

This instance, comparatively unimportant, is selected from many others, to shew how early, even before the definitive treaty was signed, the mode of aggression and irritation was commenced; nor was it

*Seizure of the
Fame packet.*

Other seizures.

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ever intermitted or relaxed, but carried even to the extent of seizing a vessel which came into the port of Charente, in ballast, to take in a lading of French brandy, as carrying contraband goods near the shores of France, when the only articles of British manufacture, which, on the strictest search, could be found on board, were the cutlery and earthenware used for the captain's table. In vain were applications made, or remonstrances tendered; they were overlooked with disdain, or answered by positive rejections.

Complaints of
libels.

While these injuries were unredressed, Bonaparte made bitter complaints of the freedom with which his person and government were treated in the British Parliament, and through the press. It is hardly to be conceived that he was so uninformed of the constitution of this country, as not to know that no power exists which can prevent the free disclosure of opinions in Parliament, on any subject, or respecting any person; and if he had intended anything more than a clamorous charge, to justify his own rancorous hatred, he could not have failed to observe that those members, who censured him most severely, were not protected or encouraged by government, but, on the contrary, its most determined assailants. The press, in like manner, could not be borne down by prohibitory decrees, or castigated by summary, arbitrary punishment. Nothing could be more unjust than the reflections made on the speeches in Parliament; for, while the observations on the sailing of the Saint Domingo squadron were treated as rather the sentiments of Tartars of Thibet, than the opinions of civilized Europeans*; while Mr. Windham and Lord Grenville particularly were branded with the foulest abuse†, yet every phrase in their speeches on the preliminaries, which foretold the abjectness of England, and the predominancy of France, was recorded with satisfaction, and quoted as an axiom.‡

Of M. Peltier.

A French gentleman, named Peltier, who, in the

* *Moniteur*, 13 Pluviose, An. 10 (2 Feb. 1802).

† Same paper, March 14.

‡ *Reflections on the cause of the present rupture with France*, p. 12.

early periods of the revolution, had been the editor of a royalist journal, and, consequently, obliged to emigrate, had for several years, published in London a periodical work, adverse to the republican government, under the title of "Paris." He had discontinued it at the peace; but, in the existing state of affairs, had resumed his pen, and wrote a new journal, called *L'Ambigu*; in which, exceeding the modes of attack he had before adopted, he went the length of intimating, not very obscurely, that the death of Bonaparte was so much to be desired, that to assassinate him would be rather meritorious than criminal. Many other writers, in daily and weekly publications, treated with equal severity the conduct and forms of the French government; but none of them used an expression which could be construed into an incitement to assassinate.

Had these insults been confined to publications in England, there might have been some ground for complaint; but the French writers, preceding them in point of time, surpassing them in every form of acrimony, pursued a venomous and incessant course of abuse: individuals, the government, and the nation, were equally exposed to attack. In transgressing the bounds of moderation and propriety, neither side can be vindicated; but between them there is this striking difference—in England, every man, according to his genius, temper, and fancy, may publish animadversions on his own or foreign governments, or on individuals, subject to no restraint, but punishable only for particular acts, to be construed according to their immediate import and intent; his publication may be continued, although he is under prosecution; repeated acts will subject him only to new prosecutions, or be a motive for aggravated punishment, when he receives judgment, on a recorded conviction. In France, on the contrary, it was in the power of government to dictate what editors should publish; by a mere declaration of will, to suppress any obnoxious journal, and to punish, at discretion, any journalist who presumed to resist.

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Emigrants.

It was a topic of complaint, in the official correspondence, and of scurrilous abuse in the journals of the French government, that England permitted the free residence of emigrants in London; it was assumed, and confidently asserted, that these persons appeared at the English court, decorated with the insignia of orders which were no longer permitted to exist; and, without the least foundation, or shew of truth, it was maintained that a body of emigrants, meditating the murder of the Chief Consul, was collected in Jersey; and that the Bishops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, who had protested against, and refused to accommodate themselves to, the terms of the Concordat, were endeavouring, by treacherous publications, to overthrow a system which had given peace to forty millions of Christians.

Correspond-
ence with M.
Gత.

July 27.

Demands of
France.

A correspondence ensued, in which Lord Hawkesbury, with moderation and firmness, denied these allegations, and shewed the futility of the complaints. Ministers, he said, had perused the publications of Peltier with the greatest displeasure; and the Attorney General was to adopt proper legal proceedings. In the course of this correspondence, the French government laid down new principles in the law of nations, and made a series of peremptory and extravagant requisitions. The principles were, in substance, that every nation is at liberty to sacrifice any advantage in its interior, to obtain another, to which it attaches a higher value. The particular laws and constitution of Great Britain are subordinate to the general principles of the law of nations, which supersede the law of each individual case. By the first article of the treaty of Amiens, the two powers agreed to afford no protection, either directly or indirectly, to those who should cause prejudice to either of them. The greatest of all injuries was that which tended to debase a foreign government, or to excite, within its territory, civil or religious commotions; and the most decided of all protections, that which placed under the safeguard of the laws, men who were seeking not only to disturb the political tranquillity of Europe, but even

to destroy the first bonds of society. This question was not confined to paragraphs, which, through inadvertence might be inserted in a public print, but related to a deep and continued system of defamation, directed not only against the Chief of the French republic, but against all its constituted authorities. Nor were these observations applicable to English writers alone ; but to a class of foreign calumniators, who availed themselves of the asylum afforded them in England, only for the purpose of better gratifying their hatred against France, and undermining the foundations of peace. On these principles were founded six demands. First, That government should put a stop to the unbecoming and seditious publications, with which the newspapers and other writings printed in England were filled. Second, That certain individuals should be expelled from Jersey. Third, That the Bishops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, and all who, like them, under the pretext of religion, sought to raise disturbances in the interior of France, should be likewise sent away. Fourth, That Georges, and his adherents, should be sent to Canada. Fifth, That it should be recommended to the Princes of the House of Bourbon, who were in Great Britain, to repair to Warsaw, the residence of the head of their family. And sixth, That such of the French emigrants as should think proper to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient government of France, should be required to quit the territory of the British empire. If English writers were protected by the law of England, foreigners might be removed by virtue of the alien act ; thus the British ministry possessed a legal and sufficient power to restrain foreigners, without having recourse to the courts of law ; and the French government offered, on this point, a perfect reciprocity.

These clamours against the free press of England were advanced with a peculiarly bad grace, when the constant scurrility of the restrained and subservient press of France was considered ; from which, among much other offensive matter, only eight days before M. Otto's message, the regular government paper had

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put forth an invective, stating, with violent exaggeration, all the matter contained in his dispatch ; and, in broad and unqualified terms, charging the government of England with inciting and honouring murder, and particularly with respect to the affair of the infernale. “The assassins of Jersey,” it said, “are honourably received. They set out unexpectedly from the island, “in fishing-boats, land on our coasts, assassinate rich proprietors, and burn windmills and farm-houses. “Georges wears openly, in London, his red ribbon, as “a reward for the machine infernale, which destroyed “part of Paris, and put to death thirty women, children, and peaceable citizens. Does not this special protection authorize us in believing, that if he had succeeded, he would have received the order of the garter. Either the English government authorizes and tolerates these public and private crimes, and, in that case, we may say that its conduct is unworthy of British generosity, civilization, and honour ; or the government cannot prevent them, and there consequently can be no government in a country which does not possess means of repressing assassination and calumny, and protecting the social order of Europe*.”

Not content with this attack, the government paper, on the following day, renewed the antiquated calumnies of the reign of terror, accusing Mr. Pitt of having encouraged the murder of Louis the Sixteenth, the massacres of September, and the horrors of Toulon, Lyons, and La Vendée.

Lord Hawkesbury answered the note of M. Otto in terms at once temperate and dignified ; not justifying any improper act or publication, nor forgetting to allude to the manner in which the French, even if justly offended, had exceeded all bounds in their retaliation, and excluded themselves from all right of complaint. In answer to the six demands announced by M. Otto, his lordship vindicated the liberty of the press, so justly dear to every British subject. The

^{28.}
Lord Hawkes-
bury's answer
to M. Otto.

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constitution did not admit of any previous restraints on publications ; but the judicatures could take cognizance, not only of libels against the government and the magistracy of this kingdom, but, as had been repeatedly experienced, of publications defamatory of those in whose hands the administration of foreign nations is placed. Our government, wanting no protection beyond that which the laws of the country afford, would not consent to remodel them, or change their constitution, to gratify the wishes of any foreign power. The alien act, Lord Hawkesbury observed, was made to prevent the residence of men whose numbers and principles endangered the internal peace of the King's dominions ; but its powers were not to be exerted against individuals liable to prosecution under the law of the land. After making the obvious answers to the allegations respecting the emigrants in Jersey, and the French bishops, and some just and forcible observations on the general tone and style of M. Otto's note, calculated to indispose the two governments against each other, his lordship concluded by saying, " His Majesty is sincerely disposed to adopt " every measure for the preservation of peace, which " is consistent with the honour and independence of " the country, and with the security of its laws and " constitution. But the French government must have " formed a most erroneous judgment of the disposition " of the British nation, and of the character of the go- " vernment, if they have been taught to expect that " any representation of a foreign power will ever in- " duce them to consent to a violation of those rights " on which the liberties of the people of this country " are founded."

For a time, all official intercourse on these subjects was suspended ; M. Peltier, alarmed by the notice of a criminal information filed against him, discontinued the *Ambigu* ; but the press in France proceeded with augmented acrimony. Furious attacks were made on the constitution and government of England, and on individuals both in private and public life. One

Libels en-
couraged in
France.

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Fiévé, who had resided in London, with the reputation of being a consular spy, wrote a series of letters in the *Journal des Debats*, full of falsehoods and misrepresentations respecting the laws, institutions, society, and manners, in England, which were afterwards republished in a volume ; and a band of Irish traitors and English renegades, venal scribblers, hired by the French government, established in Paris, a paper, printed in English, under the title of *The Argus*, which was devoted to the sole purpose of spreading libels against the King, the government, the nobility, the church, and constitution of Great Britain ; and against every individual of that nation, both in London and Paris, who might be supposed tenacious of character, or sensible to assault*.

Restoration of
the Cape of
Good Hope.

During the perfidious and atrocious invasion of Switzerland, the press of England issued unsparing animadversions ; they were not confined to the papers of any party ; for no writer, who retained a single spark of the fire of liberty, could refrain from displaying it on such an occasion. The intervention of England, so earnestly and pathetically implored by the suffering Swiss, would have been afforded, but for the decisive rapidity of their oppressors ; and the probability of consequent hostilities suspended for a while the restitution of the Cape of Good Hope ; but when the possibility of useful operation was at an end, the colony was ceded, according to the terms of the treaty. As Austria, Prussia, and Russia, bound by selfish interests or remote connexions, had acquiesced in the transactions, the conduct of England was bitterly resented ; the engines of defamation were plied with additional effort ; the *Argus*, concurring with the French journals, was instructed to declare that the people of Ireland owed no obedience to the English government ; and copied from the *Moniteur*, “ What interest can “ England, the enemy of Europe, have in sustaining “ the Swiss insurgents, but that of converting the “ country into another Jersey, the rendez-vous of as-

* *Homme d'Etat.* tome viii. p. 183.

“sassins and traitors?” To the end of the year, the same strain of invective was pursued; the English ministers were styled the assassins of Copenhagen, and accused of having caused the murder of the plenipotentiaries at Rastadt*.

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Nov. 8.

Dec. 12.

Malta.

In this period the French began, but did not earnestly press, their demands for the evacuation of Malta. Their conduct, in this respect, might be explained by the mere desire to find a pretext for a quarrel with England; but it was also connected with their determination to exclude this country from all connexion with the Continent. England was described in the official journal, as a power no less a stranger to the interests than to the diplomatic law of Europe; a power which, alone, despised the maritime rights of independent nations; and, repeating a hacknied parody of the English form of administering an oath to witnesses in courts of justice, it declared the relation of France and England to be “the treaty of Amiens, the “whole treaty of Amiens, and nothing but the treaty “of Amiens.”

Oct. 2.

Such declarations, coupled with the general conduct of France, amounted to an announcement, that by the word peace, that government understood only an intermission of military conflict, and not any feeling of amity, between the two countries; but circumstances were soon discovered, which shewed that a net was subtilly spreading for our destruction, and managed with no less cunning than malignity. Under the name of commercial agents, spies were employed in the British dominions, as well as in other parts. Their real intent, remote from all purposes of commerce, appeared in an intercepted letter from Talleyrand to one of them, named Fauvelet, a man of most disreputable character, who was established in Dublin; and there was every reason to believe that the same instructions were imparted to others. It disclosed the aim of

Spies em-
ployed.

Nov. 17.

* Homme d'Etat, tome viii. p. 183. This author adds a curious anecdote:—When the editor of the Argus, shocked at the grossness of the last calumny, displayed some incredulity, the French minister answered, “You are bound to believe every thing in the Moniteur.”

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France to obtain, by insidious means, information respecting the commerce, credit, manufactures, and fisheries of Ireland ; its means of defence, and military and naval advantages. Fauvelet was directed to gain such information, from merchants, or clerks in the custom-house, as would enable him to answer many questions ; and to obtain a plan of the ports in his district, with a specification of the soundings, for mooring vessels ; or, if no plan of the ports could be procured, he was to point out with what wind vessels could come in and go out, and what was the greatest draught of water with which vessels deeply laden could enter. These instructions were similar to those which were given preparatory to the seizure of Malta*.

Sebastiani's
report on
Egypt.

A knowledge of these events is sufficient to account for the warlike aspect of the King's speech to Parliament, and the measures of precaution adopted in consequence ; but, during the recess, and immediately afterward, every day brought fresh proofs of the unmeasured ambition and rancorous hostility of France. On a mission, similar in some respects, but in its general design far more extensive than that of Fauvelet, Colonel Sebastiani was dispatched to Egypt. In this instance, the French, sensible that mystery could no longer veil their views, ostentatiously published, by authority, a long report from this officer, on reading which, no person, however prejudiced or partial, could doubt the views of France, or mistake the method by which she meant to extend her power and influence. Wherever this emissary went, he affected the style of patronage, and assumed the air of command. He examined with vigilance, and reported with decision, the characters and views of individuals ; constantly referring to the probability of their favouring the resumption of Egypt by France. He published insulting falsehoods respecting the conduct of General Stuart, the army, and the intrigues of the British government. According to his general assertion, all the people of Egypt were enthusiastic admirers of Bonap-

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Jan. 30th.

* Homme d'Etat, tome viii. p. 179.

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parte. Six thousand French would be sufficient to conquer the country ; and all the islands of the Ionian sea would declare themselves French on the first opportunity. The British ministry were not unapprized of Sebastiani's proceedings ; by letters from Corfu*, they had been informed of his artful proceedings, and efforts to gain the attachment of the people. Being permitted to land at Zante, notwithstanding the laws of quarantine, he had caused an assembly of the three orders to be convoked, congratulated them on the acknowledgment of their independence, and its guaranty by France, Russia, and the Porte ; and told them that Bonaparte had been the first to break their chains. His speech was received with shouts for liberty and equality ; and, in consideration that Bonaparte had taken under his protection the Catholic, Apostolic, and Romish church, the clergy were directed to offer the most ardent vows to Heaven for the prosperity and lives of the Consuls, in the same way as was practised by the Roman Catholics in the French republic.

Discussions on
Malta.

Jan. 25th.

The views thus disclosed account for the eagerness with which the French now pressed for the evacuation of Malta, which could have been of no importance to them, except from the hope of an immediate repossession. In a conference with Lord Whitworth, Talleyrand, with great solemnity, had required to be informed, and this by express order of the First Consul, what were his Majesty's intentions. He said that another Grand Master would soon be elected ; that all the powers in Europe, who had been invited, with the exception of Russia, whose difficulties it was easy to remove, and without whom the guaranty would be equally complete, were ready to come forward ; and that, consequently, the term would very soon arrive when Great Britain could have no pretext for keeping longer possession. Instructed by experience, and alarmed at the present aspect of affairs, the British government refused to give up the possession of this port, unless the guarantees of its independence, ac-

* Dated Dec. 10, 1802, and Jan. 2, following.

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cording to the true intent of the treaty, were satisfactorily made. If other information as to the real views of France had been wanting, the publication of Sebastiani's report, five days after this conversation, would have supplied it ; and it was not to be conceived that independence could be maintained by knights, whose property in all parts of the Continent had been so effectually confiscated, that they could have derived the means of subsistence only from France, or from countries immediately and hopelessly under her dominion. No other power in Europe had presented any demand of the evacuation ; and the people of the island had petitioned his Majesty not to remove from them the blessing of his paternal rule.

Feb. 9th.

A dispatch was speedily forwarded from Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whitworth, recapitulating the infractions of France, on the system which formed the basis of the treaty of Amiens, by her subsequent aggrandizement, by annexations in various quarters, and the increase of her influence, by interference in the affairs of Holland and Switzerland, notwithstanding the stipulation for their independency. These circumstances would have warranted a claim of new equivalents ; but his Majesty, anxious to prevent all ground of misunderstanding, was willing to have waived such pretensions, and would have been ready to carry into effect the true intent and spirit of the tenth article, the execution of which, according to its terms, had been rendered impracticable by uncontrollable circumstances. A communication would have been prepared, conformably to this disposition, but for the very extraordinary publication of Colonel Sebastiani's report, containing most unjustifiable insinuations and charges against the officer who commanded, and against the British army, in Egypt ; and disclosing views highly injurious to the interests of his Majesty's dominions, and directly repugnant to the spirit and letter of the treaty of peace. His Majesty, therefore, distinctly declared that, unless he received satisfactory explanations on this subject, it would be impossible for him to enter into any further discussion relative to Malta.

When this communication was reported to Talleyrand, he admitted, with an affected tone of candour, that the jealousy we felt on the score of Egypt, with a view to our possessions in India, was natural ; but Sebastiani's mission was strictly commercial ; he expatiated on the sincere desire of the First Consul to maintain peace ; even if this were not an effect of system, it would be imperiously dictated to him by the state of the finances, which rendered it impossible for him to carry on the extensive warfare to which even a partial rupture would naturally lead.

Shortly after this conference, the English ambassador, by desire, saw the First Consul at the Tuileries, when a conversation took place, if that may be so called in which Bonaparte, during two hours, spoke almost incessantly, and heard little. Omitting his assertions, so often before advanced in print, respecting newspaper abuse, the pensioning and employing such persons as the Bishop of Arras, the Baron de Rolle, Georges, Duthiel, and others, who had hired persons to assassinate him, his evident purpose was to impress the opinion, that on Malta must depend the question of peace or war, and a strong notion of the means he possessed of annoying us, both by sea and land. He had rather, he said, see the English in possession of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine, than of Malta. He might, easily, he said, have taken possession of Egypt, with the very ships and troops which were going to Saint Domingo, and that, with the approbation of all Europe, and particularly of the Turks, who invited him to join them in expelling the English. He did not, like his minister, attribute Sebastiani's mission to purposes merely commercial, but said it was rendered necessary, in a military point of view, by our infraction of the treaty of Amiens. Our garrison in Alexandria, instead of protecting, only furnished him with pretences for invading Egypt ; but, whatever might be his desire to have it as a colony, he would forbear, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might, perhaps, be considered the aggressor ; and by which he should lose more than he could gain,

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Lord Whit-
worth with
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since sooner or later Egypt would belong to France, either by some arrangement, or by the falling to pieces of the Turkish empire. What, he asked, was he to gain by going to war with England? A descent was his only means of offence, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But how could it be supposed, that, after having gained the height on which he stood, he would wish to risk his life and reputation in a hazardous attempt, with a hundred chances to one against him? But still, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion, he was determined to make it; and such was the disposition of his troops, that army after army would be found for the enterprize. He expatiated on the natural force of the two countries. France having an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, ready for the most desperate enterprizes; and England a fleet that made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern, or, by their strifes, might overturn, the world; but he had felt the enmity of the British government on every occasion since the treaty of Amiens.

28th.
Exposé of the
French.

To this mixture of untruth, fallacy, and boasting, the British ministry returned a proper and moderate answer, still pressing for satisfaction on the insults contained in Sebastiani's report. Some interviews and correspondence ensued, without forwarding the main object; and the maintenance of peace was rendered manifestly improbable by an exposé, addressed by the French government to the legislature, in which, after dilating copiously on the proud position of the republic, in all its interior regulations, and external communications, England came to be mentioned; when, after observing on the garrison in Alexandria, and the retention of Malta; the desire of one party to preserve the peace which they had concluded, and the sworn implacable hatred of another party; it observed that, so long as this conflict should last, the republic must keep on foot five hundred thousand men, ready to pro-

tect and avenge her. England would not draw other nations into new alliances ; and the government, it was added, pronounces, with a well-founded pride, that, by herself, England cannot struggle against France.

One of the grounds of dissatisfaction so much dwelt upon in this discussion, was attempted to be removed by the prosecution of Peltier for his libels on Bonaparte. It was conducted by the Attorney and Solicitor General, Mr. Garrow and Mr. Abbott, while Mr. Mackintosh and Mr. Fergusson appeared for the defendant. The speech pronounced for him was highly complimented by the most eminent of advocates*, and in print it displays a masterly specimen of vigorous conception, glowing description, and powerful reasoning ; but in court it produced no effect, for, without a moment's hesitation, the jury returned a verdict of guilty. It was a little astonishing, after all the clamour of remonstrance, both in their official correspondence and no less official publications, against Peltier, Cobbett, and other writers of that description, to find a statement in the French papers, that this person had been tried for some paltry libels on the First Consul. As the English newspapers had published that the prosecution was commenced on the demand of France, and that the ambassador was present at the trial, they were authorized to flatly contradict (*démentir*) both these assertions ; the First Consul had never heard of the existence of the libels, but through the trial. The alien act, it was asserted, afforded a more expeditious and certain remedy. If any subordinate in Lord Pelham's office were seriously to say to these persons, " write no more," they would be obedient ; if not, the alien act would dispose of them†.

Correspondence and meetings which took place after Lord Whitworth's interview with Bonaparte, produced nothing but inconclusive, general, and often contradictory expressions of a pacific disposition ; and

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21st.
Prosecution of
Peltier.

March 1.

Further cor-
respondence.

* Life of Sir James Mackintosh, vol. i, p 182.

† Peltier's Trial, with additional papers, published by himself ; and Howell, vol. xxviii, p 529 ; Goldsmith, vol. i, p 683. Peltier, it is to be observed, was not punished ; the altered state of affairs, between his trial and the next term, prevented his being brought into court for judgment.

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assertions that, although still desiring the possession of Egypt, Bonaparte would not go to war to obtain it; and that there was a French ambassador at Constantinople charged, but by what measures was not disclosed, to give every assurance of the disposition of France to strengthen, instead of weakening, the Turkish government.

March 8th.
The King's
message on the
armaments.

Apprized of extensive preparations in the ports of France and Holland, which, although professedly for colonial purposes, might, in the event of a rupture, be employed against some part of the British dominions, his Majesty, soon after the termination of the recess, in a message to both Houses, stated these preparations, and their possible result; and as discussions of great importance were subsisting between the two governments, he relied on Parliament, although partaking in his earnest and unvarying solicitude for the continuance of peace, to enable him to adopt the measures which circumstances might require for supporting the honour of the crown, and the essential interests of the country.

9th.
Addresses.

In moving an address, in conformity with the terms of this message, the Chancellor of the Exchequer expressed a hope that disputes would be amicably settled, on terms consistent with the interest and the honour of both countries; but, if otherwise, all communications that could throw light on the subject would be unreservedly produced. He mentioned, also, the necessity for calling out the militia, and augmenting the naval forces. The vote was unanimous, although the expression of some opinions by Mr. Fox called for a few remarks; and Mr. Sheridan noticed, with some severity, an observation made by Mr. Windham.

Lord Hobart moved the address in the Upper House, and the only remarkable circumstance in the debate, was the warmth shewn by members who were in general adverse to ministers, in applauding their present display of a determination to act a manly part; their only complaint was, that information on the course which discussions had taken was not afforded. Lord Auckland said he wished to declare to France,

and to the world at large, that if we were forced to the renewal of hostilities, we possessed the means both of offensive and defensive operations. We had, at this time, the appropriation of £17,000,000 a year, of an actual and efficient revenue, over and above the sum applied for the discharge of the interest of the national debt. Our revenues would soon amount to £34,000,000 sterling. When the French learnt these facts, they would not only respect our inexhaustible resources, but hesitate before they provoked us to warfare.

According to the intimation given by ministers, a message was delivered the following day, stating the necessity for assembling the militia, and augmenting the naval force, which was explained to mean an addition of ten thousand men, including three thousand four hundred marines. On this subject, although no amendment was moved, something more of a hostile spirit was shewn than on the former occasion ; Mr. Francis prefaced a long speech by declaring his regret that the late address had not been voted at once, as it were by acclamation, without debate or conversation of any kind. For, though the little that was said was not at all in the way of opposition, and was thoroughly understood among ourselves, it might be liable to great misconstructions abroad, particularly in France. He renewed the complaint, and was supported in it by Mr. Fox, that communications had not been made of the state and progress of discussions. No better ground was afforded for the demand of ten thousand men, than for twenty-five, or one hundred thousand, or any other number ; and Mr. Canning, in an able and vehement speech, deplored the anomalous and disgraceful situation in which he considered the country to be placed, through timidity and want of firmness in ministers. On them several members made attacks, alleging general want of confidence, but not pointing out any particular grounds of complaint. It was a great misfortune, Mr. Francis observed, that, at such a moment as the present, all the eminent abilities of England were excluded. In fair weather, a moderate share of skill might be sufficient ; but, for the storm

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Augmentation
of the military
and naval
forces
10th.
11th.Attack on
ministers.

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Demand of
Andréossy.

March 5.

12.
Talleyrand's
communication
with Lord
Whitworth.

Note verbale.

that seemed to be approaching, other pilots should be provided. These observations called for little answer; but the general conduct of government was ably defended by Mr. Addington and Lord Hawkesbury.

Discussions might be prolonged, but hopes of a satisfactory termination, if not extinguished, became daily more and more faint. The subjection of Egypt, toward which the possession of Malta was still deemed by Bonaparte an indispensable prelude, was evidently contemplated. Just before the King's message to Parliament, and while the preparations to which it alluded were in progress, General Andréossy, instructed by his court, required from Lord Hawkesbury a categorical answer to the plain question, whether his Majesty would or would not cause Malta to be evacuated by the British troops; the answer was to be given in a few days, that the First Consul might know on what he had to depend. Intelligence of the message to Parliament excited the First Consul's great indignation; in a personal communication with the English ambassador, Talleyrand complained of the unjust suspicions which prevailed in England, and, after speaking highly of the great moderation and self-denial of the First Consul, and his determination to sacrifice even the most favourite points to his desire to avoid a rupture, declared, at the same time, that the refusal to evacuate Malta would be considered as a commencement of hostilities. Lord Whitworth answered, that, far from desiring war, England was sensible that peace was no less necessary for her than for France; all we contended for was security, which every thing proved to be menaced by Bonaparte's views on Egypt; and that, consequently, our refusal to evacuate Malta was as much a necessary measure of precaution as the defence of any part of his Majesty's dominions. At the close of this conference, Talleyrand delivered a note verbale, explaining the views and intentions of his government. In this paper the phrase, "it is natural," is used so often as to seem almost intended to be facetious, while the projects it announces are so unjust and tyrannical, so hostile to treaties with all

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powers, that it occasions surprise that they should even be darkly intimated, but much more, that they should be unequivocally and authentically delivered. It advanced, as a fact known to all the world, that the expedition at Helvoetsluys was destined for America, and that its sailing was only countermanded in consequence of the King's message. Unless satisfactory explanations of the British armament were given, it was natural that twenty thousand troops should be marched into Holland, since Holland was mentioned in the message; natural that an encampment should be formed on the frontiers of Hanover; that Hanover should be threatened, and additional bodies sent to join those intended for America, to form new embarkations, and to maintain an offensive and destructive position; natural that camps should be formed at Calais, and on different parts of the coast; it was likewise in the nature of things, that the First Consul, who was on the point of evacuating Switzerland, should be under the necessity of continuing a French army in that country; it was also the natural consequence of all this, that the First Consul should send a French force into Italy, to occupy, if necessary, the position of Tarentum. England arming, and arming with so much publicity, would compel France to put her armies on the war establishment, a step so important, as could not fail to agitate all Europe. The result of all these movements would be to irritate the two countries still more. France would have been compelled to take all these precautions, in consequence of the English armaments; and, nevertheless, every means would be taken to excite the English nation, by the assertion that France meditated an invasion. The whole British population would be obliged to put themselves under arms for their defence, and their export trade would, even before the war, be in a state of stagnation throughout the whole extent of the countries occupied by the French arms.

These diplomatic communications lose their interest when compared with the personal behaviour of Bonaparte.

^{14th.}
Conduct of
Bonaparte.

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parte to Lord Whitworth, at a court held at the Tuilleries, which can only be related in the ambassador's own words, in a dispatch to Lord Hawkesbury.

" He accosted me," his lordship says, " evidently under very considerable agitation. He began by asking me if I had any news from England. I told him that I had received letters from your lordship two days ago. He immediately said, and so you are determined to go to war. No! I replied; we are too sensible of the advantages of peace. Nous avons, said he, déjà fait la guerre pendant quinze ans. As he seemed to wait for an answer, I observed only, c'en est déjà trop. Mais, said he, vous voulez la faire encore quinze années, et vous m'y forcez. I told him that it was very far from his Majesty's intentions. He then proceeded to Count Marcow and the Chevalier Azara, who were standing together at a little distance from me, and said to them, Les Anglais veulent la guerre, mais s'ils sont les premiers à tirer l'épée, je serai le dernier à la remettre. Ils ne respectent pas les traités. Il faut dorénavant les couvrir de crêpe noir. He then went his round. In a few minutes he came back to me, and resumed the conversation, if such it can be called, by something personally civil to me. He began again. Pourquoi des armemens? Contre qui des mesures de précaution? Je n'ai pas un seul vaisseau de ligne dans les ports de France; mais si vous voulez armer, j'armerai aussi. Vous pourrez peut-être tuer la France, mais jamais l'intimider. On ne voudroit, said I, ni l'un ni l'autre. On voudroit vivre en bonne intelligence avec elle. Il faut donc respecter les traités, replied he; malheur à ceux qui ne respectent pas les traités; ils en seront responsable à toute l'Europe. He was too much agitated to make it advisable for me to prolong the conversation; I therefore made no answer, and he retired to his apartment, repeating the last phrase. It is to be remarked, that all this passed loud enough to be overheard by two hundred people, who were pre-

" sent ; and I am persuaded that there was not a single person, who did not feel the extreme impropriety of his conduct, and the total want of dignity, as well as of decency, on the occasion." It is even said, that, in the transports of his rage, Bonaparte so far disgraced himself as to lift his cane, in a sort of menacing attitude, over Lord Whitworth, who laid his hand on his sword, and afterwards expressed the fixed determination he had formed, if touched with the Consul's cane, to draw upon him and abide the consequences*.

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In the further correspondence which took place, it became additionally evident that the French government insisted on the verbal fulfilment of the terms of the treaty, while they awaited only an opportunity to take advantage of the facilities which would thus be afforded to them. They maintained that the report of Sebastiani was meant only as a refutation of calumnies published against the army of Egypt, and its commander, by Sir Robert Wilson, in his History of that campaign ; but left unanswered the obvious remark of Lord Whitworth, that by the possession of Malta France was not threatened ; but, with respect to England, the reverse was the case, should the access to

Further cor-
respondence.

* Memoirs of the Earl of Liverpool, p. 208. If we may believe two writers, not altogether above suspicion, Bonaparte, thirteen years after this transaction, totally denied the truth of Lord Whitworth's statements, averring that the ambassador had demanded the audience, and that it was utterly false that any thing occurred which was not in conformity with the common rules of decorum ; that he expressed to other ambassadors his entire satisfaction, and hopes that all things would end well ; and when the account of this scene appeared in the English newspapers, and the same ambassadors remonstrated with him, he did not know what to answer, but said this account was also true (*Las Casas*, part iv. p. 208 ; O'Meara, vol. i. p. 500 ; vol. ii. p. 123). If there was the least ground for this contradiction, it is most surprising that, from the moment of the transaction to the time when these two works were published, no word of denial should have been uttered by any one of the two hundred persons present, nor has the contradiction ever been supported by any one. And further, it appears that, almost immediately afterward, Lord Whitworth, far from being satisfied, made his complaint to Talleyrand, declaring that he would discontinue his visits to the Tuilleries, unless assured that such disagreeable circumstances would not be repeated ; to which the French minister answered, that it was not the First Consul's intention to distress his lordship, but feeling himself personally insulted by the charges which were brought against him by the English government, he considered it incumbent on him to take the first opportunity of exculpating himself in the presence of the ministers of the different powers of Europe. He assured me that nothing similar would occur.—Dispatch of Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, March 17, 1803 ; papers laid before Parliament, No. 46.

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Egypt be opened by its evacuation. Some intercourse took place on the suggestion of different projects for a perpetual possession of the fortifications of the island by the English, for a temporary retention of it until it should be surrendered, not to the order, but to the inhabitants, with a guaranty for its complete independence, instead of the government of impoverished and corrupt knights ; and for the cession of Lampedosa to Great Britain, as a station in the Mediterranean. On these subjects, the answers of the French government were slow, evasive, or repulsive ; on others, they were vague and unsatisfactory. To the demand of satisfaction for the insult offered to the British ambassador, it was objected that a grant of satisfaction implied a confession of superiority ; it was acknowledged that England had a right to expect some concession as a counterpoise to the additional power and influence obtained by France since the treaty of Amiens. In one of the conversations on the subject, Talleyrand directed Lord Whitworth's attention to the calamities which would follow the failure of endeavours to avoid a rupture. He insinuated that Holland, Naples, and other countries connected with Great Britain, would be the first victims of war. Lord Whitworth asked him whether he thought that such a conduct would add to the glory of the First Consul ; or whether the falling on the innocent and defenceless would not rather tarnish it, and ultimately unite against him, not only the honest men in his own country, but every government in Europe ? That it certainly would excite more detestation than terror in England ; at the same time, that it would strengthen our impression that no means should be omitted to circumscribe a power so perniciously exerted. He added, that although no act of hostility had actually taken place, yet the inveteracy with which our commerce, our industry, and our credit, had been attacked in every part to which French influence could be extended, did, in fact, almost amount to the same ; since it went to prove, in addition to the general system of the First Consul,

that his object was to pursue, under the mask of peace, the same line of conduct in which the preceding governments had acted. An ultimatum having been delivered, to which no satisfactory answer was returned, Lord Whitworth, finding that no advantage could be gained by his protracted stay, demanded, and after some delay, obtained, his passports; and General Andréossy was directed to quit London.

By a message to both Houses of Parliament, the King communicated this intelligence, promising, without delay, to furnish copies of the papers which had passed*. He found consolation in reflecting that no endeavours had been wanting, on his part, to preserve to his subjects the blessings of peace; but, under the circumstances which had occurred, he appealed to the zeal and public spirit of his faithful Commons, and relied on the exertions of his brave and loyal subjects, to support him in his determination to oppose the spirit of ambition and encroachment which actuated the councils of France; to uphold the dignity of his crown, and assert and maintain the rights and interests of his people.

A declaration of the King was immediately published, shewing the conduct of the two countries since the signature of the definitive treaty; explaining the circumstances attending the late negotiations, and vindicating himself from improper views and motives. His Majesty disclaimed all disposition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other state; and all projects of conquest and aggrandizement; he was actuated solely by a sense of what was due to the honour of his crown, and the interests of his people, and by an anxious desire to obstruct the further progress of a system which, if not resisted, might prove fatal to every part of the civilized world.

Thus, after a short and anxious cessation of hos-

* An ample collection was furnished, from which, where no other authority is cited, the above facts are drawn. They are to be found in the Journals of the House of Commons, vol. lviii. p. 1031; in the Parliamentary History, vol. xxxvi. p. 1259; and in many other periodical works; and were published separately in a pamphlet.

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1803.
April 23rd.
Lord
Whitworth
leaves Paris.
May 12th.

16th.
Message to
Parliament.

18th.
The King's
declaration.

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tilities, rather than peace, Great Britain reluctantly plunged into war, with an inveterate and implacable enemy, an enemy who had devoted to destruction her liberty, her commerce, and her independence; whose menaces were unequivocal and undisguised; and who added to their bitterness the boastful assertion, that England, unassisted, was not able to maintain the conflict.

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE.

1803.

Debate on the King's message.—Mr. Pitt.—Mr. Wilberforce.—Mr. Grey.—Adjourned debate.—Mr. T. Grenville.—Mr. Whitbread.—Mr. Dallas.—Mr. Serjeant Best.—Mr. Elliott.—Mr. Canning.—Mr. Fox.—Mr. Addington.—The Attorney General.—Mr. Windham.—Division.—House of Lords.—Motion on the mediation of Russia.—Lord Hawkesbury.—Mr. Pitt.—Motion withdrawn.—Measures against invasion.—Militia.—Mr. Pitt.—Mr. Addington.—Additional force.—Lord Hobart proposes a plan.—Objections.—House of Commons.—Mr. Yorke.—Bill passed.—General defence.—Mr. Yorke.—Mr. Windham.—Mr. Pitt.—Mr. Fox.—Colonel Craufurd.—Mr. Yorke.—Mr. Pitt.—House of Lords.—Colonel Craufurd on the defence of London.—Navy.—Commissioners of inquiry.—Loan.—Property tax.—Mr. Erskine.—Mr. William Smith.—Mr. Pitt.—War with Holland.—Prince of Orange.—Mr. Canning.—Sir Francis Burdett.—Bank restriction continued.—Act against cutting and wounding.—Controverted elections.—Case of Mr. James Trotter.—Ilchester.—Nottingham.—The King's message on the Prince of Wales.—Duchy of Cornwall.—Mr. M. Sutton.—Mr. Sheridan.—Claim relinquished.—Supply granted.—The Prince desires a military command.—His letter to the King.—Answer.—Correspondence with the Duke of York.—Noticed in Parliament.—Mr. Francis.

—Mr. Fox.—Colonel Patten's motion against ministers.—Debate.—Mr. Addington.—Mr. Pitt.—Lord Hawkesbury.—Mr. Canning.—Sir Robert Peel.—Mr. Yorke.—Divisions.—House of Lords.—Earl Fitzwilliam.—Lord Ellenborough.—Other peers.—Adjournment.—Duke of Clarence.—Fate of the motion.—Prorogation.

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1803.
May 23.
Debate on the
King's mes-
sage.

In both Houses of Parliament, the King's message and the papers presented to consideration, produced many speeches, in which little direct opposition to the general measures of government could be discerned, although forcible observations were made on particular parts of the negotiation. By a peculiar accident, the strangers' gallery in the House of Commons was, on the first day, pre-occupied, to the exclusion of those who took reports for the daily press; and therefore a very imperfect account of the speeches was transmitted to the public. In general, this circumstance is the less to be regretted, as no marked or decided opposition appears to have been made. The malevolence and aggression of France were, with the exception of a few speakers, admitted on all hands; particular objections to the conduct of ministers were urged; some accused them of general incapacity; some blamed them for not demanding satisfaction, or making an earlier application to Parliament; and a few denied that war was at all wise or necessary.

Lord Hawkesbury moved the address, in a speech of which no trace remains, but which is said to have denoted great care and preparation; and, after a few observations from Mr. Erskine, Mr. Pitt made a speech, in defence of the conduct of ministers, every account of which gives additional reason to regret the absence of a detailed and perfect report. In an able, eloquent, and statesman-like review of the conduct of France, her undisguised ambition, and the hostility she had incessantly displayed toward this country, he shewed the unavoidable necessity for the present measures. But, while he vindicated these proceedings, and the propriety of declaring a resolution to support

Mr. Pitt.

them, he trusted that a due impression was felt of the awful importance of the engagement into which the House was preparing to enter, and that those assurances were not to be considered formal words of ceremony or custom, but as a solemn and deliberate pledge, to endure, and be prepared to meet, the threatened difficulties and dangers with all the exertions and sacrifices which the unexampled circumstances of the times rendered indispensable. The scale of our exertions could not be measured by those of former times, or confined within the limits even of the great, and till then unexampled, efforts of the last war. Some system, far more vigorous and effectual than any even then adopted, would be necessary, both in finance and in preparation for national defence.

Mr. Wilberforce could not concur in affirming that government had uniformly endeavoured to preserve the blessings of peace, and to prevent the fatal result in which the negotiation had at length terminated. He meant not to deny that the general spirit of faithlessness, ambition, and aggrandizement, manifested by the French government; the commanding tone and port which they had assumed toward other nations, and their marked hostility toward this, combined with their formidable means of giving effect to that hostility; confirmed and heightened by the several acts of injustice and indignity, so forcibly stated in his Majesty's declaration, constituted such a body of aggression, injury, and insult, and manifested such a rooted spirit of hostility toward us, as to give us a right, on principles of provident self-defence, to declare war, if, all circumstances considered, war should appear to be dictated by the principles of sound policy. Yet, it was expedient to avoid war, if possible; and he could not but believe that ministers had plunged into it rashly and unnecessarily. We should not tamely submit to indignities, or to any infringement on our essential interests; but every consideration of sound policy would recommend that, in the present circumstances of this country, and of Europe, every

Mr.
Wilberforce.

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drop of the cup of conciliation should have been drained before we threw it from us.

1803.
Mr. Grey.

Mr. Grey acknowledged the necessity of resisting the spirit of encroachment shewn by France; but, with a view to leave an opening to accommodation, he moved an amendment, substituting expressions of confidence and approbation, an assurance of a firm determination to co-operate in calling forth the resources of the kingdom for the vigorous prosecution of the war, and more particularly the satisfaction with which they received his Majesty's declaration, that he was willing to afford facility to any just arrangement by which the blessings of peace might be restored.

24th.
Adjourned
debate.

Mr. T. Gren-
ville.

In the adjourned debate, which is reported more at length, the views of parties in opposition were more amply disclosed, although few new topics or arguments were advanced. Mr. T. Grenville, as the organ of one party, vindicated in all its particulars the conduct of government towards Bonaparte, exposing fully his ambition, arrogance, and duplicity; but, with respect to ministers, he asked whether, if the wisest of men had been at the head of affairs, they would have suffered the last two months of protracted negotiation, during which we experienced not a peace, but a truce; in which we disarmed, while the enemy armed; in which we were called upon to give up our conquests, whilst the enemy was pursuing a system of aggrandizement, and completing their military preparations, to be afterwards carried into effect against this country? He objected to the amendment, not as containing any thing adverse to the address, but as being opposed to the unanimity which, on such an occasion, ought to prevail.

Mr. Whit-
bread.

Mr. Whitbread, alluding to this expression, asked Mr. Pitt and Mr. Grenville whether they could, with a safe conscience, vote the direct approbation of the conduct of ministers to which the address would pledge them? He called on them to say, whether ministers had uniformly manifested a desire to maintain peace? whether they had conducted themselves

well ; and whether they had not committed the honour of the country ? In proportion as he admired the brilliancy of Mr. Pitt's speech, he regretted the part he had taken ; for, as it had been said that one person in France had absorbed the whole power of that mighty empire, so it might be observed, that if ever the fate of empires hung upon the lips of one individual, it was on those of that right honourable gentleman. Reviewing the particulars of the late negotiation, he blamed the conduct of the French, but still more that of ministers, who, by enduring, had abetted their injustice.

Mr. Dallas, appearing for the first time as a member of Parliament, defended the conduct of government, in a speech which created general admiration, and obtained warm eulogies from Mr. Canning and Mr. Fox. He displayed the unjust pretensions of the French, the insults and indignities offered to the country, the employment of spies under the character of commercial agents, the attempt to interfere with the internal government of the country, and to impose foreign restraints on the freedom of the British press ; the treatment of our ambassador at Paris, the libel contained in the report of Sebastiani, the views professed as to Turkey and Egypt, as proofs of a hostile spirit. What, then, did the amendment propose ? To omit all that part of the address which stated the conduct of the French government as forming the ground of war ; to expunge from it all the feelings of just indignation, which the House was called upon to express for the insulted honour of the country, for an audacious attempt to violate its most essential interests ; and to approach the King with a niggardly assurance that his faithful Commons would support him in the war ? Mr. Whitbread had asked, for what are we going to war ? It was fit the people of England should know. " I agree with him," said Mr. Dallas, " that it is so ; and, therefore, to him and to the people of England, I explicitly say, we are going to war for Malta ; not for Malta only, but for Egypt ; not for Egypt only, but for India ; not for India only, but

Mr. Dallas.

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Mr. Serjeant
Best.

"for the integrity and security of the British empire ;
"for the cause of justice, good faith, and freedom,
"throughout the civilized world !"

In support of these sentiments, equally just and spirited, Mr. Serjeant Best observed, that if he were asked, would he go to war for Malta ? he would answer No ; nor for a much more extensive possession, in the abstract ; but it was the manner in which France demanded Malta, it was the disposition she had shewn, it was the design she had openly avowed, that, in his opinion, justified this country in going to war. If the smallest spot of earth was demanded in a similar manner and circumstances as Malta, he would refuse it, as essentially connected with the safety and true interest of the British empire.

Mr. Elliott.

Like Mr. T. Grenville, Mr. Elliott, while he expressed his opinion on the justice of the war, explicitly disclaimed pronouncing any opinion on the ministers ; and Mr. Canning, in the course of a long and able speech, in justification of the war, and reprobation of the conduct of the enemy, guarded himself, in terms still stronger, from the supposition of his uniting with his approbation of the address, any panegyric on ministers. Having forcibly recapitulated the instances of French misconduct ; "Look, then," he said, "at all those instances of aggression, at all those ebullitions of an insolent and domineering spirit, with which the King's declaration is crowded; Piedmont, Parma, Elba, Switzerland, Germany; the press; the emigrants; the confiscation of British commerce; the mission of French commercial commissioners; aggressions abroad, which no former age would have tolerated; insults at home, which, at any former period of our history, British flesh and blood could not have borne; look at them, not as distinct causes of war (it was not in that light the declaration presented them), but as indications of the views, of the general spirit, the animus of the enemy; as helps whereby to judge of the intentions of any future demand, and of the policy of any further submission : and then judge whether, when the demand for the

Mr. Canning.

"evacuation of Malta came in the shape in which it
 "did come, ministers could so far mistake the meaning
 "and spirit of it, as not to feel, that in complying with
 "it (if they had so complied), they would have put
 "out of their own hands an instrument of defence,
 "and into the hands of Bonaparte a weapon of offence
 "and attack, of which a few short weeks would have
 "taught him all the value; and that, instead of pre-
 "serving peace by this last act of condescendence and
 "submission, they would only have invited further ag-
 "gressions, and insured the execution of the threat of
 "war, in exact proportion as they had shewn them-
 "selves unwilling to encounter it, and had thrown
 "away their means of meeting it to advantage."

Mr. Fox alone vindicated the conduct of France to Mr. Fox.
 this country, though not to all others, and censured
 the proceedings of ministers, and the proposed address,
 without sparing or reserve, in a speech, the length of
 which* renders detail impracticable, and the force of
 which must be greatly impaired by abridgment. It
 was extolled by his friends as a master-piece of elo-
 quence and wisdom; and Mr. Addington termed it
 the most commanding piece of sophistry ever heard in
 Parliament. He exhorted the House, by the timely
 interposition of its counsels, to rescue the people from
 the certain misery which must be their doom, in any
 event of war, even the most successful. He would
 not, like Mr. T. Grenville and Mr. Canning, divide the
 question, and consider the justice and expediency of
 the war as totally separate from the conduct of the
 ministers which had produced it. He strongly ob-
 jected to the declaration that his Majesty (understand-
 ing by it his ministers) had been anxious and uniform
 in his endeavours to preserve the blessings of peace.
 A due examination of the materials before him might,
 in many instances, prove the very reverse.

He then proceeded to notice the state of parties,
 the presence of Mr. Pitt, and the silence it im-
 posed on certain honourable gentlemen, who, in his

* It occupies fifty columns of the Parliamentary History.

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absence, were so obliging as to communicate their sentiments; they now seemed to say to each other, "in "his awful presence, let us abstain from attacking the "ministers; opportunity will soon offer itself, for "though he is here to-day, he may be away to-mor- "row, and then—have at them."

Adverting, then, to the causes of the war, he drew a distinction between insults and injuries; insult, by itself, was no ground for hostility; but it was the refusal of satisfaction, if demanded, after representation duly made. When an injury was actually sustained, the just and laudable course to follow was, first to demand redress; but, in urgent cases, and particularly if the redress happened to be in our own hands, it became fit to use the means afforded by nature and fortune. Every act of injustice of which France had been guilty since the peace of Amiens, could not be fairly adduced, with reference to its effect upon ourselves, as constituting a just ground for war. Some acts might be done by one country against another, which, although in the abstract highly unjust and injurious, were not so directly tending to the injury of a third power, as to amount to a proof of hostile views, and call for its interference. Among the various instances of the aggression of great states, in modern times, we had the two divisions of Poland, which, even in comparison with any thing since seen, still retained a pre-eminence in profligacy; we never remonstrated while the thing was doing, because, at that time, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, had given us no direct cause of offence; and if, afterward, we had a quarrel with them, could we insist on that act as evidence of their original malice against us?

In reviewing the conduct of France toward this country, he would first consider the treaty of Amiens, which he had supported, not on the ground that the state of Europe, as arranged by its stipulations, was satisfactory; not that he had, at the time of making it, much reliance on the good faith, still less on the moderation, of France; but upon a feeling that it was better to take the opportunity of putting an end to,

than continuing, the calamities of war. It was true that we did accept an imperfect security ; but imperfect security was common to all engagements, in almost every condition of society ; and nothing short of a state of absolute perfection in all things, which none but a lunatic was extravagant enough to expect, would justify the hope of perfect security in a treaty. If all nations were to be apprehensive that, unless they were perfectly secure, they enjoyed no security, and, fancying themselves therefore in danger, were to go to war in search of absolute security, he was afraid there would be but little peace in the world.

In respect to the German indemnities, he did not feel any greater indignation toward France than toward all the other governments who were principals in that transaction. The system of indemnity and compensation was, and could be no other than, one of common rapine. To take indemnities from the territories of other states, by any authority but that of the rightful possessors, was, in one word, robbery. Piedmont, at the time of the treaty of Amiens, was, to all intents and purposes, a part of France ; it constituted the twenty-seventh arrondissement, and belonged to France as effectually as Gibraltar belongs to us. With respect to Switzerland, the transaction was very different. No man could contemplate with more indignation than he did, the violent injustice of France toward that country ; but, oppressive and tyrannical as it was, it could not be taken as an act of hostility against us. The conduct of the French toward Holland was such, that the stronger the words in which it should be described, the more applicable would they be to its guilt. It was to be equalled by nothing but those which prevailed in countries where a difference of colour seemed to have shut up the hearts of men, and extinguished every sentiment of compassion. The conduct of France toward that country was no less despicable for its meanness, than hateful for its atrocity. Had ministers remonstrated against the occupation of Holland, and, in remonstrating, taken the highest ground, he believed they would have had the

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feelings of the Dutch nation with them, and the opinion and the good wishes of Europe. With no less severity, he reprobated the attempt of the French to re-establish slavery in Saint Domingo, which implicated, and formed a considerable blot in, the character of Bonaparte.

After a very slight observation on the occupation of Parma and Placentia, Mr. Fox proceeded to the second class of complaints ; that of insults, contra-distinguished from injuries. Taking credit to himself for a disinclination to surrender the liberty of the press, even to please the government of his own country, much less that of any other, he observed that the publications complained of had undoubtedly produced, as was natural, in the minds of nine people out of ten, disgust and irritation. This species of warfare, if not the most glorious, was, undoubtedly, the safest. In the first of poems, by the first of poets, it had been recommended to two combatants just preparing to engage in battle ; and that poet, who was no less a man than Homer, put his advice into the mouth of the goddess of wisdom herself : "Put up your swords," she says, "and then abuse each other as long as you please." In such a species of warfare, neither party was likely to experience any failure of ammunition. He reprobated in the strongest terms the requisition of Bonaparte, that we should send away French subjects domiciled here. No one could have less respect than he had for the house of Bourbon ; yet, for that family, nay, for the worst prince of that family, if among them there should be a bad one, he would be ready to draw his sword and go to war, rather than comply with a demand to withdraw from him the hospitality to which he had trusted. He applied these observations only to persons against whom no crime was alleged ; but there were at least three, of whom it was asserted, and believed in Paris, that they had been active in a conspiracy against the life of the First Consul ; that, at least, ought to be inquired into.

On Bonaparte's boast, that England alone was not able singly to contend against France, he said, that all

expressions of this sort were highly to be condemned ; offensive comparisons served only to create or inflame a spirit of mutual jealousy and national hatred ; it would be much wiser to treat them with contempt, or make them the ground of an immediate demand for satisfaction. Sebastiani's report, too, contained very insulting matter ; and the manner of expressing it was highly injurious and unmanly : but there was another and a more serious charge, that of giving encouragement to assassination, which assuredly demanded from ministers the most prompt and vigorous remonstrances. He defended the seizing our ships, and detaining our property, and the refusal to grant an adequate redress, by shewing that most of the French laws, on this subject, had been passed during the heats of the revolution, and were still retained. In this case, the complaint was properly against the existence of such laws ; laws to the last degree unwise and impolitic ; but he must assert the right, not of France alone, but of every independent state in the world, and most emphatically of Great Britain, who stood more in need of indulgence on this subject than perhaps any other nation, the absolute and uncontrollable right, where no treaties exist to the contrary, to establish such exclusive laws for the protection of their commerce as they may think fit ; and to put every prohibition they please upon the merchandize and shipping of other states. To send military men hither, under colour and pretence of being commercial commissioners, but, in effect, no better than spies, was a shameful attempt to impose upon us for a most mischievous purpose ; and therefore there was but one course to be pursued, namely, that of sending them out of this country immediately ; and immediately, also (for this was not a matter for delay), applying to France for explanation and satisfaction. The manifestoes, inserted by compulsion in the Hamburg Gazette, would have been disavowed, according to Bonaparte's promise, but for the war. The scene with Lord Whitworth, at the Tuilleries, he said, had been variously related, and the accounts of several persons, present at the time when it took place,

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represented the language used very differently from the manner in which it is stated in the papers on the table. He thought it, indeed, a great misfortune that Lord Whitworth should have laid so much stress on his private interview with the First Consul ; from the frailty of human memory, it might, in some particulars, be incorrect ; and it was worth considering, whether the offence given by the terms of such a conversation might not be overbalanced by the advantage of discovering the intentions of an enemy from his own intemperate language.

In terms which would deserve less consideration, but that they formed a topic to paragraph-writers and pamphleteers, he reproached Mr. Addington, for having, at the close of the last year, laid before the House a flattering picture of the commercial prosperity of the country. From no part of his language, on that occasion, was it possible to draw any other inference than that there was not the least room to apprehend any interruption of the peace. In addition to their speeches, ministers sent renewed orders to give up the Cape of Good Hope. They also manifested their disposition to surrender Malta, according to the treaty, which was not only speaking, but acting, as if we were in a state of profound peace.

With due praises to his ability, he controverted Mr. Dallas's argument on the subject of Malta ; and, adverting to India, stated that our aggrandizement in that country was equal to that of France in Europe. Against the reproach which might be made against us on that point, he knew of no defence, unless we were to adopt one, said to have been made by a lady, who, on her return to Europe after a long residence in that part of the world, was charged with some irregularities of conduct, and, having been questioned as to several specific instances, exclaimed, "No, never! never, upon my honour, on this side of the Cape of Good Hope!" The views of France on Egypt, he contended, were not recent. M. de Vergennes had entertained, and acted upon them, in 1786, without any interference from the then minister, Mr. Pitt. Whatever might be

his opinion respecting other parts of the Chief Consul's conduct, whatever he might think of many passages in his conversation with Lord Whitworth, it appeared to him to carry with it a certain character of frankness, which he could not find it in his mind to condemn. He told us fairly, although he could have had Egypt, it was no object for him to have had it at the risk of a war; and it was not his interest to risk a war for Egypt, which, one day or other, would probably fall into his hands, either by negotiation, or the dissolution of the Turkish empire.

At much length, and with no inconsiderable mixture of sarcasm, or even of burlesque, Mr. Fox reviewed the attempts to gain satisfaction, and the demands of explanation, and the refusal on the part of this country to give up Malta on the terms of the treaty, and then returned to his argument, that Bonaparte had shewn no signs of arrogance in his conversation with Lord Whitworth. Did he say haughtily to him, “I will come and crush you—*je vous écraserai?*” Just the reverse. He tells us plainly and directly, indeed, that he shall attempt to invade us; but he says, also, that he knows the chances are a hundred to one against his success; that it is a hundred to one that he and the greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea. He talked much, and with great earnestness, on this subject, but never once attempted to diminish the danger. Yet this declaration of the First Consul, of the almost utter hopelessness of any enterprize he might attempt against us, is quoted as a proof of his arrogance and presumption! “Whatever else there may be in it,” said Mr. Fox, “there certainly is in this conversation no tone of superiority; on the contrary, it is an acknowledgment of superiority on our side. To call it arrogant or presumptuous, or to say that it is offensive in its tone, or in its substance, appears to be a very whimsical imputation. It reminds me of the most extravagant passage in a great and, with me, most favourite poet, Dryden, who, in the most extravagant, perhaps, of his pieces, puts into the mouth of

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" Almanzor a sentiment which has always appeared to
 " me to outsoar every flight allowable to the wildest
 " fictions of the imagination. He says, in anger, to
 " his rival—

" 'Thou shalt not wish her thine ; thou shalt not dare
 " ' To be so impudent as to despair.' "

As a conclusion to be drawn from his preceding arguments, Mr. Fox maintained that the war which ministers were now undertaking for Malta, plain Malta, was neither wise nor justifiable. Even now, peace was not desperate, if proper means were resorted to—means which presented themselves at that very moment, and which were in every way consistent with strict honour, and with a large and liberal policy. He understood wishes to have been expressed by the Emperor of Russia for the preservation of the peace of Europe. What was the other side of the alternative ? War ! On this point he made all the usual observations on the cost, the taxation, the misery to individuals, which must ensue ; and asked what event would put an end to it ? Were we to proceed on our present narrow ground of mere local British interest, we had nothing to gain—absolutely nothing. We could not hope for an ally from any quarter of the world. But if the House should agree to the amendment, it would open to us another and a better course.

Mr.Addington.

To the allegations in this speech, the Chancellor of the Exchequer returned obvious and irresistible answers, shewing that, on all occasions, specific and early remonstrances had been made, recapitulating the circumstances which prevented the more effectual intervention in favour of Switzerland, which country had, however, been so far benefitted, that Bonaparte's expectation of becoming its chief magistrate was disappointed. He also shewed that, at the proper moments, satisfaction had been demanded for each specific aggression ; and justified the conduct of government with respect to Egypt and Malta. He lamented that the powers of Mr. Fox's great mind should have been employed in giving encouragement to our enemies.

The Attorney General indignantly observed that Mr. Fox had laid down principles which would furnish Bonaparte with arguments for the justification of his conduct; and the censures of Mr. Windham were still more vehement. Strange language had been used, and he pointed out its mischief, and, he must say, its wickedness. The topics touched upon were the very poisoned arrows of debate, which, by general consent, were proscribed. That war produces much public inconvenience and private misery, might be urged against all wars, however just or unavoidable. The question was not whether the income tax was a bad thing, but whether it was not a better thing than an income tax imposed by a French prefect. The honourable gentleman had shewn himself the pander to all the base and illiberal passions of the people, by thus supporting selfishness against patriotism, and opposing private considerations to the grand view of national policy. If he stooped so low, he was not to be envied in the triumph of his eloquence, or the number of his admirers. Mr. William Smith, condemning the severity of these expressions, Mr. Windham acknowledged that he did not wish the words that had fallen from him, in the heat of debate, to be understood in the strict literal meaning; and Mr. Fox said, he excused the warmth of the right honourable gentleman; and, as for himself, he had a foible, of not easily and slightly quarrelling with an old acquaintance.

Mr. Addington had expressed a hope that, for the sake of unanimity, Mr. Grey would withdraw his amendment; but he had misjudged his opponent; a division was pressed, and the amendment rejected by nearly six to one*.

In the Upper House, the address, moved by Lord Pelham, and seconded by the Duke of Cumberland, was opposed by Earl Stanhope and Lord King, who moved an amendment. The arguments used in the debate were similar to those in the House of Commons.

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The Attorney
General.
Mr. Windham.23rd.
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The cause of government was ably upheld by the Duke of Clarence, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Melville, Lord Ellenborough, and the Earl of Rosslyn; and, with some limitations, by Earls Spencer and Moira, and Lord Grenville; and the division on the amendment yielded a greater numerical proportion than that in the House of Commons*.

27th.
Motion on the
mediation of
Russia.

Allusion was made in these debates to a mediation of the Emperor of Russia; Mr. Fox, soon afterward, moved an address, praying his Majesty to avail himself of the disposition expressed by that potentate to interpose his good offices for the termination of the war. He expatiated largely on the universal respect attracted by the excellent character and conduct of the Emperor, and said that ministers, who had named him as the most fit person to guarantee the independence of Malta, might naturally look to him for an extension of his guarantee to all the points at issue between the governments of Great Britain and France.

Lord Hawkes-
bury.

Lord Hawkesbury opposed the motion, and, as the most convenient mode of disposing of it, moved the previous question. Ministers were amply sensible of the benefits of the mediation of Russia, and the extreme importance of her co-operation in any plan to counteract the progress of French ambition; but he objected to the motion, as not being supported on any parliamentary ground. Hopes ought not to be held out to the country which might be disappointed; and the motion could be productive of no good, and might be attended with considerable evil.

Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt warmly eulogised the sentiments uttered by Mr. Fox. It would be strange, he said, if he had not heard with approbation the principles laid down by him—principles which, in the best times of this country, induced and enabled the House to contribute to the general liberty and independence of Europe—to support the rights, and redress the wrongs, of minor powers, and to oppose a successful resistance to the en-

* For the amendment, 10 ; against it, 142.

croachments of ambition ; he was glad that Mr. Fox had proclaimed them with so much precision and force, and hoped they would have the benefit of his great authority, and the recommendation of his great talents (and greater authority they could not have), to remove objections which had sheltered themselves, perhaps more than there was ground for, under his name, against all common cause with the rest of Europe ; and against sacrificing, in any circumstances, the least portion of British interests, for the balance and preservation of the Continent. Still, unless some practicable benefit was to be derived from pressing the motion, he hoped it would be withdrawn. However gratified he might be with the complimentary parts of this speech, Mr. Fox did not adopt the latter proposal, until assured by Lord Hawkesbury that the British government was ready to accept the mediation of Russia.

In consequence of the declaration of France, that an invasion of this country was intended, and an ostentatious display of flat boats, and other means for executing such threats, and the situation of Holland and other Continental powers, the measures of government for protection were active and strenuous, and occasioned many discussions. At an early period, the King informed Parliament that he had given orders for calling out and enrolling the supplementary militia. When the army estimates came under consideration, Mr. Windham inveighed vehemently against the course pursued, and particularly on permitting so large a portion of our force to consist of militia. The population of the country would not afford, at once, a large militia and a large army. In fact, the system pursued of late years, if it did not "suckle armies, and dry-nurse the land," must, at least, be said to suckle the militia, and dry-nurse the army. The large bounties which were given, encouraged desertion ; men got a livelihood by passing from corps to corps, and performing what they called the grand tour. He censured and decried the whole system of ministers, as being bounded by precedent, and limited to the mere

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Motion with-
drawn.Measures
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defence of the country. They issued press warrants, they offered bounties, they sent out recruiting parties, they put ships in commission, they did whatever they were told was regular and proper, and then we were to wait passively until we could find an opportunity of sneaking into a peace, as we had just sneaked out of one. For the purpose of defence, we ought to have as large a regular force as possible; because, with regular forces, it was "diamond cut diamond." Whether he considered the interest of the country with a view to the war in general, or to the narrower and more immediate object of defence, he must equally condemn the creation of a great and disproportionate militia force; and, by the same act, and the means of carrying it into effect, impoverishing and keeping down the army.

Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt considered the number of the militia to bear too great a proportion to the whole of our force. A war that should be completely defensive, would be both dishonourable and ruinous. Whatever was necessary for the defence and honour of the country, either in men or money, must be obtained.

Mr. Addington.

Agreeing in this sentiment, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that a considerable defensive force was at present necessary, on account of the extensive preparations of the enemy. The time might come when circumstances would point out the necessity of giving the war a more offensive character; and, in such a case, he had no doubt but the population and spirit of the country would furnish the means of supporting it with honour. The resolutions were agreed to.

17th.
Additional
forces.

Messages from his Majesty having announced the declaration of hostilities against the Batavian republic, and the necessity of raising and assembling an ample additional force for the defence and security of the United Kingdom, Lord Hobart moved the address in the House of Lords, and stated the course which government intended to pursue. For collecting the large force required to resist the enemy, every exertion had been made, and was making, to increase the regular army; but those exertions were insufficient; means of

18th
Lord Hobart
proposes a
plan.

a compulsory nature were necessary. In the last war, the militia were 114,386, including Scotland. The number now raised for the established and supplementary militia amounted to 72,963 ; to which it was proposed to add forty thousand for Great Britain. It was intended that the army to be raised should consist of 40,000 men for Great Britain and the islands of the channel (Guernsey and Jersey), and 10,000 for Ireland ; their services to be reciprocal, those raised in England to serve in Ireland, and those in Ireland to serve in England. The officers were to be persons who had held rank in the army, and had acted either in the fencible corps, or in the East India Company's service. This force was intended to be raised on the principle of the militia, by ballot, to be taken out of the counties and districts, with the addition of such volunteers as might offer their services ; their age to be from eighteen to forty-five, and they might, if so disposed, enter into the regular army.

This plan occasioned some animadversions by the Objections. Duke of Clarence, who preferred offensive to defensive warfare ; the Earl of Carnarvon, who censured the militia system in general, and particularly that part which allowed the supplying of substitutes, and the exemption of the clergy, the universities, women, and other classes of subjects. A ballot was a tax to raise money, under the pretence of raising men ; it was calculated only to discharge the public purse from the expence of the levy, and throw it on any individual, rich or poor, without consideration of justice, without attention to any principle of equitable distribution of public burthens, according to the abilities to bear them ; it was a tax founded on no sound principle of taxation. Earls Grosvenor, Grenville, and some other peers, delivered their sentiments ; and, in the course of the debate, the Earl of Moira, testifying his constant readiness to assist in the service of his country, even in the most humble military station, if required, declared his opinion that the hands of ministers should be left unshackled, and their power wholly uncontrollable. "There is not," he said, "an hour to be lost.

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"While your lordships are debating, the enemy is acting; while we are devising plans of defence, they are executing means of attack." His lordship also blamed the tardiness of ministers, who, being thoroughly acquainted, in March, with the designs of France, came late in June to propose measures of security, the execution of which was still to be delayed, in hopes of their being improved by parliamentary discussion*.

20th.
House of
Commons.
Mr. Yorke.

In the House of Commons, the Secretary at War moved for leave to bring in a bill for the more vigorous prosecution of the war. Our preparations must be made, he observed, with reference not only to the government, but to the character of the present governor, who disposed despotically of the immense power of France. In ordinary times, nay, even during the late war, a force of 140,000 men, aided by our immense navy, was deemed sufficient to enable us to look with contempt on the threats of our enemies. They would still be sufficient for home defence; for he made little doubt but the army which would attempt to invade us would be sent to the bottom of the sea before they could arrive, or be dashed to pieces by the cannon of those who would be opposed to them. When he looked to the promises made to the First Consul, by the different provinces of France, and by his military coadjutors, he could only smile at their audacity; at the same time, he made little doubt, from Bonaparte's character, that an attempt would be made. After many more observations on the views and character of our great enemy, Mr. Yorke described, in conformity with the plan of Lord Hobart, the amount and extent of service of the proposed army of reserve, adding that, instead of during the war, their time of service should be limited to four years; and, in conclusion, expressed his exultation in the strength and security which the United Kingdom had to rely on, when, in Great Britain and Ireland, there would be an army of

* There is no trace of this debate in the Parliamentary History; this account is derived from the Annual Register, vol. xlv. p. 158.

112,000 men for internal security, leaving a strong disposable force for offensive operations.

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To this motion there was, properly, no opposition; for although Mr. Windham, in a long speech, distinguished by his usual powers of wit and reasoning, and illuminated by his extensive literary and historical knowledge, made many apt remarks on different particulars pointed out by the mover, he proposed no amendment, and finally the bill passed. In the House of Lords it made a similar progress, occasioning strenuous debates, but no divisions. One remarkable speech was made by the Earl of Clifton, who, after many spirited remarks in favour of the measure, censured, in strong terms, the sentiments of apprehension, and even despondency, which some peers had expressed. Far from coinciding in their childish alarms, he would, for the sake of argument, admit for a moment, that the enemy did effect a landing; nay, more, that he made his way, in spite of all our forces, and all our endeavours—that he reached this rich and luxurious metropolis, laid it in ashes, put a momentary end to trade and commerce, made bankrupts of all the wealthy Jews and brokers on the Exchange, and annihilated the three per cents.; still he would not abandon himself to despair, and think the cause lost. He should, even then, feel hope, from a consciousness that there remained much worth fighting for, and that the spirit of the people would still exert itself, and with renewed energy and undaunted valour, pursue the foe until they drove him out of the country. In other bills, similar provisions were made for Scotland and Ireland.

23rd.
Bill passed.

July 18th.

At a late period of the session, the Secretary at War moved to bring in a bill to enable his Majesty more effectually to provide for the defence and security of the realm during the present war, and for indemnifying persons who might suffer in their property by the measures necessary for that purpose; and to enable his Majesty more effectually and speedily to exercise his ancient and undoubted prerogative, in requiring the military service of his liege subjects, in case of the

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General
defence.

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Mr. Yorke.

invasion of the realm. In a long and skilful speech, the right honourable mover established by the authority of writers on the law, both ancient and recent, the prerogative claimed on the present occasion ; and detailed, with masterly clearness, the course intended to be pursued. If the enemy embarked 100,000 men, in eight or ten different directions, then, after deducting 50,000 that might be drowned or destroyed in the passage over, or dispersed, he would suppose that 50,000 men would be able to land, and, though it was probable we might guess where, yet they might change their determination ; or, from being driven out of their course, be disposed to throw themselves anywhere. Under these circumstances, the whole power of the country ought to be put in a state to be made use of, in case of necessity ; and after calculating on our most powerful armies, we should have a second or third line, or legion upon legion, and army upon army, in order to fill up the regulars, and bodies of troops in the field. In case of actual invasion, the operations in the field would be extremely active, and the conflict severe ; we therefore ought not to look to the slow mode of recruiting by ballot, but should resort to the ancient law, and to those powers of the prerogative by which the King could command all his subjects to bear arms. He explained his plan with great minuteness, but did not mean that it should extend to Ireland. Putting arms into the people's hands might, in some instances, be dangerous ; but, in times like the present, he would rather incur the chance of his countrymen misemploying the arms entrusted to them, than that of their being obliged to bear them under the command of a foreign enemy.

Mr. Windham.

To this measure no real opposition was offered. Mr. Windham cast some ridicule on those who relied too confidently on the impracticability of invasion, and its certain failure. Men who, perhaps, never saw the sea but from Margate or Brighton, who never embarked in anything but a bathing machine, would say that to talk of invading a country in the face of a superior navy was the most idle of all follies, and that as

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long as we had our wooden walls (he would more properly say our wooden heads), we should never treat invasion otherwise than a threat to frighten children. The same in the case of the opposition to be made, should the enemy have effected a landing. A man who knew nothing of military operations, who never saw troops but on a parade, who had never fired a gun in anger, would dispatch twenty thousand French in a morning, as easily as Captain Bobadil ; but officers who had seen service, though they would not speak of invasion with dismay, if proper precautions were taken, would never consider it a matter to be treated with contempt. The whole train of our present calamities and dangers, he said, was the genuine progeny of the treaty of Amiens. One might make an allegory of it, and say, that the treaty of Amiens, which had been begot by Wisdom upon Folly, by Dignity upon Meanness, by Boldness upon Pusillanimity, had two daughters, War and Invasion, of which, in due course, the time of gestation being longer in the larger animals, it was now delivered. In this remark he alluded to the tardiness of ministers in bringing forward the present plan. Mr. Pitt, warmly approving the measure, declined entering into the question, whether or not it ought to have been sooner adopted. He would not stop to inquire into the time which had been already lost, but express his earnest hope that no time would be wasted for the future—that every instant would be actively engaged, until the country should be completely safe. Mr. Fox also expressed his hearty concurrence in the measure; and Lord Castlereagh and the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained that it could not have been brought forward with propriety until the other measures, the calling out of the supplementary militia, and the army of reserve had been organized and in forwardness.

Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Fox.

On the motion that the bill should pass, Colonel Craufurd addressed to the House a series of important observations, not to obstruct the measure, of which he highly approved, but to direct the attention of government to matters connected with the object of the

22nd.
Colonel
Craufurd.

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bill, although not exactly comprised within its enactments. He insisted much on the propriety of supporting the regular army by a great mass of irregular force, by which, notwithstanding temporary defeat, it would in the end be found invincible. He went through many useful details respecting the arming of a great force with pikes, where, for a time, muskets of an equal calibre could not be supplied; and although he would not say that if London were lost, England was conquered, he had said, and would repeat, that if London were lost, England would be in the most disastrous situation that ever a country was placed in, without being conquered. To avert these evils, he strongly recommended four propositions, making judicious observations on each. First, To secure our naval and military arsenals; Second, To increase the difficulties of landing within the narrow seas; Third, To obstruct the enemy's progress toward London; and, Fourth, To defend the environs of the capital itself.

Mr. Yorke.

Perfectly agreeing with the honourable Colonel in most of his observations, the Secretary at War regretted that the science of fortification had been so much neglected in this country; but still there were deposited in the Quartermaster General's office all plans of the nature to which he had alluded. This assertion was fully corroborated by Mr. Pitt, who said there was hardly one military district in the kingdom of which the government had not in its possession ample memorials, prepared a considerable time before the termination of the late war, under the auspices of the illustrious Commander in Chief, containing a minute statement of the various points of resistance to be found on the coasts, and the intermediate points of military defence between the different coasts and the capital. Ministers had also similar reports with regard to those counties which contained the great naval arsenals, and memorials on the subject of protecting the mouths of our harbours, and particularly that of the Humber; and, what was of more importance still, though more remote, the defence of Newcastle, on the obvious importance of which, from its connexion

Mr. Pitt.

with the wants of the metropolis, it was needless to enlarge.

In the House of Lords the measure caused but one short, unimportant debate.

It having been deemed necessary, before the close of the session, to bring in a bill for amending that which had so recently been enacted, it passed after one debate, not touching the merits of the measure, but distinguished by a skirmish between Mr. Windham and Mr. Sheridan, on the subject of a weekly journalist, whom it will be necessary to mention hereafter.

Colonel Craufurd also moved an address to the King, praying him to accelerate the erection of works in the neighbourhood of London, in case the enemy by any extraordinary fortune of war should be able to approach. The standing order for the exclusion of strangers being enforced, no complete details of the debate are given. From the speech of Mr. Francis, which alone is published at length, and some less particularly commemorated, it appears that a military council was rather a favourite topic. The order of the day was moved; but that, as well as the original motion, having been withdrawn, a division was taken on one proposed by Mr. Fox, for an address, praying his Majesty to appoint a military council, consisting of general officers and others, for the purpose of giving advice when called upon, respecting the defence of the country; and of being consulted occasionally, or from day to day, if necessary, by the Commander in Chief and his Majesty's ministers, upon that important subject. It was rejected*.

At an early period of the session, and before war was declared, in consequence of complaints concerning the administration of the navy, a bill was brought in for constituting a board of commissioners, to inquire into abuses in that department. The board of Admiralty, it was truly said, did not possess the power of examining witnesses on oath, or of calling for papers and records which might be indispensable for a satis-

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25th.
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August 25th.

2nd.
Colonel
Craufurd on
the defence of
London.

1802.
Dec. 13th.
Navy.

Commission-
ers of inquiry.

* 63 to 38.

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factory inquiry. This object could be attained only by the appointment of a commission, named by Parliament, and vested with all the requisite powers for bringing to light the irregularities and abuses complained of; and for devising the most effectual means of correcting and preventing them in future. Objections were advanced, and delays sought, but in vain; the necessity for inquiry was too strong for resistance, and the principal alteration made in the bill was the introduction of a clause, suggested by the Lord Chancellor, and supported by Lord Ellenborough, for securing to the persons called before the commissioners the privilege granted by the common law, of refusing an answer which would criminate himself. The commissioners appointed were Admiral Sir Charles Maurice Pole, Hugh Leycester, Ewan Law, John Ford, and Henry Nicholls, Esqrs.; and the consequences of their inquiry were afterward of considerable importance.

June 13th,
Loan.

Property tax.

A loan of twelve millions was found necessary, and was obtained on terms giving to the subscribers an interest of £5. 2s. 3d. per cent., which, with the other supplies for the year, was to be provided by an increase on certain duties of customs and excise, and consolidation of the assessed taxes, and a change in the mode of collecting the receipt tax, which was no longer to be imposed on the person paying, but on him to whom payment was made. The further exigencies of the state were to be supplied by an assessment on property, which was to be considered merely as a war tax, of one shilling in the pound on the actual rent of all land in England, to be paid by the land-owner; and ninepence in the pound, to be paid by the tenant. In Scotland, the tenant to pay only sixpence in the pound. Five per cent. on the nett produce of all trades and professions; and five per cent. upon the dividends due on the public funds, except those to foreigners residing out of the country.

July 5th.

To the latter tax alone many objections were made. Mr. Alderman Combe opposed, because his constituents considered it unjust in principle, and partial in operation. The Lord Mayor, although instructed by the

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Mr. Erskine.

same constituents, would act according to the dictates of his conscience, but watch the bill. Some members having described the imposition as an income tax, and not, as it was termed, a tax on property—and declared it unjust that a precarious income, derived from great mental or bodily labour, should pay an equal tax with that which was permanent and obtained without exertion—Mr. Erskine, with manly and patriotic spirit, declared that he would support it, not because he approved of it in principle, but because he was convinced of the necessity of making great exertions at a moment so perilous. He felt it necessary; and although he knew that his own professional income was not worth above two years' purchase, he would gladly give up any part of it for the general service of the country.

In a subsequent stage, Mr. William Smith made many reflections on the old income tax, and maintained that the funds, being exempt from various burthens to which land was subject, should be taxed in a higher proportion.

Mr. Pitt defended his own measure, and spoke with pride of its effects in dispelling gloom, and raising the spirits of the country; but on several parts of the bill before the House he bestowed great censure. It was proposed, he observed, to make abatements to persons whose annual revenue did not exceed one hundred and fifty pounds; and all under sixty pounds a year to be entirely discharged. From this exemption, however, the landed proprietors and receivers of interest in the funds to such amount were excluded, which was a breach of the principle on which loans had been contracted for; and he would not pretend to pronounce the effect of such an innovation on any future loan. In every loan bill, the fundamental principle was, that there should be no deduction from the dividends of those who became the creditors of the public. It was inconsistent with the justice of Parliament to place such persons in a worse situation than at the time when the money was advanced. From the moment that the funds were separately taxed, on what foundation could the public

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Mr. William
Smith.

Mr. Pitt.

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creditor rest in any future loan? Mr. Addington having briefly vindicated the bill, Mr. Pitt, quite unexpectedly, moved an instruction to the committee to make provision that the like exemptions and abatements should be allowed to persons possessed of income arising from land or in the funds, as should be allowed on the like amount of income arising from any other description of property, trade, profession, or employment. After a protracted conversation, Mr. Pitt was in the unusual situation of finding a motion made by him rejected, by a majority of three to one*. Explanations took place on the following evening, and finally, after several recommitments, the bill passed.

War with
Holland.

June 17th.

July 21st.
Prince of
Orange.

Without much probable hope of success, our ambassador was still continued at the Hague, making endeavours to avert from the Batavian republic the horrors of war. He assured that government of the disposition felt by England to preserve neutrality, if the French, in proof of a similar disposition, would withdraw their troops from that country. France rejected this arrangement, the English ambassador was recalled, and the King announced the event to Parliament by a message; but the matter was so much in course, that it occasioned no debate. A more interesting question arose, when his Majesty, having taken into consideration the situation of the illustrious House of Orange, the bonds of alliance and affinity subsisting between him and that House, the important services rendered by them, and their losses in the course of the last war, expressed his reliance on the justice and liberality of Parliament to make suitable pecuniary allowances to this distinguished family. Lord Hawkesbury proposed a present sum of £60,000, and a pension, during pleasure, of sixteen thousand pounds. This donation was rendered necessary by the refusal of the Dutch government to give the indemnities stipulated by the treaty of Amiens, unless this country would restore the ships taken in the Prince's name—a condition which, during the negotiation, had not

been so much as intimated. Mr. Canning thought that ministers ought to have retained in their own hands sufficient pledges for the fulfilment of that part of the treaty. Sir Francis Burdett extended his censures much further. The proposition, he said, was quite indecorous. If the Prince of Orange had betrayed his own country to the interests of our government, he deserved no compensation; if, on the contrary, it was for her own interests that Holland went to war, it was England that should claim compensation from Holland, and not Holland from England. If the Prince of Orange was now to obtain indemnities for his losses, the Elector of Hanover might next demand compensation for the loss of that country. It was shortly replied, that the ships taken in the Prince's name, and not as prizes of war, were worth £150,000, and consequently, as we refused to procure him an indemnity by restoring them, he had a right to look to us for a compensation. The House concurred in this opinion, and the resolution passed.

Few matters of mere domestic concern, unconnected with the causes and progress of the war, occupied attention. With some observation in the way of opposition, a bill was passed for continuing the restriction on the Bank of England from paying their notes in money, until six weeks after the commencement of next session. A similar restraint was laid on the Bank of Ireland. The only conspicuous and persevering opponent was Lord King, who, failing in his effort on this subject, moved that the financial papers on the table of the House should be referred to a private committee, who were to report their opinions. The statements of the noble mover were satisfactorily answered by Lord Auckland; but, with many severe reflections on the fiscal statements and general conduct of ministers, Lord Grenville supported the motion, which was negatived without a division.

To check, by salutary severity, the growth of crimes, which by comparative impunity were gaining a great ascendancy in both parts of the United Kingdom, Lord Ellenborough introduced a bill to explain

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CXXV.1808.
Mr. Canning.
Sir Francis
Burdett.Feb. 7, 12, 22.
Bank restric-
tion continued.

May 3, 5.

13th.

March 28.
Act against
cutting and
maiming.

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and amend that which was generally called the Coventry Act, under which a man who wounded, maimed, or defaced another, could not be convicted, unless the lying in wait, with a view to commit the offence, was proved. He introduced provisions to meet the defects and difficulties that now impeded conviction ; and constituted an assault, with intent to commit murder—the attempting to fire a gun or pistol, with intent to kill, although the attempt failed by the weapon's missing fire, by flashing in the pan, or other accident—the administering poison, with intent to destroy—capital felonies. The proof required, on charges of destroying illegitimate children was rendered more definite and attainable than it had been ; and the administering drugs with intent to occasion abortion, and setting fire by any one to his own house with intent to defraud insurers, were declared also capital felonies.

Controverted
elections.March 25th.
Case of Mr.
James Trotter.

April 4th.

May 6th.
Ilchester.

April 22nd.

Nottingham.

March 16 to
May 3.

Feb. 16th.

Proceedings in committees on contested elections produced several occasions in which the House of Commons thought fit to vindicate its authority, and to restrain abuses. Mr. James Trotter, having refused, or culpably omitted, to attend before the Dumfermline committee, was in custody of the Serjeant at Arms, when his petition for mercy was presented by Lord Euston, and, after a debate of some length and considerable spirit, instead of being discharged, he was committed to Newgate, where he remained upwards of a month, when he was brought to the bar, reprimanded, and set at liberty. The Ilchester election afforded so many instances of bribery and corruption, that, although actions upon the statute had been brought against him, a prosecution by the Attorney General was directed to be commenced against Alexander Davison, Esq. At Nottingham, rioting and violences, preventing the access of voters to the poll, had prevailed to such an extent, unrepressed by the corporation, that the return was declared void, and, after many debates, an act passed, giving to the magistrates of the county a jurisdiction within the borough, in all other respects a county in itself.

At an early period of the session, the Chancellor of

the Exchequer brought to the House of Commons a message from his Majesty, on the pecuniary condition of the Prince of Wales, stating the progress which had been made in carrying into effect the arrangements formerly deemed necessary ; but, with reluctance, resorting to their experienced liberality to take such measures as might be calculated to promote the comfort and support the dignity of so distinguished a branch of the royal family.

It is not intended, at this period, to enter into a narrative of all the circumstances which caused uneasiness to the Heir Apparent, and afflicted his family ; but at present it may be stated, that, in fulfilling the engagements into which he had entered, his Royal Highness had found himself obliged to reduce his state far below that which fitted his pretensions, and to make less appearance than many noblemen, and even private gentlemen. When the House was formed into a committee on the King's message, the first inquiry was, whether it was intended to raise money for the purpose of relieving the embarrassments of the Prince ; or whether this measure was not a compromise for certain claims of money which had not been appropriated to his use ? Mr. Addington answered that there was no compromise of any claims, nor was it for the purpose of paying the Prince's debts, as they had been provided for by a former arrangement ; it was merely with the view of re-establishing his Royal Highness in that splendour which belonged to his rank in the state. He afterward explained the circumstances of the provision made for liquidation of the Prince's debts, their amount, and the progress of their reduction ; and concluded by moving that his Majesty should be enabled to grant, out of the consolidated fund, for three years, the annual sum of sixty thousand pounds.

In the debates, the arrears of the Duchy of Cornwall were amply discussed. Mr. Manners Sutton still maintained the opinion he had disclosed when he held office under the Prince—that the claims of his Royal Highness were too firmly established to be shaken by any opinion ; he feared no results from the prosecution

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1803.
The King's
message on the
Prince of
Wales.

23.

Duchy of
Cornwall.
Mr. M. Sutton.

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of the petition of right, but those which might unfortunately lead to a difference between his Majesty and his eldest son ; and by that consideration his Royal Highness was solely influenced. The intimation of the present measure, when communicated to his Royal Highness, came altogether unexpected ; no terms were attempted to be imposed on him ; and he was left at full liberty to prosecute the justice of his claim.

Mr. Sheridan.

Mr. Sheridan denied that the present measure was a boon to the Prince. In the course of the last session he had applied for the restoration of his right, not on his own account, but for the sake of his creditors : there was a long discussion, both historical and political, on his claims ; but the House resolved that they could do nothing in it. A petition of right was then pursued ; but suddenly the proceedings were stopped, and this message came. The word compromise was objectionable ; but it was very doubtful at what period the petition of right could have been decided. He therefore thought this was a fair and honourable compromise. After many more speeches, the resolution was adopted.

25th.
Claim
relinquished.
28th.

In the House of Lords, an address on the message was voted without discussion ; and, speedily afterward, Mr. Tyrwhitt, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and private secretary to the Prince of Wales, after all proper expressions of gratitude to the King, and acknowledgments to them, informed them that there were still claims remaining on his honour and his justice, for the discharge of which he must continue to set apart, in trust, a large sinking fund, and consequently postpone until the period of their liquidation, the resumption of that state and dignity, which, however essential to his rank and station, he knows, from dear-bought experience, could not, under his present circumstances, be effected without the risk of incurring new difficulties. With respect to an account of the revenues of the Duchy of Cornwall, from 1762 to 1783, however strong his confidence in the validity of his claim, a confidence fortified by the greatest legal authorities, yet, as he

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trusted that, through the gracious interposition of his Majesty, and the liberality of Parliament, he should be enabled to provide for those demands on his justice which alone induced him to assert his right, he now cheerfully relinquished his suit, and had directed his law officers to forego all further proceedings.

On a subsequent day, Mr. Calcraft moved for the appointment of a select committee, to request and receive information respecting the claims on the justice and honour of the Prince, which impeded his anxious desire to resume the state and dignity belonging to the Heir Apparent of the British empire. A long debate ensued, in which the most influential speakers displayed themselves. Mr. Sheridan was more than usually successful in exciting merriment; Sir Robert Buxton moved the previous question, which, although strongly deprecated by Mr. Sheridan, was pressed to a division, and negatived*; and the proposed allowance was consequently made.

Anxious not to appear indifferent to the danger of his country, his Royal Highness caused a communication of his wishes to obtain a military appointment to be made; which not being attended to, he addressed a letter to the Prime Minister, repeating the expression of his inclination, and enforcing it by reasons both public and personal. He was exposed, he said, to the obloquy of being indifferent to the events which menaced his country, and insensible to the call of patriotism and of glory; and he reminded ministers that his claim was strictly constitutional, and justified by precedent: and that to deny him the exercise of it, was fatal to his own honour, and the interest of the crown. After a week, he again addressed Mr. Addington, renewing and enforcing his request. The minister answered, that, on receiving his Royal Highness's letter, he had laid it before the King, who strongly applauded his feelings, but referred to the answers returned on a former occasion to similar representations; and his opinion being fixed, he desired

March 4.
Supply
granted.July 18.
The Prince de-
sires a military
command.

26th.

27th.

Aug. 1st.

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6th.
His letter to
the King.

that no further mention should be made to him of the subject. Still anxious to obtain the position to which he considered that his birth entitled him, and the state of the times authorized him to demand, the Prince addressed an eloquent and urgent, but at the same time a dutiful and feeling, letter to his royal parent, pressing his request on every personal and public ground. "I "ask to be allowed," he said, "to display the best en- "ergies of my character ; to shed the last drop of my "blood in support of your Majesty's person, crown, "and dignity ; for this is not a war for empire, glory, "or dominion, but for existence. In this contest, the "lowest and humblest of your Majesty's subjects have "been called on ; it would, therefore, little become "me, who am the first, and who stand at the very "footstool of the throne, to remain a tame, an idle, a "lifeless spectator of the mischiefs which threaten us, "unconscious of the dangers which surround, and in- "different to the consequences which may follow. "Hanover is lost ; England is menaced with invasion ; "Ireland is in rebellion ; Europe is at the foot of "France :—at such a moment, the Prince of Wales, "yielding to none of your servants in duty, to none of "your children in tenderness and affection, presumes "to approach you, and again to repeat those offers "which he has already made through your Majesty's "ministers."

Answer.

Oct.

The King's answer was brief and positive. Applauding the zeal and spirit shewn by the Prince, and in which he trusted no one could suppose any of his family wanting, yet, considering his repeated declarations on former applications, he had hoped to hear no further on the subject. "Should the implacable "enemy so far succeed as to land," he said, "you will "have an opportunity of showing your zeal at the "head of your regiment; it will be the duty of every "man to stand forward on such an occasion, and I "shall certainly think it mine to set an example, in "defence of everything that is dear to me and to my "people." The reference to his Majesty's former declarations was explained in a correspondence which,

at a later period of the year, took place between the Prince and the Duke of York, wherein it was most positively stated by the Duke, although the recollection of the fact was denied by the Prince, that in 1793, 1795, and 1798, he had been clearly and positively informed, that, before he was appointed to the command of the tenth dragoons, his Majesty had declared his sentiments with respect to a Prince of Wales entering into the army, and the public grounds upon which he never could admit of his considering it as a profession, or of his being promoted in the service ; and it was his positive command and injunction to himself, never to mention this subject again to him, and to decline being the bearer of any application of the same nature*.

This application was noticed in Parliament, on occasion of Colonel Craufurd's motion on the defence of the country ; but no motion was made, and the standing order being early enforced, no satisfactory account of the debate is extant ; but Mr. Francis, whose speech is given with an extent of detail which could not be supposed to proceed from an ordinary reporter, expressed his dissatisfaction that, of all his family, the Prince alone should be doomed, in the present great emergency, to live in obscurity. The country had a right to his services, and, above all, to his example. It was not what his single hand could accomplish ; any other individual might do as much ; it was his appearance in the front of the contest ; the general animation it would inspire, the spirit it would excite, were the real points in question. Mr. Fox could not conceive why the services of the Heir Apparent had been refused. Was his Royal Highness too old ? Was he too young ? Was he made a colonel twenty-two years ago, by way of douceur, as a little pecuniary aid ? Was he not known to be in the very prime of life, at the very period when man was capable of the utmost energy ?

* The whole correspondence is in the Annual Register, vol. xlv. p. *102 ; in all other historical collections ; and separately, published as a pamphlet, at the period.

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Correspond-
ence with the
Duke of York.Aug. 2.
Noticed in
Parliament.

Mr. Francis.

Mr. Fox.

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Several other members spoke on the subject ; but, as no motion was made, it is probable that nothing more was intended than to embarrass the minister. If that were so, he parried the intended stroke by a short and ingenious speech. "No man," he said, "is more ready to bear attestation to the feelings so worthy of the rank and character of the illustrious personage alluded to than I am. But, having made this declaration, I must here pause, and declare that nothing short of the commands of the King shall compel me to say one word more upon the subject."

June 3rd.
Colonel
Patten's
motion against
ministers.

All the censures which, in so many debates, had been levelled against the administration, were concentrated in a motion made by Colonel Peter Patten, proposing a series of five resolutions, the first four of which asserted their negligence and misconduct in every occurrence since the signature of the definitive treaty ; their knowledge of the bad faith of the French government ; their not communicating that knowledge to Parliament, and thus encouraging an unfounded security in the country ; their not making proper representations to France on those occasions, which, if they had been made, and consistently followed up, and sustained with firmness, either the course and progress of such acts would have been arrested, without the necessity of recurring to arms, or the determination of the French government to persist would have been distinctly ascertained, before his Majesty had, by the reduction of his forces, and the surrender of his conquests, put out of his hands the most effectual means of obtaining redress and reparation ; and their having restored the Cape of Good Hope, while they observed the encroachments of France in all directions. From these charges a consequence was deduced that ministers had proved themselves unworthy of the confidence reposed in them, in such an important crisis as the present.

In making this motion, the honourable Colonel denied all consultation or concert with the party generally opposed to ministers ; he was not, as some had stated, the instrument which they employed for break-

ing the ground which they were afterwards to cultivate; yet he should not do justice to himself, if he did not acknowledge that he was proud to be classed with men who, by their foresight and firmness, had rendered such essential services to their country—men who, for their abilities as statesmen, were not only the admiration of this country, but looked up to with reverence by all the cabinets in Europe. He reviewed the whole conduct of ministers, in the transactions which led to the present war, accumulating on them, without novelty of statement or illustration, all the objections which had been made by the Grenville party, or by Mr. Fox; and, having expressed a wish to see all the talent and ability in the country on the treasury bench, said, in conclusion, that, without other proof, the papers on the table would shew that ministers had, by their conduct, compromised the national dignity and honour, and lowered and debased the spirit of the people.

Earl Temple and Mr. T. Grenville supported the Debate. opinions of the mover, in speeches of great length and vehemence, while their assertions of the evil consequences and unpopularity of the peace were pointedly denied by many gentlemen of experience and reputation in the country.

Mr. Addington answered the remarks on the Mr. Addington. treaty of Amiens by saying that he conscientiously and deliberately entertained the same opinion of it as at the time it was immediately under discussion, and that opinion prompted him to pronounce that it was a measure not only wise, prudent, and necessary, at the time it was adopted, but that it had since been productive of the most beneficial consequences; nor would he hesitate to affirm that he should not have now to congratulate the House and the country on the spirit, the vigour, and the unanimity, which the present emergency called forth, were it not for that very treaty which was so loudly arraigned, and so severely stigmatized. He then recapitulated the objections which had been made to the subsequent conduct of government, giving them their appropriate answers;

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1803.

Mr. Pitt.

and he denied having on a recent occasion said, as was imputed to him, that the nation was at profound peace ; at peace, he admitted, but disclaimed the epithet.

Neither Mr. Fox nor any of his distinguished adherents had spoken in the debate, when Mr. Pitt, to the astonishment of many, delivered his opinions. If he possessed a full and clear opinion on the merits of the case, to the extent of either directly negativing or adopting the resolutions which had been proposed, he should, following the unbiassed dictates of his conscience, give his vote on that side to which his judgment inclined. If he agreed with Mr. Grenville, then, however painful the sacrifice of private feelings might be, he should feel himself bound to concur in an address to his Majesty for the removal of his ministers. On the other hand, if he were one of those who considered the explanation they had afforded on general points so clear as to justify a decided negative of the propositions moved, a negative which would imply approbation, he should feel happy in joining in a direct negative to the motion. Doubting, therefore, as to the effect of the charges, and apprehensive of the bad effects on the country were the proposed address carried, he declined entering into particular investigations, and moved the other orders of the day.

Lord
Hawkesbury.

Rising with considerable animation, Lord Hawkesbury said, that, with every disposition to do justice to the feelings of Mr. Pitt, he and his colleagues could not accept a compromise between a direct censure and a total acquittal. A motion of inquiry might be got rid of by the previous question ; but when a direct charge was made, grounded on facts arising out of public documents, it ought not to be disposed of by the previous question. Those who wished to destroy the administration ought to vote for the resolutions, because that was their obvious tendency ; while the vote which his right honourable friend had proposed would have the effect to discredit government, and leave them, so discredited, in possession of functions which they could not exercise with honour to them-

selves or advantage to the public. He wished, however, Mr. Pitt had afforded some details, that he had pointed out those parts of the conduct of ministers which he could not approve, that they might have an opportunity of meeting any charge, or explaining what was deemed exceptionable. It was possible that, in a long and arduous course of conduct, some points might be liable to objection; it was not to be expected that all should approve in every particular. He asked whether, after surveying the conduct of ministers during a period of unexampled difficulty, he was not now prepared to say yes, or no, directly, to a motion of censure. If it were the desire of ministers to retain their places at all hazards, they might accept the compromise which had been offered; but he could say, for himself and colleagues, that they had no desire to remain in office longer than they could be useful to their country. If he felt himself reduced to that situation in which he could not serve it with advantage, he would carry the seals to the feet of his gracious Sovereign, and entreat him to appoint a successor more worthy. He must oppose the previous question; for he could not think of remaining an hour in office after having forfeited the confidence of the House, and the good opinion of the country.

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Mr. Canning, supporting the original motion on all its grounds, stated that an unusual forbearance had been shewn, by the country and the House, toward ministers. Not one motion had been brought forward in opposition to government before the present. They had been allowed an unexampled latitude. How far they were deserving of it, the House and the country were to say.

Mr. Canning.

Sir Robert Peel said, that, toward the end of the late glorious war, ministers had received the national firm of army and navy in the best condition; but since that time a great part of the army had been disbanded, and the strength of the navy allowed to fall away. The Secretary at War answered, that the militia and a certain portion of the army had been disbanded on peace; but the military force of this country was never

Sir Robert
Peel.

Mr. Yorke.

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1803.

Divisions.

in a better state than at present; and shewed that, in every quarter, we had a naval force superior to the enemy; and, in Europe, superior to that of the French by a much greater proportion than had ever happened on the breaking out of a war.

A division took place on Mr. Pitt's motion, which was negatived by a large majority*: upon which he, with several of his friends, quitted the House. When the second resolution was proposed, Mr. Fox said he should not vote for it, though he could not approve of the conduct of ministers; he could not agree to a vote of censure, because he did not know but that their successors might be more objectionable than they were. With several of his friends, he quitted the House before the division which decided against the original question†, and the remaining resolutions were abandoned.

2nd.
House of
Lords.
Earl
Fitzwilliam.

On the day before this motion, Earl Fitzwilliam had introduced into the House of Lords the resolutions proposed by Colonel Patten. His speech was long and laborious, referring principally to the treaty of peace, and aggrandizement of France while it was being negotiated; and he observed that, the country being, in consequence of the measures of those ministers, again in a state of war, if they desired the assistance or co-operation of other nations, or wished to be respected abroad, the affairs of government must be administered by men of acknowledged talent, in whom the country could safely confide, and who, in return, could fairly call for its exertions and support.

Lord
Ellenborough.

In the debate, nothing occurred that was particularly new or striking. After some observations in their favour by the Earls of Limerick and Grosvenor, Lord Ellenborough said he could not patiently endure to hear the capacity of ministers arraigned by the incapable, or their want of knowledge impeached by those who knew nothing. At the time when they came into power, dark clouds were thickening around us, and he believed no man who did not possess firmness,

* 333 to 56.

† 275 to 34.

would have accepted office at that period, when, added to our foreign enemies, there were still existing the smoking embers of an unextinguished rebellion. During that administration, our glorious success in Egypt took place ; the honour of the country was supported in every quarter of the world. Exhausted by a long war, the nation called for peace ; it was made, and approved of both by Parliament and the people. It had been asked, why did not ministers communicate to Parliament the situation of affairs between the two countries ? but he asked any noble lord to lay his hand on any paper, and to say that it ought to have been communicated to Parliament pending a negotiation which involved the question of peace or war.

Several other peers delivered opinions on both sides ; the chief assailants of ministers were the Earl of Carlisle, Lord Melville, and Lord Grenville. A conclusion of the question by an adjournment was moved, but resisted by the Lord Chancellor, on the ground that, if carried, it left a stain on the conduct of ministers, which their exertions for their country by no means merited.

At half-past four o'clock in the morning, the House rejected the adjournment and the previous question, by great majorities*. The second resolution was negatived without a division, and the consideration of the rest was adjourned.

In the adjourned debate, Earl Fitzwilliam moved his remaining resolutions. The discussion was chiefly distinguished by a defence of ministers by the Duke of Clarence. If the preliminaries were disadvantageous to the country, he imputed it to the gross mismanagement of the war by the preceding administration. He mentioned several points in the conduct of the present ministers with great approbation ; and, in terms rather of an indignant naval officer than of a polite courtier, said, in allusion to the insolent vaunt of the enemy that England could not meet France single handed, that the experience of ages and the page of history re-

6th.
Duke of
Clarence.

* 106 to 18; 96 to 14.

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1803.

futed this untruth, and evinced that England never encountered France with so much energy, effect, or advantage, as when she was single handed. "And," added his Royal Highness, "he who makes such an assertion, is either a liar in his heart, or a fool, that should be sent to school to learn better." He gave ministers full credit for their endeavours to maintain peace, as long as it could consistently be done, and concluded by warmly declaring his resolution to use every effort to keep them in power, rather than witness the return to office of their predecessors.

Fate of the motion.

Other speakers offered objections to particular acts of government, and received answers. Lord Grenville and Lord Spencer made a more general attack, and the Lord Chancellor a commensurate defence. The fate of the first resolution* decided that of the rest; they were withdrawn.

Aug. 12th.
Prorogation.

At a very late period, his Majesty concluded the session, noticing in his speech, with great approbation, the exertions of the two Houses in matters of war, finance, and internal regulation.

* It was negatived on a division—86 to 17.

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SIX.

1803—1804.

India.—Views of Bonaparte.—The Mahrattas—their government—their territory—population—resources.—Efforts of the French.—M. de Boigne.—M. Perron.—Exertions of France.—Expedition under Linois.—Measures of the Marquis of Wellesley.—The Peishwa.—Holkar.—Treaty of Bassein.—Troops collected—their successful operations.—Treachery of Scindia.—General Wellesley negotiates.—Military plans.—Disposal of the armies.—Death of the Nizam.—Progress of General Wellesley.—Battle of Assye.—Proposal for negotiation.—Progress of the Bombay army.—The Madras army.—Siege of Barabutty.—General Lake attacks M. Perron.—Ally Ghur taken by storm.—M. Perron retires.—Battle of Jehna Nulla.—Delhi taken.—Liberation of Shah Allum.—Further progress.—Capture of Agra.—Battle of Laswaree.—Capture of Asseer Ghur.—Advance of General Wellesley.—Truce with Scindia—terminated.—Battle of Argaum.—Capture of Gawilghur.—The Rajah of Berar makes peace.—Scindia also.—Observations on the war.—Transactions in Ceylon.—State of the King of Candia.—Secret preparations for war.—Hostile proceedings of the Candians.—Invasion of Candia.—Capture of the capital.—A new king declared.—Disease in the army.—Surprise of Candy.—Treachery of the natives.—Progress of the war.—Peace.

CHAP.
CXXVI.

1803.
India.
Views of
Bonaparte.

THE earnest desire displayed by Bonaparte for the possession of Egypt, and his anxiety to wrest Malta from the protecting power of England, and place it in that state of nominal independence and insecure guarantee which would make it an easy prey to his intrigues or his violence, clearly displayed his hope and expectation of being able to achieve the long-favoured object of the French government—the subversion of the British power in India. To that point, before the revolution, their political views had been directed; in all their subsequent changes, it had never been relinquished; and at the present moment it was pursued with unremitting eagerness and persistency.

The Mahrattas.

Their
government.

Since the fall of Tippoo, and the partition of his dominions, there had been no acknowledged supreme power in India capable of competing with the English; but, by artful and persevering management, the French had effected a combination among the Mahrattas, by which they hoped, and not without some probability, to create a body which, animated by their intelligence, and guided by their skill, might make the desired impression. The pretensions of the Mahrattas to possess weight in the political balance of India were of a recent date; for, although they had always shewn an exalted spirit in maintaining their own independence, and for a time achieved a position of command, still they had no power of united action co-extensive with their apparent means, although they had, in recent times, effected considerable ravages, withstood the towering genius of Hyder Ally, and, as an additional circumstance, retained in their hands the person of Shah Allum, the legitimate sovereign of the whole region*. The states which composed the Mahratta power, were, in fact, never united under any regular form of confederacy, similar to those existing in Europe. A vague and undefined sentiment of community, founded on their common origin and civil and religious usages, and on their common habits of conquest and depredation, first established a certain degree

* See vol. i. p. 240; vol. iii. pp. 484, 541, 546, 551.

of union among them, which continued throughout every stage of the decline of the Mogul empire, and enabled them to erect states of considerable military resource and political power*. The territory occupied by these people, after the fall of Tippoo, comprehended all the western provinces of the Deccan, which lie between the rivers Narbudda and Krisna, the province of Berar in the interior, that of Cuttack on the eastern coast of the Peninsula, and the whole of the western Hindostan, excepting Moultan, the Punjab, and Sirhind. Their greatest length of dominion, from Delhi, in the northern, to the river Tumbudra, in the southern extremity, was nine hundred and seventy, and their extreme breadth, from east to west, from the Bay of Bengal to the Gulph of Cambey, nine hundred British miles. Their whole population was computed at about forty millions, nine-tenths of whom were Hindoos, the rest Mussulmans ; the military force of this great territory, had all its rulers been united, is stated at two hundred and ten thousand cavalry, and ninety-six thousand infantry ; and their pecuniary resources, more than sufficient for the maintenance of such an establishment, amounted to seventeen millions sterling. Many circumstances, in the formation of the Mahratta empire, and the system of its government, which it is not necessary here to trace, rendered it obvious that a system of equitable rule and due subordination could not be maintained ; and, in fact, it was divided among several rulers, the principal of whom were Dowlut Row Scindia, Tuckojee Holkar, and Rajgojee Boosla. The Peishwa, the rightful sovereign over them all, was reduced in power to the lowest ebb, although his authority was, on all occasions, formally acknowledged.

As it was the obvious policy of England to maintain amicable relations, and, if possible, a close connexion with the Mahrattas, it was no less that of the French to advance the means of rendering them, by military instruction, and all the modes of intrigue, ad-

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Their territory.

Population.

Resources.

Rulers.

Efforts of the
French.

* Notes relative to the late transactions in the Mahratta empire, by the Marquis of Wellesley, p. 5.

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M. De Boigne.

ditionally competent to cope with the British power, and to become valuable allies, or useful engines, to France. These projects found an able promoter in M. De Boigne, a native of Savoy, who made his appearance in India soon after the termination of the American war. At an early period of his life, he had travelled into Russia, served in the armies of the Empress, was promoted from the ranks to be a subaltern officer, taken prisoner by the Turks, and, on his liberation in 1783, migrated to India, was admitted into the body guard of Lord Macartney, but being apprehensive that, as a foreigner, he had no chance of promotion, he relinquished the Company's service, and, proceeding to Oude, where Mr. Hastings then was, obtained from him permission and encouragement to prosecute a journey to Russia, by the way of Iraan and the Caspian sea. When he was allowed to pass the Company's frontiers, he crossed the Jumna, and tendered his services to Madajee Scindia, uncle and predecessor of Dowlat Row Scindia, who was then struggling to obtain the empire of Hindostan, and possession of the person of the Mogul. His offer being properly appreciated and readily accepted, he won the gratitude and confidence of Scindia, by a display of great political sagacity and military skill. He reduced into order and regularity the undisciplined and ferocious rabble which formed the army, and encouraged European military adventurers to enter the service, always taking care to give preference to the French; and thus he enabled Madajee Scindia to subdue the Seiks, chastise the Rajpoot princes, and maintain possession of the city of Delhi, and of the fortress of Agra, considered as the key of Hindostan. In a few years he had collected a disciplined force of eighteen battalions, divided into three brigades; erected a foundry, cast cannon, and created a well-equipped train of artillery. Ample resources and territories were assigned to him for support of this force; and, on the death of Madajee, in 1793, finding himself lord paramount of fifty-two of the finest districts of Hindostan, with the command of twenty-four thousand disciplined troops, and one hun-

dred and thirty pieces of cannon, he is said to have formed projects of ambition, and aspired to independent sovereignty, although he still verbally assumed the humble guise of servant to Madajee's successor, and slave of the Emperor. Whatever his plans or his hopes may have been, the failure of his health prevented their execution ; and, in 1796, he was obliged to return to Europe, to live on a princely fortune, which he had realized. His successor in authority, M. Perron, who had been appointed commander of one of his battalions, pursued his plans with no less industry and sagacity, increased his military force, augmented his political influence, and acquired territories yielding a revenue of £1,700,000 sterling. The policy of Dowlut Row Scindia, differing from that of his predecessor, tended to circumscribe the authority of the Peishwa, to counteract his rivals, and render his own authority supreme throughout the Deccan. These plans were ably promoted by the diligence and sagacity of M. Perron, who contrived to increase the strength of Scindia's forces, to improve and extend his dominions, and to provide for his own security under any change of circumstances. With great judgment, he fixed his head quarters in the Dooab, on the plains of Coel, a few miles within the eastern bank of the Jumna ; erected cantonments for a numerous army, and repaired, or rather constructed anew, the almost impregnable fort of Ally Ghur. From this commanding position, he held both Delhi and Agra in check, and hung upon the very verge of our frontiers, in their most vulnerable quarter, gaining the means either to retreat or attack, and, without the intervention of any natural impediment, to overrun and destroy that portion of our possessions from which British India derives her vital strength*.

When the return of peace, and the proximate restitution of Pondicherry, enabled the French to send

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M. Perron.

Exertions of
France.

* Chiefly from a very able pamphlet, entitled, " Brief Remarks on the Mahratta War, and on the rise and progress of the French establishment in Hindostan, under Generals De Boigne and Perron ;" and from the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. v. characters, p. 68.

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troops to India by sea, Bonaparte, no longer possessing Tippoo as an ally, or the Mysore kingdom as a resource, availed himself of the Mahratta empire, which opened to him brilliant prospects. To direct his views aright, he called De Boigne to his counsels, by whose advice plans were devised for reaching the British capital in India more expeditiously than through Mysore, Hyderabad, or even Egypt; and the intrigues of Perron were successfully employed in gaining to his cause Scindia and Ragojee Bounsla. Perron's army, although well disciplined and armed, was deficient in French subaltern officers; but Swiss, Germans, and Portuguese, had been temporarily engaged.

Expedition
under Linois.

Under colour of defending the dilapidated town and ruined fortress of Pondicherry, Bonaparte equipped a naval armament under Admiral Linois, with a considerable body of forces, of whom fourteen hundred were destined for the particular service of that place. Of these, two hundred were young men who were respectably connected, and had received good military education; they went out professedly as privates, but were equipped as officers, and intended, either singly or in small parties, to enter into the Mahratta territories, and join in the operations devised by Perron.

Measures of
the Marquis
Wellesley.The Peishwa.
Holkar.

1802.

Oct. 25th.

These subtle plans and daring attempts were firmly and judiciously opposed by the Governor General, who had been created Marquis of Wellesley. He first endeavoured to establish, by a connexion with the Peishwah, the stability and efficiency of that sovereign's authority, under British protection, without injury to the rights of the feudatory chieftains. While the Peishwa neglected the prudent advice and liberal offers of his real friends, Jeswunt Row Holkar, an illegitimate son of Tuckogee Holkar, who was the successful rival and opponent of Scindia in the attempt to dispossess the Peishwa of his authority, and gain the custody of Shah Allum, expelled him from his capital, Poonah, subverted his authority and endangered his person. The Peishwa, at his earnest desire, now obtained a treaty of general defensive alliance, on the principle of that concluded at Hyderabad,

which was executed at Bassein. The English contracted to assist the Peishwa with a regular force of not less than six thousand native infantry, properly officered and equipped for defence of his dominions, but not for co-operation in aggression against any other power ; and, for this aid, territories were ceded to the Company of the annual value of £ 1,250,000*.

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Dec. 31.
Treaty of
Bassein.

Already had a body of nineteen thousand men been collected, under General Stuart, at Hurryhur, on the north-western frontier of the Mysore, and judicious measures taken by the Presidency of Bombay for preventing ill effects from the operations of Scindia or of Holkar ; and the French, who arrived in Pondicherry, were so effectually prevented from spreading themselves through the country, that they loudly complained of being cooped up (*en cage*). The advanced detachment of the troops at Hurryhur, amounting to nine thousand seven hundred and seven men, European and native, with the addition of two thousand five hundred of the Rajah of Mysore's horse, was commanded by General Wellesley. Another army of twenty-four thousand men, under Lieutenant Colonel Stevenson, marched from Hyderabad toward Paraindah.

Troops
collected.

The presence of General Wellesley in the territories of the Peishwa, inspired hope and restored confidence among a people who groaned under the tyranny of Holkar, or had sought refuge among the adjacent mountains. The rapid and skilful operations of Colonel Stevenson completed the success of the expedition, and the Peishwa was enabled to resume his throne.

Their success-
ful operations.1803.
March 12.
April 19.

April 27.

Early in the year, Scindia had assembled, in the vicinity of Ujein, a considerable force, for the ostensible purpose of rescuing the capital from Holkar ; but, instead of opposing, he had planned an amicable arrangement with him to counteract the treaty of Bassein. For a time he declared himself well satisfied with the treaty, and disposed to forward its objects ; but, at length, he assumed an appearance of mystery,

Feb.
Treachery of
Scindia.

* See the treaty, Asiatic Annual Register, vol. v. p. 7, of the State Papers.

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June.

July 13.
General
Wellesley
negotiates.

and refused distinctly to explain whether he intended peace or war. His intentions were soon more clearly developed ; it became known to the British Governor that he had entered into hostile compacts with General Perron, and directed the Peishwa's officers in the province of Bundelcund to co-operate with the confederated Mahratta armies.

These and many other facts being indisputably ascertained, General Wellesley received full powers to negotiate, to effect arrangements for the establishment of peace; or, if that end could not be attained, to commence and prosecute war. A declaration was immediately forwarded to Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, who had joined him, that the only proof the British General could accept of the sincerity of their pacific professions, would be the immediate separation of their armies, and their return to their respective capitals ; in which case the General would withdraw his army to its usual station. This fair and intelligible request was met by offers ignorantly artful, and ineffectually evasive. It was proposed that both armies should retire, and that when those under the British commander should have separated and reached the stations of Bombay, distant three hundred and twenty-one ; Madras, one thousand and forty-nine ; and Seringapatam, five hundred and forty-one miles ; the united armies of their opponents would retire to Burhampoor, forty-eight miles from the spot they then occupied. Although this offer seemed undeserving of serious consideration, some correspondence did ensue ; it was modified, explained, and re-produced, until the British plenipotentiary, seeing that he was merely trifled with for the purpose of gaining time, quitted Scindia's camp, and retired to Aurungabad.

Military plans.

War being now inevitable, the Governor General sanctioned a vast plan of military operations, combining all the objects connected with the treaties of Hyderabad and Bassein, with the discussions which had taken place betwixt the British government and the confederates, with the destruction of Perron's army, and with the total overthrow of the meditated schemes of

France. These important ends were to be effected by so distributing the Bengal, Madras, and Bombay armies, that a general and combined attack should be made at the same period of time, and before the commencement of the rainy season, on the united army of Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, in the Deccan; on Perron's establishment in the Dooab; and on every assailable part of the dominions of those princes in all quarters of Hindostan. On the plains of Delhi, and amidst the mountains of the Deccan, on the shores of Cuttack, and on those of Guzerat, the banners of England were to be at once displayed; and to these several points, four armies, with their requisite supplies, were prepared to march.

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That under General Wellesley, consisting of sixteen thousand eight hundred and twenty-three men, was opposed to the combined army under the personal command of Scindia, posted at Julgong, at the foot of the Adjuntee pass. This army was supported by the remainder of the Madras army, under General Stuart, amounting to seven thousand eight hundred and twenty-six effective men, of whom two thousand one hundred and twenty-one were Europeans. In the rear of General Stuart, a considerable force, belonging to the Rajah of Mysore, was encamped, for the purpose of more effectually covering the northern frontiers of the country; but, on the arrival of a French armament at Pondicherry, General Stuart returned to Madras, leaving at Moodgul one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven cavalry, eight hundred and twenty European, and one thousand nine hundred and thirty-five native infantry, with a proportion of European artillerymen, under the command of Major General Campbell. In the province of Guzerat, two thousand nine hundred and thirteen Europeans, and four thousand one hundred Sepoys, were assembled, under the command of Colonel Murray, and judiciously employed to protect the British settlements in that quarter, and the dominions of our ally, the Rajah Guikwar; and, eventually, to aid in active operations.

Disposal of the
armies.

On the eastern side of Hindostan, a force of five

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thousand two hundred and sixteen veteran troops was assembled at Gajam, in the northern Sircars, under Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, of the seventy-fourth regiment, for the purpose of invading the province of Cuttack, belonging to the Rajah of Berar, and the only maritime part of his dominions, a province extremely valuable in itself, and of the utmost importance to England, as it interrupts the continuity of the British dominions between Bengal and the northern Sircars, and presents a line of sea coast, which, from its extent, it is difficult for our ships of war effectually to blockade.

In northern Hindostan, at the British cantonments at Cawnpoor, the main body of the Bengal army was assembled, under the personal command of Lord Lake. It consisted of three regiments of European and five of native cavalry; two hundred European artillery, one regiment of European infantry, and eleven battalions of Sepoys, amounting in all to ten thousand five hundred men. In aid of this force, three thousand five hundred men were assembled near Allahabad, for the purpose of invading the province of Bundelcund; and about two thousand men at Mirzapoore, to cover the province and city of Benares, and guard the passes in that quarter. Effectual measures were at the same time adopted for the defence of the whole line of the western frontier of the British dominions, in Bengal and Berar, from Mirzapoore to Midnapoor. Never before, in Hindostan, had so many separate armies been supplied and equipped for actual service, within the short period of four months, and with such admirable arrangement, set in motion at the same time, from points so distant, embracing so wide a field of operations, and directed against the same enemy.

During these preparations, the Nizam died; he was succeeded by his eldest son, Secundar Jah, who, in consequence of the excellent regulations made for the preservation of quiet, ascended the throne without disturbance or molestation, and the measures for defence of his territories proceeded without pause or interruption. At the same time, General Wellesley having

Aug. 6.
Death of the
Nizam.

Progress of

received intelligence of the termination of Colonel Collins's negotiation, commenced hostile operations, taking by escalade the strong and well-fortified city, and afterward the fortress, of Ahmednugar, which, with the dependent districts, yielding an annual revenue of £72,000, were placed under the temporary management of an English officer.

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General Wellesley next crossed the Godavery river, and reached Aurungabad. Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, with a large body of horse passed unobserved between the stations of the General and of Colonel Stevenson, and, entering the Nizam's dominions, reached a small fort called Jalnapar. Some manœuvring ensued, in which the General succeeded in covering some valuable convoys; but Colonel Stevenson, returning from the eastward, captured Jelnapar, and after some ineffectual attempts to bring the enemy to action, surprised their camp in the night, making great havoc, and inspiring much consternation. Colonel Stevenson being compelled to join the General at Budnapoor, measures were concerted for forcing the enemy to a general action, which at length took place, near the village of Assye. In numbers, artillery, and provisions, the enemy had a great superiority. The

24th.
29th.

Sept. 2, 9.

23rd.
Battle of Assye.

British army suffered severely from a heavy cannonade, which they had no adequate means of opposing, but valiantly carried the artillery at the point of the bayonet. It required the most resolute exertions for an army of four thousand five hundred men, of whom only two thousand were Europeans, to surmount a body exceeding thirty thousand, not unprovided with European officers. Bravery and perseverance did, however, effect this great exploit, although they sustained a loss of four hundred officers and privates; the enemy were driven from the field, leaving twelve hundred dead, the whole country covered with their wounded, and, in the possession of the British troops, ninety-eight pieces of cannon, seven standards, their camp equipage, a great number of bullocks and camels, and a large quantity of military stores and ammunition. The action lasted three hours, and the British troops

1803.
General
Wellesley.
8th.
12th.

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Oct. 6.
Proposal for
negotiation.

had marched twenty miles before its commencement. Owing to some unforeseen impediments, Colonel Stevenson did not arrive at the scene of action until the evening of the next day, when he was immediately dispatched in pursuit of the retreating enemy, who had moved to the coastward, along the bank of the river Taptee. General Wellesley, remaining on the heights of Adjuntee, to regulate his movements by those of the enemy, received a letter, signed by Ballajee Khonjur, one of Scindia's ministers, dated from Scindia's camp, proposing that a British officer should be sent there, for the purpose of negotiating the terms of a general pacification. Easily discerning that this was a mere artifice to revive the spirits of the Mahratta troops, by making it appear that a British officer had come to sue for peace, the General signified his readiness to receive at his camp, with every mark of distinction, any person duly empowered, either by Scindia or the Rajah, to propose terms.

Progress of the
Bombay army.

Aug. 21, 26, 29.

Sept. 17th.

The Madras
army.

Sept. 8, 11, 14.

Oct. 10.

Sept. 21.

Oct. 10.

In other quarters the proceedings were no less vigorous and successful. In Guzerat, a detachment of the Bombay army, under Lieutenant Colonel Woodhouse, assailed and took the fortress of Baroach, which secured the whole district of that name. Champaneer, the only district remaining to Scindia in Guzerat, and Powanger, on the eastern confines of the province of Mulwa, were also easily subdued.

Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, with the force assigned to him, proceeded to effect the reduction of Cuttack, where a vigorous resistance was expected. Colonel Campbell's anxious desire to do his duty being counteracted by an illness which endangered his life, Colonel Harcourt took the command, captured Manickpatam, obtained from the Brahmins the great pagoda at Juggernaut, and, after some delays, occasioned by the rains, proceeded to Cuttack, which surrendered. In aid of his operations, Captain Morgan had landed, and taken Ballorow, and occupied the post of Soorong. Lieutenant Fergusson moved with a detachment from Jellasore to Cuttack; the inhabitants of the provinces, far from resisting his troops as ene-

mies, received them with satisfaction, and gave them all possible assistance. At this time, Colonel Harcourt was preparing for the siege of Barabutty, a fortress of great strength, for the defence of which great exertions had been made. Besides fortifications judiciously planned, and well supplied with artillery, the gate had been strengthened with masses of stone, and could be passed only by a wicket. Forty minutes elapsed before the assailants succeeded in opening this passage, when they entered one by one; and, although they met with considerable resistance in passing through this, and forcing two other gates, they were at length completely victorious; the enemy, who had lost four standards, and suffered materially in other respects, quitted the fort with precipitation, and many were drowned in attempting to escape. This event, by completing the conquest of Cuttack, shut up the whole coast from communication with France, and removed a difficulty which, during the prevalence of the north-east monsoon, impeded the intercourse of the British government at Calcutta with those of Madras and Bombay.

While these events were occurring, the projects and influence of M. Perron, in Oude, were no less vigorously assailed by General Lake. Anticipating the probability of hostilities, he had quitted Cawnpoor, and, after a march of three weeks, reached a station near Coel. On the intelligence which he there received, he moved into Scindia's territory, to attack a force of fifteen thousand men, assembled under M. Perron, near the fort of Ally-Ghur. Daunted by some judicious manœuvres and a resolute advance, they did not await the chances of an engagement, but fled, with a precipitation which rendered pursuit hopeless. The General having ineffectually summoned the fortress of Ally-Ghur, it was stormed by a party under Colonel Monson, an exploit which the strength of the place rendered difficult and dangerous; it was achieved with considerable loss on the side of the victors, but much greater on that of the enemy. The commander, M. Pedron, was taken prisoner, and a large quantity of stores and ordnance, as well as money, was found. By

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14th.
Siege of
Barabutty.

General Lake.

Aug. 7, 21.

Attacks
M. Perron.Sept. 4.
Ally-Ghur
taken by
storm.

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1803.
M. Perron
retires.
7th.

11th.
Battle of
Jehna Nulla.

Delhi taken.

Liberation of
Shah Allum.

his flight from the field near Ally-Ghur, M. Perron had entirely lost the confidence of the confederates : he wrote to General Lake, stating that he had quitted the service of Scindia, and requesting a safe conduct through the British dominions, and those of the Vizier, to Lucknow, which was immediately granted.

In a few days, the General being encamped near the Jehna Nulla, about six miles from Delhi, against which he was advancing, received intelligence that M. Louis Bourquien, with nineteen thousand men, had crossed the Jumna, for the purpose of attacking him. Although the troops under his command did not exceed four thousand five hundred, the English General, by a combination of skill and vigour, defeated the enemy on every side, killing at least three thousand men, and taking all their artillery, amounting to sixty-eight pieces of ordnance, with store of ammunition, and some treasure. This glorious victory, achieved with much labour, for the troops were seventeen hours under arms, and a loss of four hundred and eighty-five killed and wounded, was, in its results, most beneficial. Bourquien, and the other French officers, seeing their influence destroyed, and their hopes blasted, surrendered themselves prisoners ; and, without further opposition, General Lake took possession of the city of Delhi.

One result, most gratifying to the feelings of the victor, was the power of relieving the miseries of Shah Allum, who had paid, by thirty years of degradation, want, and imprisonment, for the folly he had committed in abandoning the protection of Great Britain*. Immediately on his entering Delhi, the General sent to express his desire to wait on the Emperor, who, without delay, dispatched his eldest son to introduce him. The sight of the degraded monarch, aged, blind, and a prisoner, amid appearances of degradation and penury, was truly affecting ; but he now felt the joy of renovated existence, in being assured of freedom, respect, and comfort. He hailed his deliverer with transports of gratitude, conferring on him the most ex-

altered titles known in the country ; the people, who attended in a great concourse, echoed these sentiments by their acclamations, and described the event in the highest term of eastern hyperbole.

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General Lake next marched for Agra. A detachment under Colonel Vandeleur had taken possession of the city of Mathura, on the right of the Jumna, where one of M. Perron's principal cannon foundries was established. M. Dudernaigne and two other French officers, with a battalion, in the service of Scindia, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Another detachment, under Colonel Powell, marching from Allahabad into the Bundelcund, formed a junction, on the banks of the river Cane, with Himmut Behader, and defeated a corps under Shumsheer Bahadur, who being thus expelled, the people of the province became the friends and supporters of the British cause.

Oct. 12.

General Lake having effected a junction with Colonel Vandeleur, at Mathura, pushed forward to Agra, which he summoned, but received no answer, as the garrison was in a state of mutiny, the natives having, through motives of distrust, imprisoned their European officers. After several obstinate conflicts, the besieged demanded a cessation of hostilities, but, while an English officer was in the town, discussing the terms, treacherously recommenced firing. The contest was renewed ; but, it being apparent that a practicable breach would soon be made, the enemy capitulated, and the troops, taking possession of this important fortress, found £ 280,000 sterling, to reward their bravery and perseverance.

13th.

18th.

The General speedily found it necessary to proceed from Agra, to oppose the army, which, although deserted by its commander, M. Dudernaigne, continued in the province, hoping to find a favourable opportunity of marching to Delhi. After a pursuit of several days, they were overtaken and attacked at Laswaree, and, in an obstinate and well-conducted engagement, Colonel Vandeleur totally defeated them. The opposition of the enemy on this occasion was most resolute ; few escaped with life, except about two thousand taken

Battle of
Laswaree.

31st.

Further
progress.
30th.Oct. 2.
Capture of
Agra.

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Oct. 16.
Capture of
Asseer Ghur.

18th.

Advance of
General
Wellesley.Nov. 11th.
Truce with
Scindia.28th.
Terminated.29th.
Battle of
Argaum.

prisoners, of whom General Lake only detained the principal officers. The whole of their camp equipage, military stores, elephants, camels, and bullocks, twenty-two pieces of cannon, five thousand stand of arms, and three tumbrils laden with specie, fell into our possession. This battle terminated, in complete success, the campaign in this part of India.

In the Deccan, after the battle of Assye, Colonel Stevenson, having taken unresisted possession of Burhampoor, entered the town of Asseer-Ghur, and laid siege to the fort. The governor, disappointed in the expectation of relief, opened his gates, to the great discomfiture of his adherents, who deemed the fort impregnable, and viewed its surrender as ominous.

General Wellesley was at the same time watching and following the Rajah of Berar, who had passed the hills which bound the province of Candarshee, and was moving toward the river Godavery. No incident of importance marked this pursuit, although many instances of sagacity were displayed, and some slight encounters took place. With the cunning and insincerity so common among the powers of that country, Scindia sent to the General, at Jaun, a proposal for peace, and obtained a truce, on condition that his army should withdraw to a position forty miles east of Ellichpoor, while the British troops should advance no further into his dominions. While this negotiation was pending, the Rajah had proceeded to his own territories, and General Wellesley had gone to assist Colonel Stevenson in the reduction of Gawilghur. He soon discovered, without much surprise, that, in five days after the conclusion of the truce with Scindia, the greater part of the Rajah's regular infantry was found to be encamped at Parteley, in his dominions, strengthened by a large body of his cavalry. Seeing the General prepared to attack them, Scindia's ambassador remonstrated, but received the obvious answer, that his master had dissolved the treaty by infringing its terms, and that with the Rajah of Berar none existed.

When the General advanced toward Parterley, he found it deserted by the adverse troops; but they were

at no great distance, and drawn up on the plains of Argaum, in a line of five miles extent. A conflict ensued, in which, notwithstanding many advantages in number and position, they were routed, with great slaughter, and the loss of their baggage and elephants.

Having effected some necessary arrangements and establishments, the General, in pursuance of his original intention, proceeded to Gawilghur, a fortress, built on a high and rugged mountain, in the midst of that range which lies between the sources of the Taptee and Poonah rivers. From the natural strength of its position, and the ingenuity employed in its construction, the attack of this strong-hold presented great difficulties; but these were surmounted by the united activity and judgment of General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson. They took different routes; and the Colonel had to surmount great difficulties, being obliged, from the situation of the country, to get his heavy ordnance and stores dragged along by his men, who also made the roads by which they passed. Both divisions reached their appointed stations on the same night, and accomplished, in eight-and-forty hours, the conquest of a fortress which had been, proudly and not unreasonably, deemed impregnable.

Dec. 12.

The Rajah of Berar makes peace.

16th.

17th.

Convinced of the inutility of further contest, the Rajah of Berar separately applied for, and, without the knowledge of Scindia, obtained a treaty of peace, by which he renounced all adherence to the confederacy against the English, and ceded to them, in perpetual sovereignty, the province of Cuttack, with the district and fort of Ballasore, and all the territories of which, in conjunction with the Subahdar of the Deccan, he had previously collected the revenues, together with those situated to the westward of the river Wurdah; and he engaged never to take, or retain in his service, any Frenchman, or the subject of any European or American power, at war with England, or any British subject, whether European or Indian, without the consent of the British government. In return, the English restored to him the forts of Nernallah and Gawilghur, with the contiguous districts. The limitations of the

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Capture of
Gawilghur.

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Scindia also.

30th.

dominions of the Rajah, and the Subahdar of the Deccan, were clearly defined ; no aid or encouragement was to be afforded to discontented relations or subjects of the Rajah, and ministers of each government were mutually to reside at each court.

This event soon produced on Scindia the effect which was to be expected—his ambassador in the British camp announced his earnest desire to make peace. General Wellesley, too prudent to reject a favourable advance, and too wise to be deluded by simulated professions, made a distinct and positive declaration of the terms on which alone he would discontinue hostilities. On his direct and peremptory declaration, a treaty was concluded, by which Scindia yielded to the English all his forts and territories in northern Hindostan, between the Ganges and the Jumna, together with all his possessions to the north of the territory belonging to the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Judpoor, and to the Rajah of Gohud ; gave up his right in the fort and territory of Baroach, in Guzerat, and that of Ahmednuggur, in the Deccan ; likewise that of his former possessions to the south of the Adjuntee hills, as far as the river Godavery ; renounced all claims on the Emperor, Shah Allum, and all interference in his concerns ; and entered into the same engagement as the Rajah of Berar, with respect to the retaining of European subjects in his service. Cessions, restorations, and engagements, of importance to Scindia, were covenanted on the part of Great Britain ; and it was agreed that ministers from each government should constantly reside at the court of the other.

Observations
on the war.

Thus was tranquillity restored, and the ascendancy of British power secured, in this part of India. The war, thus gloriously conducted, and happily terminated, is not to be judged by those which took place in earlier periods. Great changes had taken place among the warlike tribes of India, through the introduction of European tactics and French discipline, which, combined with the natural courage of the people, often bordering on enthusiastic frenzy, and their numerical superiority, rendered the conflicts with

them extremely sanguinary. In this war, their infantry stood till the English bayonets touched their breasts ; the artillerymen, with similar firmness, served their guns without receding an inch, and when they could no longer fire, fought with desperate resolution, until they fell under the carriage-wheels of their cannon ; while the cavalry, in the same spirit, charged up to the very muzzles of the adverse firelocks*.

The rescue of the degraded Emperor from his abject state of captivity and penury, with the assurance, for the remainder of his days, of as much honour, respect, and comfort, as he was capable of enjoying, was not beneficial to himself alone ; his liberation frustrated a plan, conceived or favoured by the French, of issuing decrees, or setting up compacts, under his supposed authority, when he had neither the will to command, nor the power to refuse, any thing which it might be the inclination of his oppressors to desire or to impose†.

This important war was begun and concluded in little more than five months ; in every particular, the objects indicated by the Governor General's plan were accomplished, without a failure in point of time, or the loss of a battle. In the conduct of it, General Wellesley fully established that high reputation which he afterward so well maintained, and so gloriously extended. The principal officers who had served in his division of the army presented him with a golden vase, of the value of two thousand guineas, with an appropriate inscription. The people of Calcutta shewed their sense of the benefits they had received, by voting costly swords to General Lake and General Wellesley,

* Memoir of the War in India, by Major William Thorn, pref. p 9.

† These facts are taken partly from History of the events and transactions in India ; and Notes on the late transactions in the Mahratta empire, by the Marquis of Wellesley ; the historical narratives of the same events in the Annual Register for 1804, chaps. 1 and 2 ; the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. v. p. 1, with the Appendix of official documents ; the Dispatches of the Duke of Wellington, by Lieutenant Colonel Gurwood, vol. i. from p. 367 to the end, and vol. ii. in which volumes are contained many interesting particulars and explanations ; also, Brief Remarks on the Mahratta War, with the rise and progress of the French establishment, under Generals De Boyne and Perron ; and the work of Major Thorn, recently referred to.

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Transactions
in Ceylon.

and a marble statue to the Governor General*. At home, the approbation of the Sovereign was shewn, by elevating General Lake to the peerage, and conferring on General Wellesley the order of the bath.

In the same region, hostile events occurred, totally unconnected in their origin and results with those already mentioned. In 1795, when possession was taken of the Dutch portion of Ceylon†, it was understood to be retained in trust for the Prince of Orange; but in 1799, when all hope of re-establishing him had ceased, the territory was transferred to the crown of England, independently of the East India Company, and the Honourable Frederick North was appointed governor, with full authority to form establishments, civil and military, and generally to act for the honour and advantage of the country. The portion of it which was not thus subdued, remained in the possessions of the King of Candia, with whom Governor North used every exertion to establish and maintain relations of amity. In 1800, an embassy which he dispatched was received with great pomp and splendour; and when the little difficulty occasioned by the refusal of the British ambassador, General Macdowal, to acquiesce in the degrading ceremony of being blindfolded and prostrating himself, had been surmounted, the business seemed to proceed with every prospect that the desired object would be accomplished. After a residence of twenty-one days, during which some arrangements were effected, the exact purport of which is not disclosed, the embassy departed, having been honoured by the King with splendid and valuable presents, as marks of his esteem.

State of the
King of
Candia.

If these appearances were favourable to the hopes of the Governor, there existed causes to prevent their accomplishment. The affairs of the King of Candia were entirely under the management of his Adigar, or prime minister, Pelimé Talavoé, a man of great ability, but full of craft and unmeasured ambition; he having

* For these proceedings, see the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. v.; Appendix to the Mahratta War, p. 31.

† Vol. vi. p. 317.

mainly assisted his sovereign in acquiring the throne, but, from some motives, become desirous of deposing him, considered his connexion with the British government a great obstacle to the design. Veiling his malignant interests with cautious duplicity, he pretended the greatest friendship and attachment to the English, but was, in the mean time, making extensive preparations for hostilities, both offensive and defensive, with such cautious privacy that the mere mention of them was punished with the loss of the offender's tongue. The villages were subjected to martial contribution, and the population provided with fire-arms, as well as bows and arrows.

Notwithstanding every precaution, the British government received information which kept them in a state of vigorous and timely preparation; and when the moment arrived for throwing off the mask, the Adigar commenced hostilities by seizing, at Putelang, cattle and property sent for commercial purposes. Investigations were commenced, and negotiations attempted; but no delinquency on the part of the sufferers being pretended, nor any atonement, on the other side, offered, and it becoming evident that evasion and delay were the only objects aimed at by the Candians, the British Governor issued a proclamation, declaring his grounds of complaint, his desire of peace, and his endeavours to conciliate; and reluctantly adopted measures of military castigation.

General Macdowal, at the head of about two thousand men, marched from Colombo into the hostile territory; while Colonel Barbut, from Trincomalee, proceeded, according to an arranged plan, with eleven hundred men, beside an artillery company and pioneers. Both parties were bravely, but unskillfully and ineffectually, opposed; and so well was the operation planned, that on the same day, within an hour of each other, both armies arrived at Candy. On their approach, the King and the Adigar fled, having first set fire to the temple and the palace; the flames were speedily extinguished, but the royal treasure with every thing of value in the city was removed or destroyed.

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Secret prepa-
rations for warHostile pro-
ceedings of the
Candians.1803.
Jan. 29th.Invasion of
Candia.
31st.

Feb. 2nd.

20th.
Capture of the
capital.

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A new king
declared.

The capital thus acquired consisted of one broad street, two miles in length, the houses of mud, raised on steps, and terminated by the palace, an enormous pile, on which much rude care and skill had been bestowed ; the circumjacent country was rich and beautiful, and termed by the conquerors a perfect paradise*. Enterprizes were extended in various quarters ; but Governor North, always desirous of peace, made every effort to bring the King to terms, while he, under the influence of the Adigar, evaded every proposal. There were at Colombo, at this period, two princes who laid claim to the throne of Candia ; they had hitherto received from the British Governor protection and pecuniary assistance, but he had declined interfering in their pretensions, or meddling with the government of their country. Under present circumstances, however, he declared in favour of one of them, Prince Mooto Samee, caused him to be crowned at the capital, and received from him the cession of a valuable district in the interior. A truce was also concluded with the former king.

May.
Disease in the
army.

25th.

In this period, the Adigar, apprized of the Governor's presence at Dambadinia, the chief of the newly-acquired provinces, took advantage of the truce to obtain a long conference ; but nothing effectual occurred. In fact, delay was all that the Candians required ; they relied on a force more certain and insurmountable than arms could supply—on the advance of the season and its concomitant maladies. Their expectations were speedily realized. Colonel Barbut and Major Blair fell victims to the jungle fever, a disease which defied the operations of medicine, disabled many other officers, and made dismal havoc among the troops. General Macdowal, returning to Candia after an absence occasioned by illness, was persuaded, by the artful assurances of Pelimé Talavoé, to leave the city under the command of Major Davie, of the Malay corps, with two hundred of the nineteenth regiment, five hundred Malays, and some artillery.

* The whole place is described in a letter from an officer, in Percival's Account of Ceylon, appendix, p. 427.

In the midst of the truce, without any previous notice or indication, the Adigar, a little before day-break, attacked and carried the hill guard, in the rear of the palace; he next made a charge on the eastern barrier, to take a gun, in defence of which Lieutenant Blakeney was killed. An incessant fire was kept up till two o'clock in the afternoon, when Major Davie, feeling that the enemy could not long be resisted, hung out a flag of truce, capitulated, on condition of being permitted to march out with his arms, and that the sick who remained should be detained only till their recovery, and, in the mean time, treated with proper attention. On these conditions, after spiking his guns, he proceeded to Walapaloa, where, being unable to pass the river, he was compelled to remain during the night. Here he received a message that if he would give up Mooto Samee, who had accompanied him, boats and rafts for his transport should be supplied. The Prince himself, on promise of being kindly treated, complied; but the conditions were utterly disregarded, the Prince was murdered, and, the promised assistance not appearing, attempts were made during two days to effect substitutes. But now the catastrophe arrived; finding that the Malays and gun Lascars were deserting in small parties, Major Davie ordered them to ground arms, and follow him back to Trincomalee. The Canadians seized this opportunity to separate the English officers from the troops, and murdered them, with the exception only of Major Davie and two others; the British soldiers and the sick in the capital were also put to death; and the Malays and Lascars, in number about five hundred, were obliged to enter into the service of the captors. By this transaction the Canadians gained possession of more than one thousand stand of arms, beside a small quantity of artillery.

Animated by these advantages, the King sent into the British portion of the country large bodies of troops, to attack the forts, thus rendering it necessary to concentrate our strength, by retiring into Colombo, Trincomalee, and other strong-holds on the sea-coast, while a disposition to revolt in the provinces compelled

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June 23.
Surprise of
Candy.Treachery of
the natives.

24th.

25th.

Progress of the
war.

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Aug. and Sept.

Sept.

3, 4, 6.

Peace.

the Governor to proclaim martial law throughout our dominions. During two months, in which the enemy possessed infinite numerical advantages, and shewed no want of courage or animosity, an active and extensive warfare was pursued, the details of which would afford only repeated displays of the vast superiority afforded by skill, discretion, and combination, over mere rude and determined bravery. Our situation improved, and, on the arrival of a force from the Cape of Good Hope, and another from Bengal, the Candians were driven from our possessions with great slaughter, and the revolted natives brought back to submission. The event which appears most effectually to have destroyed the hopes and depressed the spirits of the King of Candia, was the result of an irruption into the British settlements at Sittavarca, and an attack on the fortress of Hangwelle. At the head of the most numerous force he had been able to collect in his dominions, he assailed the fortress, which was garrisoned only with fifty Europeans, one hundred and sixty Sepoys, and seventeen gun Lascars. During three days the attacks were renewed, and on the last the army of the enemy was routed and put to flight ; the King, although at the head of the fugitives, punishing with death, for pusillanimity, two of his officers, who had overtaken him in his escape, and leaving their unburied bodies in a ravine. Captain William Pollock, who gained this victory, pursued his advantage with unremitting vigour and diligence. Success attending all our operations, both offensive and defensive, peace was at length restored, and security established*.

* Percival's Account of Ceylon, p. 419 to the end; Annual Register, vol. xlvi. p. 43 to 46; Asiatic Annual Register, vol. vi. part 2, p. 1 to 27; and Chronicle, p. 50.

CHAPTER ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-SEVEN.

1803—1804.

Affairs of Ireland.—The Earl of Hardwicke's government.—Plot for separation.—Napper Tandy.—Efforts of the seditionists.—Arms collected.—Proclamation prepared.—Decrees. Other papers.—Plan of operations in Dublin—how discovered.—The rebellion breaks out.—Murder of Lord Kilwarden.—Further proceedings.—The insurrection suppressed.—Proclamation.—Message to Parliament.—Ineffeetual objections to an address.—Bill for martial law.—Motion of Mr. Hutchinson—negatived.—Trials in Dublin.—Case of Mr. Robert Emmett—his capture—trial.—Trials in the country.—Public feeling in England.—Publications. Public meetings.—Middlesex.—Fund at Lloyds.—Volunteers.—Defence of the metropolis.—General fast.—Review of the volunteers.—Party against ministers.—The press.—William Cobbett.—State of parties.—Mr. Pitt.—Overtures of Mr. Addington—his proposal.—Pamphlets.—Mr. Tierney.—Lord Hawkesbury.—Session of Parliament.—Addresses.—Mr. Windham.—Ireland.—Bank restriction.—Army estimates.—Mr. Windham.—Mr. T. Grenville.—House of Lords.—Earl of Darnley.—Party movements.—Conduct of Mr. Pitt.—Illness of the King.—Parliament.—Volunteer consolidation.—On the King's indisposition.—Mr. Addington.—Mr. Fox.—Lord King.—Lord Chancellor.—Mr. Grey.—Proceedings of Ministers.—Operations against them.—Their increasing difficulties.—Mr. Fox's motion.—Division.—Feeling of the King.—Change of ministry.

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Affairs of
Ireland.The Earl of
Hardwicke's
government.Plot for
separation.

Jan.

In his speech to Parliament, at the prorogation, the King adverted to some measures recently pursued, in consequence of treasonable and atrocious events in Ireland. These observations were called for by a transaction, which, if it might be considered too feeble and inefficient to menace any present effectual result, was conducted with seriousness of purpose, and art in contrivance, and burst forth with a savage impetuosity, calculated to justify alarm, to warrant strong acts of justice, and to call for redoubled measures of precaution.

By a mild and benevolent system of government, in which irritating distinctions were avoided, the Earl of Hardwicke seemed to have extinguished all feelings of animosity, and suppressed all inclination to violence and outrage; but there still existed a party assiduously employed in the task of effecting a separation of Ireland from Great Britain, and they conducted their plan (to use their own phrase) "with a tranquillity which was mistaken for obedience*." Yet the mystery was not so profound, but that intimations of their proceedings were conveyed to government, although they were not of sufficient importance to create alarm. Information was received of the seizure of a considerable number of pikes in Limerick, where a slight insurrection took place, but was speedily suppressed by the yeomanry and military. Similar occurrences in Waterford and Tipperary induced some persons to advise that certain districts should be proclaimed in rebellion; but the Lord Lieutenant would not depart from the system of moderation he had so steadily pursued.

No individual of rank or public importance was engaged in this conspiracy; and it was the boast of those who conducted it, that they had proceeded without hope of foreign assistance†; but of this there is great reason to doubt, considering the general disposition of France, and the activity and intelligence of

* Proclamation of the provisional government to the people. Howell's State Trials, vol. xxviii. p. 723.

† Same.

lier pretended commercial agents. The supposition that the French approved of, and partook in, the proceedings in Ireland, receives support from their encouragement of the expatriated traitor, Napper Tandy, who employed the life which he owed to his Sovereign's mercy in fomenting schemes for the overthrow of his government. This man, taking offence at some expressions used by Lord Pelham, in a debate in Parliament, published a letter in the French newspapers, wherein he said, " You have declared that I made discoveries to government. I assert that the declaration is false. This may appear to your ears not very civil language; but it is the voice of truth, and I repeat, my lord, that it is a mean and audacious falsehood. With respect to my life, I never thought I owed any gratitude to your government for it. I owe my life to a great and generous people, to the first of men, to the hero, to the pacificator, who said that if I fell, I should fall with eternal lustre. It is for the cause of that people that I am ready to shed the last drop of my blood." This insolent piece of ignorant verbosity obtaining no notice, Mr. Tandy next seized on a speech of Mr. Elliott, who, in a debate on the address, asked, " Is the First Consul incapable of fomenting discontent and discord in Ireland? Has he shewn no tenderness for Napper Tandy, a foul and convicted traitor?" Incensed at this language, he wrote to Mr. Elliott, through the medium of the post, requiring him to name any city on the Continent to which he might be willing to come, with some friends, to meet the writer. " I hold," he said, " a rank in the army of this great and generous nation, which sets me upon an equality with the proudest peer in Great Britain. You know that a soldier's honour is dearer to him than life. A French officer is not to be insulted with impunity." It was not to be expected that an English legislator would accept such a challenge from such a person; but it gave occasion to print it, with another letter, full of abuse of the same gentleman, in the Argus. There could be no doubt that these publications were intended

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NapperTandy.

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to produce among the people of Ireland esteem and confidence toward France; and with this view was the assertion made, that the writer owed his safety, not to the clemency of the British government, but to the interposition and threats of the greatest of mankind; the hero, the pacifier; for them was calculated the boast that a convicted traitor, obtaining rank in the French army, would be allowed by that government to proclaim himself to the world the equal of British peers and the contemner of British rank and authority*. As the two countries were at peace, and Bonaparte and Talleyrand full of complaint against the British press, it is not probable that they would have permitted the newspapers in France, which were abjectly under their control, to continue such a course of useless insult, had they not hoped to derive from it some desirable advantage.

Efforts of the seditions.

Dublin and the north of Ireland were the great points of the intended insurrection, which is said by Sir Jonah Barrington to have been "partial, democratic, and purely republican;" and he exempts the Roman Catholics, as a body, from any participation, by observing that Mr. Emmett, in Dublin, and Mr. Russell, in the North, two Protestant gentlemen, were its principal leaders†. Notwithstanding the absence of all grounds of reasonable complaint, men who had partaken in the former rebellion and escaped punishment, either for want of sufficient evidence against them, or through the lenity of government, or had clandestinely returned from the banishment to which they had been consigned, in various disguises and under various pretences, travelled from place to place, and from county to county, hawking reform, emancipation and freedom, goading the people to outrage and rebellion; and the renewal of war enabled them to delude by empty boasts, and seduce by faithless promises.

Arms collected.

Although their numbers were never considerable,

* For a sketch of the character of this person, see Barrington's *Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 184. He died in the following month of August, at Bordeaux.

† *Historic Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 65, n.

nor the persons comprised in them distinguished or wealthy, they collected in Dublin a great quantity of arms and ammunition, which, with some other supplies, were accumulated in their principal depot, a malt-house in Mass-lane, and to such an extent, that, unless the parties received supplies from France, it is extremely difficult to conceive by what means they were obtained.

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1808.

A provisional government, but of whom it was to be composed does not appear, was a part of the project; and a paper was framed, under the name of a proclamation from this unreal body, stating their projects and views, with an outline of their future government. In this paper, all intention to avail themselves of foreign assistance was explicitly and repeatedly denied. The people were called upon to shew themselves competent to take their place, and be recognized among nations as an independent country, and their ability to maintain their independence by wresting it from England. The system had been organized within the last eight months without a hope of foreign assistance, and conducted with a tranquillity which neither the failure of a similar attempt in England had retarded, nor the renewal of hostilities had accelerated. Many boastful declarations were added of the immovable firmness of the supposed government. The men of Leinster, Connaught, and Munster were separately addressed; and, amidst a profusion of vaunts and professions, the imaginary makers of this intended proclamation said, "We war not against property—
"we war against no religious sect—we war not against
"past opinions or prejudices—we war against English
"dominion. We will not, however, deny that there
"are some men who, not because they have supported
"the government of our oppressors, but because they
"have violated the common laws of morality, have put
"it beyond our power to give them the protection of a
"government. We will not hazard the influence we
"may have with the people, and the power it may
"give us of preventing the excesses of revolution, by
"undertaking to place in tranquillity the man who

Proclamation
prepared.

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" has been guilty of torture, free quarters, rape, and
" murder, by the side of the sufferers or their relations ;
" but in the frankness with which we warn these men
" of their danger, let those who do not feel that they
" have passed this boundary of mediation count on
" their safety."

Decrees.

To this proclamation, a series of thirty decrees was subjoined, by which, to show how carefully a war against property was to be avoided, tythes were abolished for ever, and church lands declared to be the property of the nation; all transfers of landed property were prohibited, every tenant being to hold his present possession while he paid his rent, until the national will should be declared; and all transfers of bonds, debentures, and public securities were prohibited and declared void; all military stores, arms, and ammunition were to be the property of the captors, and the value to be divided equally without respect to rank; all English property, in ships or otherwise, was subject to the same rule, and all transfer of them forbidden and nullified. Among other ordinances of blood and vengeance, county committees were empowered and enjoined to cause the apprehension of persons as should appear to have perpetrated murder, torture, or other breaches of the acknowledged laws of war and morality on the people, to the end that they might be tried for those offences. All the personal and real property of such offenders was to be seized and secured, until the national courts of justice should have decided on the fate of the proprietors.

Other papers.

An address to the citizens of Dublin was prepared, informing them that a band of patriots, mindful of their oath and faithful to their engagement, as united Irishmen, had determined to give freedom to their country, and a period to the long career of English oppression. Necessary secrecy had prevented public announcement of this plan; but the erection of the national standard, the sacred, though long degraded, green, would be found sufficient to call to arms, and rally round it every man in whose breast existed a spark of patriotism or sense of duty. "Avail your-

"selves," it said, "of your local advantages: in a city, "each street becomes a defile, and each house a battery. Impede the march of your oppressors; charge them with the arms of the brave, the pike; and from "your windows and roofs hurl stones, bricks, bottles, "and all other convenient implements, on the heads of "the satellites of your tyrant—the mercenary, the "sanguinary soldiery of England." All persuasions, Catholic, Protestant, and Presbyterian, were exhorted to unite, and avenge the oppressions and injuries the country had sustained during six hundred years. A third paper bespoke an expectation that the day might shortly arrive when, in some measure, the words of the Scripture would be fulfilled, "an eye for an eye, "a leg for a leg, an arm for an arm;" but, as an accompaniment to this denunciation, the people were required to be gentle as lambs and watchful as lions, were cautioned against indiscreet confidence in persons whom they did not know; and required, not as heretofore, to take up arms to lay them down again, like a blast of wind, and then be taken prisoners and hanged like dogs.

Papers less calculated to produce any result, except the conviction of the persons to whom the composition of them could be traced, could hardly have been invented by an insidious enemy, plotting the ruin and destruction of the party. They were generally ascribed to Mr. Emmett, who took upon himself to conduct the operation of the plot in the capital. He had digested a plan, apparently without the least consideration of the means he could command for its execution. It comprised three objects of attack, the Pigeon-house, the Castle, and the Artillery Barracks; and points of resistance were also designated. The details of this project are little worth repeating, as it appears that the force necessary for its execution had not been provided; not more than four thousand persons out of the whole population of Dublin were apprized of the existence of the plot; even they were not prepared, or not all disposed to act, and the re-

Plan of operations in Dublin.

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cruits expected from the country were by no means certain*.

1808.
How dis-
covered.

Although not exactly apprized of the extent or nature of the existing conspiracy, government had received information which could not inspire fear, but dictated precaution ; vigilance was employed, and the city guard doubled. An indication of the means prepared for the attack was afforded by an accident. At a house in Patrick Street an alarming explosion took place, and the proprietor, John Mackintosh, refused admission to those who tendered assistance, alleging that it was only the effect of some experiments connected with the business of a silk-dyer. It was speedily ascertained that the explosion had been occasioned by gunpowder ; and, upon search in the house and an adjacent building, a quantity of that article, in an unfinished state, musket balls, pike-handles, bayonets, and other warlike implements, were found, and the owner of the house absconded.

July 23.
The rebellion
breaks out.

This event probably urged the conspirators into premature action. It was observed that small parties, arriving successively from the neighbouring villages, filled the public-houses in the neighbourhood of Thomas Street ; but the circumstance occasioned no alarm and little surprise, as that part of the town was composed of small shops, to which the neighbouring peasantry resorted, especially on a Saturday, to obtain their necessary supplies. They were all unarmed ; but, in the immediate neighbourhood, in Mass-lane, frequently called Marshalsea Lane, was the grand dépôt, where, in quantities far exceeding the demand which on the present occasion could be made for them, the weapons of annoyance and engines of defence were collected. At nine o'clock in the evening, the insurgents, with one consent, and as if moved by one hand, went in a body, and were furnished with arms ; returning directly to Thomas Street, they were joined by

* These particulars, and some which will follow, are taken from a paper written by Mr. Emmett himself, and published by Mr. Curran, in the Life of his father, the Right Honourable John Philpot Curran. Appendix to vol. ii. p. 515.

rebel leaders, who animated them to proceed to attack the Castle. For an exploit so daring they were not prepared. Professed resolution was accompanied with hesitating action ; all declared themselves eager to march, but none advanced ; until at length, giving up for the present the attack on the seat of government, they separated into distinct bodies, pursuing, in various directions, exploits of plunder and murder.

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As a signal to the country that their active operations were commencing, the rebels discharged rockets, which apprized also the friends of government that their presence would be useful, and some fell victims to their zeal and courage. The most conspicuous of these was Lord Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. This excellent and respected nobleman, being at his country seat, five miles from Dublin, informed by an express from his son, the Honourable Colonel Wolfe, of some threatening appearances, returned, accompanied by his daughter, and his nephew, the Reverend Arthur Wolfe ; and their coachman, unconscious of danger, drove into Thomas Street. At that time the mob had not been more than a few minutes assembled ; none of them had been killed or wounded ; they were not pursued or molested. Nothing occurred to stimulate their passions or to justify revenge ; but they dragged the venerable man from his carriage, and, disregarding his supplications for mercy, with horrible clamours demanded his immediate execution, and he was instantly stabbed in thirty parts of his body, and even after death defaced with numerous additional wounds. A magistrate, who, just before his death, saw him in this mangled and afflicting state, exclaimed, with indignation, that the perpetrators of this horrid deed should, in their turn, suffer immediate execution ; but the Chief Justice raised his head, and with the last exertion of his voice, desired "that no man should suffer for his "death, but by the laws of his country." His nephew, who had escaped to some distance, was met by another party, and fell under innumerable wounds. His daughter, escorted, it is said, by two of the rebel

Murder of
Lord
Kilwarden.

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1803.

Further
proceedings.The insur-
rection sup-
pressed.

leaders on horseback, escaped to the Castle, and was almost the first to impart intelligence of the dreadful proceedings and the fate of her father*.

When it became evident that the military were in motion, efforts were made to prevent their assembling, by murdering individual officers and yeomen as they were repairing to their posts. The Mansion-house was surprised and plundered of a considerable quantity of arms. In hopes to gain additional strength by liberating the prisoners, a body repaired to the Marshalsea ; but these men preferred detention for debt under a recognized government, to the precarious liberty they would have received at the hands of a blood-stained and lawless rabble : they called for arms to assist the slender guard which defended the prison ; but the insurgents, having shot a corporal, fearing further conflict, hastily fled. The main body then collected in High Street, with the apparent intention of attacking the Castle ; but when the military began to act, very small parties of them, and even of the police, held bodies of ten times their number in check ; and a steady fire of short continuance, though but from a few soldiers, dispersed this mass of rebels, by whose help their leaders had hoped to accomplish the overthrow of the British government. The lower order, in their retreat, carried off their killed and wounded associates, while the instigators of this ill-contrived and sanguinary commotion fled where guilt or fear directed their steps. Thus was dissipated into thin air the lowering cloud which had threatened such extensive destruction ; but it is not to be assumed that, because easily averted, the danger was inconsiderable. When, by their activity and sagacity, the police had detected the dépôts, the plans and the resources of the conspirators, government discovered, with astonishment, how much labour, self denial, secrecy, and industry had been employed for a long time in bringing the project to maturity. In a dépôt in

* In the ensuing session, Parliament settled on the widow of this noble victim £1000 a-year for her life ; £800 on her son ; and £400 on each of her daughters.

Dirty Lane, were found ten thousand pikes, a large number of hand grenades, formed of bottles filled with powder, and to which a fuse was fixed. By means, also, of adhesive matter, bullets, rusty nails, and other materials of death were adapted to be thrown in at windows, or amongst any body of people collected for the purpose of self-defence. There were also bread, porter, biscuits, and other provisions, for a large body of men, together with a number of machines formed of planks, thickly set with large spikes, to impede the progress of cavalry. At another dépôt, at the Coal Quay, on the banks of the river, was found, ingeniously concealed, a large collection of pikes and other weapons; and in many parts of the city, chiefly in vacant grounds and against dead walls, boxes of pikes were discovered, exactly formed to resemble logs of timber; their situation and contents being well known to the disaffected. A quantity of clothing was also taken at Bridgefoot Street and in Smithfield, among which was a most magnificent suit of green and gold, intended for a rebel chief. On the day following this outbreak, the Lord Lieutenant issued a proclamation, offering a reward of one thousand pounds sterling to those who would give such information as should bring to punishment the murderers of the Lord Chief Justice or his nephew; commanding all persons, in their respective situations, to use their utmost endeavours in suppressing rebellious insurrections and treasonable practices; and requiring all military officers to employ their troops in the speedy suppression of such insurrections and practices; to disarm rebels, and recover arms forcibly taken from his Majesty's peaceable and loyal subjects, and seize all arms and ammunition found in the custody of persons not authorized by law to have and keep them*.

When these facts became known in England, his Majesty referred to the wisdom of Parliament for the adoption of measures best calculated to afford protec-

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24th.
Proclamation.

28th.
Message to
Parliament.

* These particulars are drawn chiefly from the Annual Register, vol. xlv. c. 14, and the state trials which ensued.

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1803.
Ineffectual
objections to
an address.

Bill for
martial law.

Aug. 11.
Motion of Mr.
Hutchinson.

Negatived.

tion to the loyal, and to restore and preserve general tranquillity.

To a motion, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for an immediate address, Mr. Windham and Dr. Laurence presented objections, which only called for an observation from Lord Hawkesbury, that their sole tendency was to shew that a perfect unanimity did not exist in the House.

An address having been unanimously voted, Mr. Addington brought in a Bill to enable the Lord Lieutenant to order that persons taken in rebellion should be tried immediately by a court-martial, and to suspend, for a time limited, the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. To the measure itself no objection was made, nor did any debate arise involving its policy or justice; the circumstance most open to remark was a personal conflict between Mr. Windham and Mr. Sheridan. Their mutual revilings did not prevent the progress of the Bill, which, without any division, passed both Houses on the same day; the duration of its provisions being limited to six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament.

Another attempt on the awful subject of this insurrection was made by Mr. Hutchinson, who, in moving for an address requiring the information received respecting the late rebellious outrages in Ireland and the present state of that country, detailed many subjects of complaint, to which answers were given; and the Attorney-General destroyed the success of the motion, by observing that the only practical means of carrying it into effect would be to address the King not to prorogue Parliament, at a period when the presence of almost every member was so necessary in the country. It had been said that a committee might be appointed to sit during the prorogation; but that could only be instituted by an Act of Parliament, a measure for which no precedent existed. A committee so constituted would be independent of the power of the House and the prerogative of the Crown. The motion was negatived.

Instructed by information from many quarters, the Irish government were enabled to seize and secure great numbers of persons active in the insurrection; and the proof against them being clear and indisputable, the proceedings instituted were not founded on any recent or extraordinary power, but according to the usual forms and practice of the law. By virtue of a special commission, Lord Norbury, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and other judges, assembled at the Session-house in Dublin; and true bills were returned against twenty persons for high treason. The prosecutions were sustained by the Attorney General*, the Solicitor General†, Mr. Plunkett‡, Mr. Mayne§, and three other gentlemen. The Prime Serjeant did not appear in the first trials, being engaged as judge on a circuit; but in some of the later he took the lead. The prisoners were ably defended. For some, Mr. Curran|| and Mr. George Ponsonby appeared; the cases of others were managed by Mr. Ball, Mr. Bethel, Mr. Mac Nally, Mr. Burrowes, Mr. Campbell, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Magrath. The prisoners in general were persons of low degree; the evidence against them was complete and satisfactory; the ingenuity and eloquence of counsel were exerted in vain; the defences generally consisted in allegations that the prisoners were forced to join the insurgents, or in attempts to prove an alibi, or to confute the witnesses who swore to their identity. One was acquitted; and nineteen were found guilty, of whom one was recommended to mercy and respite; the rest were executed without delay.

In the previous lives or present guilt of the generality of these men, nothing can be found to furnish matter for description or reflection. They were of a low class in society, and seem to have been impelled to crime rather by a wicked love of destruction and hope of plunder, than by any distinct perception of injury, or aspiration after public good. Mr. Robert Emmett

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Trials in
Dublin.

Aug. 24.

Aug. 31 to
Oct. 5.

Case of
Mr. Robert
Emmett.

* Standish O'Grady, afterward Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

† James Maclelland, afterward a Baron of the same Court.

‡ Afterward Lord Chancellor.

§ Afterward a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas.

|| Afterward Master of the Rolls.

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stands at a conspicuous distance. He was the son of an eminent physician, and educated for the legal profession ; but whether misled by the advice and example of his expatriated brother, Thomas, or excited by the fervour of his own imagination, he soon displayed principles which caused his expulsion from college ; and he led, uncontrolled, a life of speculation and adventure. He travelled over many parts of Europe ; and, after remaining some time in Paris, in daily intercourse with his brother, returned, in December, 1802, to Ireland. Associating with several low and disreputable individuals, he became the inspirer, the manager, and the animating principle of the plot to which he was a victim, writing the proclamations, devising the decrees, preparing the plans, and advising, although he could not guide, the movements of his confederates. It does not appear just to attribute to him any portion of the cruel and murderous spirit which disgraced the criminal outbreak ; his persuasions were of a contrary description*. After the discomfiture of their associates, he escaped, in company with Dowdall, to the Wicklow mountains, where a refuge was afforded them by a woman named Doyle. Shortly afterward, they made a sally through the country, accompanied by a few of their defeated confederates, armed with blunderbusses. They were dressed in regimentals, and pretended to be French officers, emissaries of Bonaparte, who, they said, meditated a landing in Ireland. They spoke a jargon of French mixed with broken English to the peasantry, while endeavouring to make proselytes of them to the French cause. This attempt meeting with no success, they separated. Dowdall had the prudence and good fortune to secure a retreat on the Continent ; but Emmett, after wandering for some time, presented himself at the house of Mrs. Palmer, at Harold's Cross, where

His capture.

* Of this disposition, the following instance is given. A man passing by the principal dépôt, on the 21st July, was supposed to have observed some suspicious proceedings, seized by the conspirators, and would have been put to death but for the intervention of Mr. Emmett, at whose instance he was confined, and compelled to labour in forming pikes, and other services conducive to the effect of the general plan.—*Annual Register*, vol. xiv. p. 230.

he had resided on his first arrival, under the feigned name of Hewitt; and was now accommodated with a mean apartment and a settle-bed. After he had remained in this asylum nearly a month, he was traced by the vigilant, intrepid, and indefatigable Major Sirr; and, after some resistance and some evasive assertions, secured, transferred to Dublin, and brought to trial. The proofs of his acts, and the papers found upon him, were demonstrative; the jury, without quitting their box, pronounced him guilty. When called upon to shew why judgment and execution should not be awarded against him, he made one of those fervid and enthusiastic speeches which are often described as patriotic and eloquent. His chief aim was to refute the supposition that he intended to deliver up his country to France; but, in whatever terms he might express his thoughts, there could be no doubt that the immediate result of the success of his plots would have been to render Ireland—if the shew of nominal independence were allowed to her—equally with so many states on the Continent, the abject and hopeless vassal of the ambitious republic*. “I am charged,” he said, “with being an emissary of France, for the purpose of “inciting insurrection in the country, and then deli-“vering it over to a foreign enemy. It is false! I “did not wish to join this country with France. I “did join—I did not create—the rebellion, not for “France, but for liberty. It is true there were com-“munications between the United Irishmen and “France. It is true that, in consequence of them, “the war was no surprise upon us. There is a new “agent at Paris at this moment, negotiating with the “government to obtain from them an aid sufficient “to accomplish the separation of Ireland from Eng-“land; and before any expedition sails, it is intended “to have a treaty signed, as a guarantee, similar to

* The French government certainly entertained and inculcated among the people such expectations. They treated the speech of Mr. Emmett as a garbled publication, designed only to make the French believe that they were detested in Ireland, and would only be met as enemies; that the great mass of the Irish people participated in these sentiments; and to avert the projects of the French Republic by disgust, and by apprehensions of a real hostility.—*Moniteur*, 9 Janvier, 1804.

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"that which Franklin obtained for America. God forbid," he continued, "that I should see my country try under the hands of a foreign power. On the contrary, it is evident, from the introductory paragraph of the address of the provisional government of Ireland, that every hazard attending an independent effort was deemed preferable to the more fatal risk of introducing a French army into the country—for what? When it has liberty to maintain, and independence to keep, may no consideration induce it to submit. If the French come as a foreign enemy, oh, my countrymen! meet them on the shore with a torch in one hand and a sword in the other; receive them with all the destruction of war; immolate them in their boats, before our native soil shall be polluted by a foreign foe. If they succeed in landing, fight them on the strand; burn every blade of grass before them as they advance; raze every house; and, if you are driven to the centre of your country, collect your provisions, your property, your wives and your daughters, form a circle around them—fight while two men are left; and when but one remains, let that man set fire to the pile, and release himself and the families of his fallen countrymen from the tyranny of France." To whatever imputation of folly, or even insanity, this address may subject him, there is no ground for a charge of hypocrisy. He underwent his fate with unflinching firmness; and left behind a statement of the plan of insurrection and causes of its failure, which exhibits a melancholy specimen of an ardent mind, utterly defective in powers of reasoning on circumstances and calculating events. It is said that he accounted for the preparatory expenses by stating that he had received, on the death of his father, £2500; and that he expended, of that sum, £1400 in purchasing the arms found in the dépôt in Marshalsea Lane*.

* Annual Register, ubi supra.—Howell's State Trials, vol. xxviii, for all the legal proceedings; and in the notes are given the papers left by Mr. Emmett, from the Life of Curran. Also, a pamphlet, printed in Dublin, intitled "The Insurrection of the 23rd of July, 1803."

Commissions were also issued for the trial of offenders in the counties, by virtue of which, Thomas Russell, formerly a captain in his Majesty's land service, and who had been a most active instigator of rebellion, and issued the proclamation to excite the people of the North, was arraigned before Mr. Baron George and Mr. Justice Osborne. The evidence admitted of no doubt; he was convicted and executed. ^{22.} Two inferior agents in the county of Down, and two in that of Antrim, underwent the same fate. One ^{26.} pleaded guilty: favourable circumstances appearing, he was sentenced only to transportation. A few others were left to the ordinary course of proceeding at the assizes. Some were released without a trial*.

England presented at this period an aspect at which every true lover of his country might have felt pride and satisfaction. Not insensible of the horrors of war, nor unacquainted with its calamitous consequences, the people had entered into the impending contest with firmness and alacrity. No speculative opinions on systems of government, or the rights of communities to elect forms for themselves, could be pressed into the present discussion. The struggle was obviously for our own national independence, and even existence, against a proud and overbearing foe, who had, on all occasions, shewn an unappeasable rancour against us; who had boasted of his all-pervading influence on the Continent, which would exclude the possibility of beneficial alliance, while single-handed England could not sustain herself against France. These vaunts and menaces were met, not with public declarations of corresponding audacity, but with the quiet, constitutional, and well-meditated proceedings by which a true spirit of manly firmness and resolute resistance is displayed. In its official publications, government never transgressed the rules of strict decorum and propriety; although the press, guided by unauthorized individuals, poured forth, in copious streams, all the arguments and incentives which fact or imagination could supply, to counteract the incitements

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Oct. 10.
Trials in the
country.Public feeling
in England.

Publications.

* The Insurrection, &c. p. 99.

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to hatred, and provocations to fury, with which the French people were continually deluged. In pamphlets, periodical works, newspapers, and handbills, every demonstration of rapacity, cruelty, and treachery, shewn by the French in countries which they had invaded as foes, or more fatally approached in the guise of friends, was displayed in the strongest light and most glaring colours. Nor was the personal character of the Chief Consul arraigned with less reserve ; every circumstance of his life or conduct, his cruelty, falseness, disregard of religious obligation, and contempt of treaties, was displayed, certainly without mitigation, perhaps not altogether without exaggeration.

This war of words would never have been waged to so great an extent in England, but that it was requisite to furnish an answer to those devotees of France who were anxious to create impressions of mixed admiration and fear of the enemy, to insinuate that resistance was useless, if not hopeless, and submission likely to produce more happiness and ease than could flow from successful opposition. If such means could be useful in impelling or enlightening the most inert and uninformed portion of the community, to the real effective population they were quite unnecessary. Meetings of freeholders, housekeepers, and persons of respectability and property, were held in all parts of the kingdom, most numerously attended ; and, in the speeches and resolutions which were produced, the effort seems to have been to surpass each other in expressions of loyalty, and devotion to the cause of the country. As an example, the county of Middlesex may be cited. A numerous meeting of freeholders was assembled at a tavern near London, to address his Majesty on the state of affairs ; Mr. Alderman Skinner, not usually a supporter of the administration, introduced the business with a speech, in which he expressed a hope that, whatever difficulties might prevail respecting internal affairs, all would unite in one sentiment against the common enemy. No opposition appeared ; on the contrary, an amendment, expressing

Public
Meetings.Aug. 2.
Middlesex.

more strongly than it had been originally proposed, indignation against the enemy, was adopted with acclamation. Sir Francis Burdett, entering the room, was received with tokens of disapprobation ; he had expressed himself, at another meeting recently held, in terms which were deemed repugnant to the sentiments with which all persons should be animated ; he qualified them in some degree, but still avowed them to an extent which caused his exclusion from the assembly, amid loud expressions of disgust ; and a vote was passed that Mr. Byng, the other member for the county, who had not expressed such opinions, should alone accompany the sheriffs into the presence of their Sovereign.

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July 20, 29.
Fund at
Lloyd's.

In the City, the mercantile body at Lloyd's coffee-house shewed their sympathy in the general feeling, and their readiness to alleviate the woes which might be incurred by the war, and to add their leaf to the wreaths of laurel which the defenders of their country would acquire, by a subscription, which was commenced by a donation of twenty thousand pounds, three per cent. stock, part of the funded property of the society, and immediately carried to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds. It was placed under the guardianship of a committee of fifty persons, each of whom had subscribed at least one hundred pounds ; and to them twenty-two other individuals, of the greatest eminence in the mercantile world, were adjoined.

Eager to defend their country, by personal as well as pecuniary efforts, should the invasion be attempted, which was not only menaced, but for which preparations were ostentatiously made, large bodies of individuals, in all parts of the kingdom, formed themselves into volunteer corps, obtained arms, and studied to become expert in using them ; the whole number enrolled exceeded three hundred thousand ; and many more would have flocked to the standard of their country, but the too extensively prevalent inclination was restrained by a royal proclamation. In the metropolis and its vicinity, every parish and every divi-

Volunteers.

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Defence of the
metropolis.

sion of society sent out its armed troop of cavalry or infantry; and the East India Company, empowered by an Act of Parliament to pay the expense, armed and equipped three regiments of persons in their employ.

To avert unnecessary alarm for the metropolis, should the enemy unexpectedly effect a landing, Lord Cathcart communicated to the Marquis of Titchfield, Lord Lieutenant of the county of Middlesex, a most satisfactory statement, founded on observations made during the last war, by his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, under the inspection of an officer of the greatest eminence, skill, and professional experience. It announced that the means which nature afforded to London and Westminster, of providing for their security, exceeded those which could be found in almost any other city in the world; and such measures had been pursued for rendering these means of defence availing, that the capital might bid defiance to any invading force, at least until ample time were given for the arrival of such aid from the country as must be much more than sufficient to exterminate any army that could be transported to England.

Oct. 19
General fast.

Consistently with the practical piety which distinguished his character, the King ordered a day to be set apart for fast and humiliation; and prayers were offered up to Heaven for prosperity to the public cause. The people joined with due reverence in this act of devotion; and the effect in the metropolis was greatly heightened by the appearance of the volunteers at St. Paul's, the Temple, and the several parish churches, where the clergy distinguished themselves by discourses, in which loyalty to the Sovereign, zeal in defence of the country, and submissive confidence in the protection of Divine Providence, were eloquently enforced. In a week afterward, the feelings of patriotism and loyalty were again displayed, when his Majesty reviewed, in Hyde Park, these bodies of his affectionate subjects. They assembled, on two days, to the number of twenty-seven thousand; and the concourse

26, 28.
Review of the
volunteers.

of spectators on each occasion exceeded two hundred thousand. The King, in excellent health and glowing spirits, surveyed with patriotic pride this display of public spirit; and every one present pronounced blessings on his name, wishes for his happiness, and zeal for the defence of his person and the maintenance of his rights. For their appearance and conduct, these volunteers received from his Majesty, through the immediate communication of the Commander in Chief, the thanks and applauses to which they were so well entitled*.

Although these appearances indicated general satisfaction with the proceedings, and confidence in the intentions of government, it was obvious that the position of ministers was insecure, and that great efforts and powerful combinations were preparing for their overthrow. To the nation at large, no complaint of misrule, no instance of oppression could be alleged; no act of political perfidy or injustice toward foreign nations could successfully be adduced; but a general clamour could be raised against supposed incapacity—a general impression created, that more dignified resolves and more spirited measures could be pursued than those which they were seen to adopt. To favour these efforts, where no distinct charge could be advanced, nor any personal misconduct pretended, the press, and even public men, who ought to have held themselves above such means, descended to vulgar scurrilities and personal abuse.

Beside their usual daily assailants in newspapers, ministers met with a new and formidable detractor in William Cobbett, a man who, born in a humble and obscure station of life, untutored by education, unaided by patronage, elevated himself by his own exertions into importance and celebrity. Destined in his earliest years to the menial occupations of rustic life, a weeder and a ploughboy, he gained, by resolute perseverance, the humble attainments of ordinary reading and imperfect writing; migrated to London, where he ob-

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Party against
ministers.

The press.

William
Cobbett.

* An ample detail of the proceedings on these three days is in the Annual Register, vol. xliv. Chronicle *31 to *42.

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tained subsistence, and some slight improvement, as an underling drudge in the office of an attorney ; he then entered the army as a private soldier, where his good conduct procured him promotion to the rank of corporal, and finally of serjeant-major. His leisure was employed in giving to his defective education such perfection as solitary, unaided efforts could acquire ; and, at the age of twenty-five, he received his discharge from the service, in terms of high approbation from his commanding officer. He then went and remained a few months in France, just at that crisis of the revolution which ended in the dethronement of the King and the proclamation of a republican government, and repaired to Philadelphia, to establish himself as a bookseller and stationer. Having acquired, from observation and experience, a thorough hatred for republican and revolutionary measures, and an utter disgust at their supporters, he commenced writer, under the pseudo-name of Peter Porcupine, and was unmitigated in his attacks on the popular idols of America, such as Franklin, Priestley, and Paine ; strong and coarse in his exposure of the horrors attending French democracy ; free in displaying the defects in the American government ; and vehement in applauding that of Great Britain. The American press was not less bitter in decrying his works, and impugning his motives, and actions for defamation impended over him*. The principles he professed, and his courage in maintaining them, procured him many friends in England, and none so hearty and sincere as Mr. Windham. After a residence in America exceeding seven years, he returned to London, and, under the highest patronage that perhaps such an undertaking ever received, commenced the publication of a daily newspaper, which he called the Porcupine ; and opened a bookseller's shop, at the west-end of the town, displaying his opinions and pretensions to favour by using the sign of the crown and mitre. His newspaper soon failed ; no single talent could be sufficient for the maintenance of

* From the Life and Adventures of Peter Porcupine, written by himself, and published in America.

all parts of such an undertaking ; he had neither the connexions nor the manners requisite to secure the aid of competent coadjutors. Mr. Pitt was speedily disgusted with him, and, by an unreserved display of his feeling, planted in his breast an inextinguishable animosity. Mr. Windham still retained his warmth of attachment ; and, soon after the treaty of Amiens, Cobbett commenced the publication of a weekly register. In this work he entered fully into the feelings which Mr. Windham expressed on the treaty, the government of France, and the incapacity of ministers ; he did not, like him, confine himself within the limits which decorum prescribes to a gentleman, and good taste points out to a scholar ; his invectives were intemperate, coarse, scurrilous, ; but such is the force of party feeling, that men of high rank in politics and literature assisted in his productions ; they were read with avidity by many who did not concur in the opinions of the writer ; and one went so far as to declare in Parliament that he had merited a statue of gold for his conduct in America. Mr. Windham, who, by this extravagant proposition, involved himself in a conflict with Mr. Sheridan*, had afterward to learn that he decreed this splendid homage to a man—whatever estimation may be formed of his talent—void of truth, patriotism, consistency, honour, or gratitude.

By such means alone a government could not be destroyed ; but the diffusion of gross abuse served as a groundwork for those who, if they could not reason, could rail, and furnished an approving audience to those who sought by more direct attacks to effect a change. The parties in Parliament hitherto avowedly in opposition, could not, either separately or when united, hope to remove the ministers. The efforts of Sir Francis Burdett, and politicians of that class, were regarded with jealousy, or even hatred, as tending to the overthrow, not of any particular administration, but of all constituted government ; Mr. Fox and his party were not exactly uniform in their views, and they

State of
parties.

• Parliamentary History, vol. xxxiv. p. 1678, Aug 5, 1803.

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were enfeebled by an avowed apprehension, that, if the present administration were displaced, they would be succeeded by others still less acceptable to them; the third party, that of Lord Grenville, inspired with an insurmountable hatred for the existing government, and seeing that, while they possessed the confidence of the King, and could not be arraigned for any gross and palpable misconduct, their expulsion would require efforts of uncommon strength, sought for union with every party, and omitted no effort to spread their opinions, and to gain adherents. All the sentiments which, for so many years, or even during their whole political lives, they had promulgated respecting Mr. Fox and his associates, were surrendered at once; and this party courted the alliance of those they had so long vituperated, against men whose friendship had recently been their boast. Of the course pursued, and the sentiments entertained by this party, long after the conflict had ceased, accident furnished a remarkable proof. The Admiral Aplin, a vessel belonging to the East India Company, was captured by the French; the papers on board not being destroyed, some letters were published in the *Moniteur**, particularly from Lord Grenville to the Marquis of Wellesley, dated the 12th of July, 1803, expressing—with the utmost contempt for Mr. Addington—a determined opposition to his measures, and announcing his satisfaction, that while his own quarrel with Mr. Addington became every day more serious, all the motives which made Mr. Pitt differ from him, daily decreased; and, in allusion to his newly-formed political attachment, he proclaimed his detestation of eternal enmities, observing, that if he had one, it was only against the partisans of a principle so detestable.

Mr. Pitt.

It was evident that, however Lord Grenville and his adherents might wish to gain strength from an union with Mr. Fox, they felt that if Mr. Pitt gave his

* 29 Fructidor, an 12; 16th September, 1804. Under the disadvantage of a double translation, from English into French, and from that language into their original tongue again, they were published in London, in the newspapers, and as a pamphlet.

support to the ministry, or even abstained from co-operating with the opposition, all their labours would be useless. Of the importance of his support, and the value of his co-operation, Mr. Addington was no less sensible, and had used every effort to secure them; but met with obstacles, some of which he could not with justice have anticipated. Although Mr. Pitt's sentiments of regard for the minister were not extinguished, he had an equal leaning toward his principal opponents. There was also another party, high in the confidence of Mr. Pitt, who, although not in declared opposition, were undisguised in their unfavourable opinions of ministers, and were even supposed to assist Cobbett and others in reviling them.

At the time when Bonaparte astonished and incensed all thinking men by his conduct toward Switzerland, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Canning strongly urged Mr. Addington to declare war, promising him the entire weight of their co-operation; but, although he felt on this subject as strongly as they, he did not consider the cause so properly appertaining to the interests of this country, that he could, with a confidence of general approbation, embark in such a measure*. From this time until the delivery of the King's message, respecting the armaments in the ports of France and Holland, and the subsequent commencement of hostilities, negotiations were continued, on the part of Mr. Addington, to gain the aid of Mr. Pitt, and manœuvres practised, by those who exercised influence on his judgment and conduct, to prevent their success. Mr. Pitt stated, from a very early period, that amongst the causes which would immediately make him ready to resume office, would be a wish to that effect expressed directly by the King, or at least in such a manner as to leave him no doubt of its actual existence†. In the course of these negotiations, the particulars of which it is not intended to detail, several difficulties occurred; Mr. Pitt was desirous not only to combine the Gren-

* From private information.

† In December, 1802. *Diaries and Correspondence of the Earl of Malmesbury*, vol. iv. p. 157.

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ville party with himself in office; but to give them such an ascendancy in the cabinet as would have reduced Mr. Addington to a mere cipher. It could not be reasonably expected, that, after the treatment he had received from that party, he would accede to such an arrangement; he felt that it would be far more honourable to him to be driven from office by an immediate opposition, than thus meanly to yield up all claims to respect. Had he been more flexible, another difficulty remained; Lord Grenville and his party insisted on the introduction of Mr. Fox and his friends into power, for the purpose of forming what they termed a government uniting all the ability in the country; but to this measure Mr. Pitt would never accede. Had it been in itself free from manifest absurdity, a strong objection was to be anticipated in the mind of the King himself, who could not easily have admitted the presence of some whom Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville had so long represented as his personal enemies. The continuance of these attempts, and the intercourse they occasioned, will account for some extraordinary appearances during the late session of Parliament—for the vehement attack of Mr. Windham on Mr. Fox, followed by a placid declaration of a disposition not to think unkindly of an old acquaintance; for Mr. Fox's acknowledgment of Mr. Pitt's eloquence, and the homage paid in return to the high political authority of Mr. Fox; and, above all, for the extraordinary and surprising conduct of Mr. Pitt on Colonel Patten's motion, a conduct which was not suggested by the occasion, but premeditated, and previously disclosed*.

Pamphlets.

Public opinion was much influenced by an able pamphlet, written in defence of the ministry, by an unavowed, although not unascertained, author†; it was speedily answered by another writer, supposed to stand high in the confidence of Mr. Pitt‡, and many

* On this subject I have chiefly relied on Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. from p. 162 to 264.

† Intitled, A few Cursory Remarks on the State of Parties, by A Near Observer.

‡ He styled himself A More Accurate Observer.

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other pens, with equal vehemence, if not equal information or ability, engaged in the contest. An incident so ordinary, and so apparently inevitable, would hardly deserve notice, but that the two productions particularly cited were considered and quoted, both in publications and in debates, as the manifestos and counter manifestos of the ministry and Mr. Pitt, and to contain assertions which rendered any reconciliation of the two parties impossible.

Carlton House was, at this period, considered as the head-quarters of opposition ; and, probably with a view of conciliating the Prince of Wales, by the appointment of one of his friends, Mr. Bragge vacated the office of Treasurer of the Navy, which was conferred on Mr. Tierney. Lord Hawkesbury, also, without any change of title, was called by writ to a seat in the House of Peers.

Much anxiety was felt respecting the opening of the session, in which it was reasonably anticipated that the contest of parties would come to a decisive issue. The speech from the throne mentioned the 22nd. efforts which had been made for defence of the realm, and the voluntary efforts of the people, the hopes of re-established tranquillity in Ireland, and expressed a confident reliance on Divine Providence to render an invasion, if, contrary to all probability, it could take place, unfortunate and disgraceful to the enemy, and conducive to the glory of this kingdom, and the stability of its independence. The motions for addresses did not produce, in either House, any strenuous declarations of opinion. Mr. Fox regretted that no means had been pursued for procuring the mediation of Russia. Some observations were made on the state of Ireland. The system of volunteers was highly extolled by the Earl of Limerick, as unparalleled in the history of any country, both in its amount in numbers, and as a clear and formidable expression of the sense and feelings of the people ; while Sir Francis Burdett, without censuring the system, protested against some proceedings to which it had given birth, as favouring an extortion of money through fear of invidious denunciation.

June 1.
Mr. Tierney.Lord
Hawkesbury.Nov. 16.
Session of
Parliament.

Addresses.

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23.
Mr. Windham.

No opposition was made to the address ; nor, until it came to be reported, was any attack made on ministers ; but then, without making or giving notice of any motion, Mr. Windham said that Bonaparte and all his legions were not half so terrific as the little band on the Treasury bench. Individually considered, they were all men of cultivated minds ; of liberal education ; of good natural endowments ; not unread in the history of their country, nor unpractised in its business ; not unprovided with the talents and acquirements necessary for the conducting of business in the House, but collectively, as men forming the council which was to guide the affairs of a great empire, which must rule the world, in a crisis like the present, he must say, from whatever causes it arose, that they were weakness itself. "I really believe," he said, "the 'country will perish in their hands. I believe the 'honourable gentlemen will fairly see us out; that 'we shall not outlive their administration; that they 'will prove as, I believe, I once before took the liberty 'of remarking to them, the Augustuli in whose hands 'the empire will fall."

Dec 2 to 20.

Bank restric-
tion.Army
estimates.

Several measures, which were proposed to Parliament before the Christmas recess, were amply discussed ; but passed without any divisions, their general propriety being admitted, and the details little altered. For the better government of Ireland, the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, and a power to the Lord Lieutenant to enforce martial law, were continued : it being conceded on all sides that these powers had been hitherto exercised with moderation and propriety. No oppression or grievance was attributed to government ; although, in respect to their foresight, vigour, and judgment, many vehement censures were pronounced. The restrictions on the Bank, both in England and Ireland, from paying in specie were continued, not without many assertions of the impropriety of the measure, and complaints of the supposed growing practice of keeping gold from circulation by hoarding. On the military preparations for defence of the country, greater differences of opinion prevailed. The army estimates, and a bill which

was found necessary for the encouragement and regulation of volunteers, by exempting them from the ballot for militia and the army of reserve, gave rise to several discussions, in which old objections were renewed and old censures repeated, but which are chiefly memorable as containing the expressed opinions of several parties on the character and conduct of administration, and the probable effects of their rule and measures.

In perfect consistency with the opinions he had always expressed, Mr. Windham attacked their whole conduct in establishing the peace and conducting the war. His general opinion he could not better describe than in some lines which gentlemen might have seen on inn-windows and shutters, where the writer, speaking of the faults of men and women, and allowing that many belong to men, concludes, most injuriously and ungallantly,

Mr. Windham.

“ —— Poor women have but two :
“ There’s nothing good they say, and nothing right they do.”

These lines, however bad the poetry, and however false the sentiment, in its original application, were perfectly descriptive of his Majesty’s ministers.

As no motion followed this harangue, it is not necessary to state how its diffuse allegations were answered ; but some expressions of opinion are selected for the purpose of shewing the state of parties, and the combination which was operating for the overthrow of the ministry. Mr. Pitt declared his approbation of the volunteer system ; made many exceptions as to the manner in which it was put in practice ; and cautiously professed to avoid all retrospective discussion—all inquiry whether the extraordinary means with which ministers were entrusted before the last prorogation had been exercised with sufficient vigour and ability. Anxious for demonstrations more decisive and positive, Mr. T. Grenville expressed his surprise that his right honorable friend and relative, Mr. Pitt, should at such a time take only a prospective view of public affairs, instead of examining, not only the military arrangements which government had adopted,

Mr. T. Grenville.

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1803.
Mr. Fox.

House of
Lords.

Earl Darnley.

20.
Party
movements.

but also what use had been made of the extraordinary powers confided to them. Mr. Fox, while he controverted and ridiculed some opinions of Lord Castlereagh in defence of ministers, equally deprecated the forbearance of Mr. Pitt in not mixing other considerations with the business of the night; voting the supply, without adverting to the use that had been made of former grants; and expressed his perfect concurrence in the arguments of Mr. Windham.

In the House of Lords, although the debates were not equally protracted, similar sentiments were expressed, with the addition that one noble lord, Earl Darnley, had the bad taste to sanction, by his adoption, a vulgar sarcasm, worn threadbare by Cobbett and the daily libellers, by calling the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Doctor. This allusion to the rank in life so honourably held by the premier's father, served the purpose, when all subjects of real reproach failed, of raising a scurrilous horse-laugh, sometimes among the mere vulgar, and sometimes among those who ought to have held themselves above a display so truly contemptible. In a debate on the Irish Habeas Corpus Bill, an observation of the Earl of Limerick on three state doctors in that country, Mc Nevin, Emmett, and O'Connor, produced from Lord Darnley an observation that he had been taught by experience not to expect any good in politics from a doctor. This specimen of "gentle dulness" would hardly deserve notice, but that Mr. Sheridan, in a former session, had given it some sort of currency, by citing, with considerable humour, the well-known imitation of Martial's epigram, "Non 'amo te, Sabidi,'" beginning and ending with "I do not like thee, Dr. Fell." Mr. Pitt, who was not present at the debate, is said, forgetting the position in which Dr. Addington stood with respect to his own father in his last moments, to have joined heartily in the laugh against Dr. Fell*.

From all that was said, up to the period of the recess, it was obvious that a determination was formed to remove the present ministry, not because any pre-

* Lord Malmesbury's Diaries, vol. iv. p. 146.

cise act of misconduct or neglect could be imputed to them—for no such charge was ever specifically advanced—but because other parties, desirous of power, could succeed in creating, or aid in fomenting, censures to which every government is liable. One party desired a more extended and violent prosecution of the war; and they were aided by a portion of the commercial body, to whom violent fluctuations in the public funds presented prospects of rapid gain; and the furnishment of armies and the employment of shipping in the transport service held out views of advantageous employment for their capital. Another body, anxious so to conduct the war as to leave perpetual means of exciting a desire, however delusive, of immediate peace, had no great number of partizans among the public; but experience taught them to rely on the effects of pressure and privation, and on the lassitude attending a protracted struggle, to produce inclinations and feelings in the people which, if appealed to in the outset, would have been violently repelled and disdainfully rejected. However repugnant to each other were the views of these two parties, it was evident that they now coalesced for the purpose of throwing open the gates of power: their former criminatory declamations were turned into accents of kindness and phrases of acquiescence and compliment. Ministers were equally unable to meet the expectations of either of these bodies. They could not concede that the peace of Amiens was the cause of all political calamities, or that the further maintenance of it was possible after the open and covert aggressions of Bonaparte, and his undisguised determination to effect the ruin of the country; nor could they, for the purpose of demonstrating what they deemed an unavailing vigour, urge the powers of the Continent into premature hostilities. One party remained, sufficiently strong in talent, sufficiently honoured in public opinion, to give ascendancy to either side for which they should declare; to ministers or either division of their opponents. It was that of Mr. Pitt, and toward him

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Conduct of
Mr. Pitt.

all eyes were directed ; and to gain him, many machinations were employed.

From the habits of their earlier life ; from their unvarying conformity in politics ; from the manner in which Mr. Addington had accepted office, rescuing Mr. Pitt from the disgrace of being superseded by his inveterate opponents ; for the deference ever shewn by Mr. Addington to his opinions and principles, and attachment to his person and honour ; it might have been presumed that Mr. Pitt would have shewn himself immovably his friend and supporter ; and it is most probable that he would have done so, but for the prevalence of an influence directed by great talents, a strong attachment to Lord Grenville, and a desire, which his commanding genius and long experience rendered unavoidable, to guide and command the operations of war and finance, which he was easily led to believe could be efficient and popular only in his hands. Such were the opinions and feelings which guided the intercourse between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington from the time when a rupture with France became probable. The minister on all occasions made unreserved disclosures of his measures, views, and official communications*. Efforts to engage him in the arrangement of a cabinet, continually renewed and varied, failed, from several causes, always originating in Mr. Pitt. He very properly refused to form one in an administration where, although the real leader, he was to hold an office which did not denote such superiority†, and declined entering into a specific negotiation until the command of the King should have been communicated. Ill health, combining, perhaps, with a disinclination to take a decided share in the passing efforts of party, occasioned him to be frequently absent from town ; but he was constantly beset by the adversaries of the ministers, among the most acrimonious‡ of whom was reckoned Mr. Can-

* Lord Malmesbury, vol. iv. pp. 225-229.

† Pp. 177-255.

‡ This is the word used by Lord Malmesbury, vol. iv. p. 243.

ning. They effected a co-operative union between the Grenville party and the friends of Mr. Fox; but could not induce Mr. Pitt to join in it, further than related to the removing of the present ministry. He could not be prevailed on to force upon the King the presence of an individual toward whom he entertained rooted and apparently irremovable objections. These strange combinations account for many unions and disunions during the late, and in the early period of the present session. They explain in some sort the conduct of Mr. Pitt on Colonel Patten's motion, when he would not go to the extent of a direct censure, yet, by refusing an acquittal, would keep an untried accusation impending over the heads of ministers. It removes also the astonishment which was felt at the votes in favour of government, given by Mr. Tierney and Mr. Hobhouse, who so soon afterward were placed in official situations. It accounts, too, for the conduct of Mr. Sheridan, who more than covertly attacked his political friends; and of whom it was said that he, as well as Mr. Erskine, had received overtures from government*.

Such was the state of political parties, when a new embarrassment arose from the indisposition of the King. By remaining inconsiderately without changing his clothes, when wet with rain, his Majesty had caught a cold, which, being followed by symptoms of gout, prevented him from appearing at the levee, on the Queen's birth-day, although, supported on a cane, he joined the assembly in the evening; but his manner betrayed an excitement which led to an apprehension of a return of his old illness, an apprehension

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1803.

1804.
January.
Illness of the
King.

* Chiefly from Lord Malmesbury, vol. iv. who, at p. 285, gives a short but lively description of the position and operations of public men. "Lord Grenville and his friends were occupied with planning schemes to overthrow the administration; and, through Mr. Thomas Grenville's old habits of intimacy and friendship with Fox, they began to draw towards him, and met with little or no difficulty on his side to form a junction, for the purpose they had so much at heart, viz. the downfall of Addington. Pitt, though sounded, would never listen to this; and it was in vain that Canning went backwards and forwards between Dropmore and Walmer. Pitt remained steady to his principle, and Parliament opened without Pitt attending, but with a violent and able opposition formed between the Grenvilles, Fox, and Windham, who began by attacking government in a very powerful way under the name of a co-operation."

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1804.

February 1.
Parliament.Volunteer
consolidation.27.
On the King's
Indisposition.Mr. Adding-
ton.Mr. Fox.
May 12th.

which was speedily verified ; but his state was not so alarming as it had been on two former occasions. Dr. Symonds was consulted, instead of Dr. Willis, to whom the King had taken a strong dislike ; and, under his care, his health rapidly improved.

During this interval, Parliament re-assembled, and the attacks on ministers were resumed with augmented force. In fact, their removal appeared to be the principal end and aim of every debate. The first measure produced by government was a bill for amending and consolidating the laws respecting volunteers. It was opposed in every stage ; and, in the course of the debate, the state of the King was frequently discussed. Sir Robert Lawley introduced it in the House of Commons, stating that, after the interval which had taken place, and after the reports of the physicians specially appointed to declare to the public the state of his Majesty's health for the last two days, Parliament had a right to expect some explicit communication. He was authorized to assume the illness to be of the most severe nature ; and, in the reports submitted to the public, no satisfactory ground of hope was held out that it would speedily terminate. Mr. Addington immediately answered, that, in the opinion of his Majesty's confidential servants, such a communication could not answer any good purpose ; and any proceeding on the information they possessed would be inconsistent with their duty to the King, the Parliament, and the country, highly indecent in itself under the present circumstances of his Majesty's indisposition, and, therefore, utterly unwarrantable.

On this answer, Sir Robert Lawley moved an adjournment. Mr. Fox termed this a most extraordinary declaration. He knew of no such persons as the King's confidential servants ; they were a body utterly unknown to the constitution. The Chancellor of the Exchequer gave the obvious explanation, that, in so speaking of himself and his colleagues, he merely employed a term long used in the House and perfectly understood, and not to claim for any one an exemption from responsibility ; on the contrary, he was aware

that ministers, refusing more ample communication, exposed themselves to one most perilous; but they now acted on a sincere conviction that further disclosure would be inexpedient, and that, instead of being subservient to any useful purpose, it might only furnish grounds for discussions, at all times to be reprobated, but more especially to be avoided in the present circumstances of the empire. In a lengthened debate, opinions were strongly expressed on the conduct of ministers, and the probable suspensions of the functions of royalty; but the motion met with little support, and was negatived without a division.

In the Upper House, when discussing a bill for restraining the operations of the Bank of Ireland, Lord King expressed his hope that the noble Secretary of State, Lord Hawkesbury, would be able to afford the consolatory information lately given in the other House, that no necessary suspension of the royal functions existed. While he declared that the noble Lord could have no right so to question any particular peer, Lord Hawkesbury said he had no hesitation to declare that there existed at present no necessary suspension whatever of his Majesty's royal functions or authorities. Lord Grenville, the Earl of Carlisle, and Lord Fitzwilliam, still expressed doubts; and, on a pointed appeal, made personally to him, the Lord Chancellor declared that, delicate as this subject was, he would not willingly have touched upon it, but, being compelled, he would state that no suspension of the royal functions then existed.

Mr. Grey again mentioned the subject in the Mr. Grey.
House of Commons; his demands of further explanation producing no answer, he threatened at an early day to make a motion: but while members without information were thus endeavouring to embarrass government, and alarming a portion of the public, ministers were judiciously and diligently making inquiries and examinations, to render their operations safe, and their conduct irreproachable. The Lord Chancellor, before he would receive the King's sign manual for a commission to give the royal assent to several bills,

March 1.
House of
Lords.
Lord King.

Lord
Chancellor.

Proceedings of
ministers.

Feb. 27th.

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1804.

passed, in the Privy Council, a strict examination of his physicians, who declared the royal patient perfectly competent to do an act which the Chancellor should properly explain to him; but that if the point led to long argument, or fatiguing discussion, the experiment would be imprudent; he was fully competent to transact business with his Parliament by commission and message; and there was every reason to believe that his illness would not be of long duration. His Majesty's sign manual being necessary, Lord Eldon waited on him with the commission, and with a brief abstract of the intended acts. The King evinced on the occasion not only a perfect capacity to perform the business required, but a critical intelligence in the contents of the communication, an accurate memory of the manner in which he had formerly transacted such affairs, and a correct judgment in the forms there presented to him*.

Operations
against
ministers.

While the nation was cheered with the knowledge of their beloved Sovereign's safety, and a certainty that the alarms and difficulties of the times would not be increased by those which must arise from a divided, uncertain rule, the ministers were visibly failing in Parliament. Opposition increased both in violence and numbers; ministers lost ground in every debate, although in divisions they appeared so strong that their adversaries would not often attempt them†. The principal topic on which these divisions took place related to the defence of the country, especially on the bill termed the Volunteer Consolidation, and on one for suspending the army of reserve. On the necessity of strong measures for vigorous defence, the menaces and preparations of the enemy prevented all doubt; but as to the specific forms of the measures to be adopted, every objection which ingenuity could supply was advanced and repeated. In discussions which were carried on during more than four months, the system of volunteer service was decried as useless in itself, and as tending to diminish, or even exhaust, the

Feb. 8th, to
June 11th.

• Life of Lord Eldon, vol. i. p. 417 et seq.

† Lord Malmesbury, vol. iv. p. 286.

sources of regular military recruiting ; every privilege conceded to those who embarked in it, and every restraint to which they were subjected, equally furnished topics of censure and of ridicule ; and to such an extent was this mode of opposition pursued, that, in one evening, Lord Grenville divided the House three times.

But although ministers were successful in all these divisions, they were not insensible of the difficulties of their position. The adverse list combined men of all parties, so that no general attack on principles could avail them ; and they had the great disadvantage of being placed in a state of repeated defence, against every form of attack which the wildness of speculation, the gravity of argument, the felicity of wit, or the grossness of abuse, could introduce. Mr. Addington, more accustomed to preside over and regulate, than to join in the active conflicts of the senate, did not, in himself, possess the power of sudden contention which sways on such occasions ; and he found, on every side, he was beset by men eminently endowed with those talents—men whom, in his passage through life, he had been accustomed to consider as attached and affectionate friends, on whom, even when he differed from them, he had no reason, until they were excited by the hope of office, to consider as enemies. He meditated a resignation, and his resolution received an additional impulse from the debates on a motion of Mr. Fox, for a committee of the whole House to revise the several bills for the defence of the country, and to consider of such further measures as might be necessary to make that defence more complete and permanent. In supporting this motion, Mr. Pitt expressed so strongly, not his disapprobation of the measures of ministers alone, but so much personal contempt for them, that the Attorney General was well grounded in observing that their dismissal was the avowed object of the mover, and, should the question be carried, especially on the arguments of Mr. Pitt, they could no longer retain their situations under so obvious a declaration that they had lost the confidence of the

Their increasing difficulties.

April 23rd.
Mr. Fox's
motion.

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CXXVII.1804.
Division.

26th.

Feeling of the
King.Change of
ministry.

House. The motion was negatived; but in the minority were numbered the leading men of all parties. Mr. Fox was followed by his usual adherents, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Jekyll, Mr. Courtenay, and Mr. Whitbread; Mr. Windham, Mr. T. Grenville, and the other members comprising that party, were in the list; Mr. Pitt carried with him Mr. Canning, Mr. Long, and the other members who stood highest in his confidence; and Sir Francis Burdett, Mr. Francis, and other members, who could not justly be claimed as adherents by any party, united with them all, against the ministry. In this division ministers had a majority of fifty-two*. Three days afterward, Mr. Pitt, similarly associated and supported, opposed the second reading of the army of reserve suspension bill. He was in a minority of thirty-seven only, the number with him being within one of the former day, while that with the minister was diminished by sixteen†.

When Mr. Addington communicated these facts, and disclosed to the King his intention to resign, his Majesty received the intelligence with marks of concern and indignation; he expressed satisfaction at his whole conduct, offered him high honours and great emoluments, and even proposed to dissolve Parliament, if it would contribute to the stability of the ministers‡. To this measure Mr. Addington had no inclination; he was not afraid of being able to re-establish and retain his ascendancy in the House of Commons, but felt that in the Upper House he should be exposed to more difficulty, unless he resorted to the strong and dangerous measure of creating, what is called, a batch of peers§.

Conferences ensued between the King, the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Pitt; during which, motions prepared in both Houses were suspended; and finally,

* 256 to 204.

† 240 to 203.

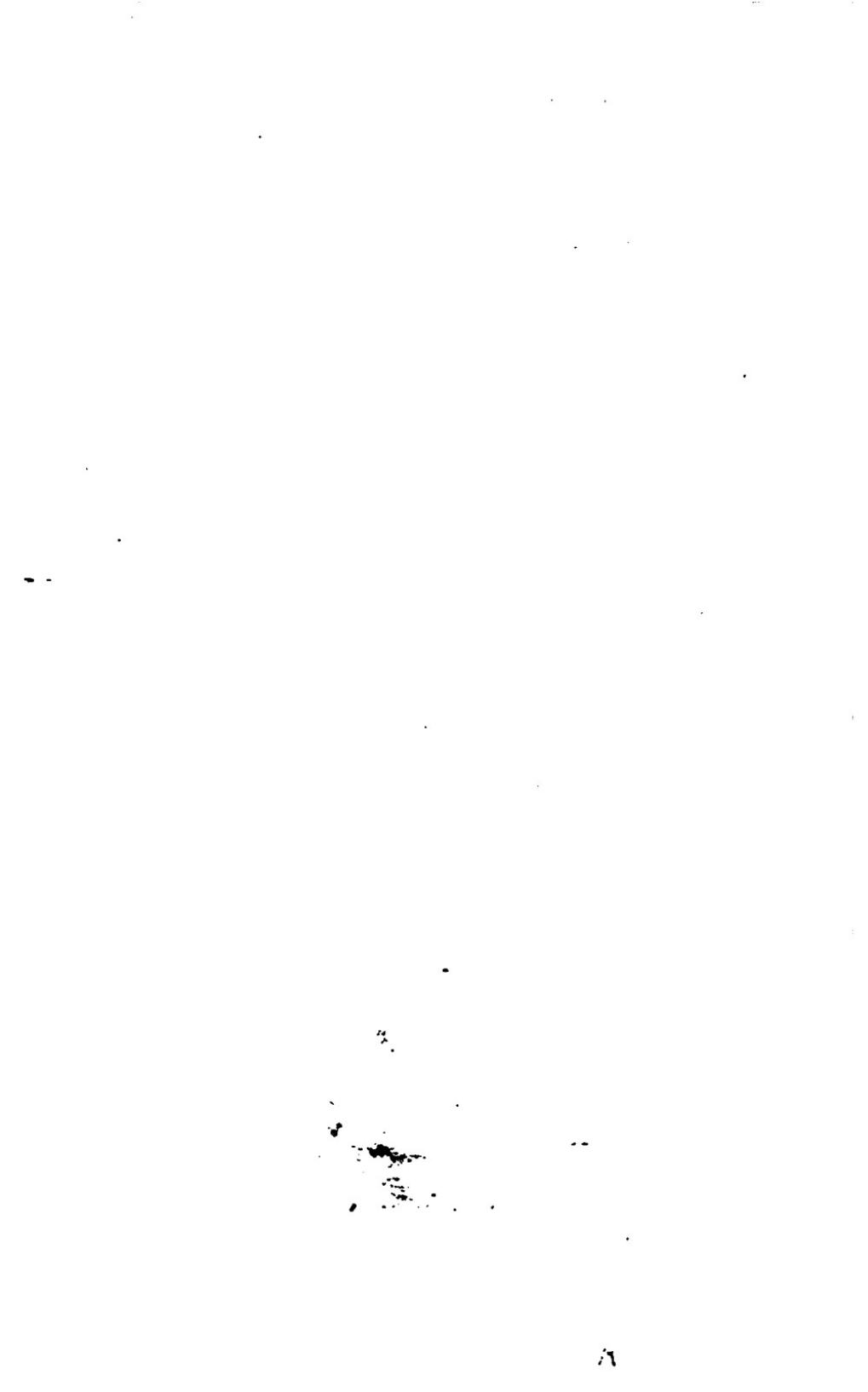
‡ Lord Malmesbury, vol. iv. p. 296. His Lordship states this as a matter reported by Mr. Addington himself; but, by his manner of relating, he throws some doubt upon it, for which nothing in the character of Mr. Addington affords the slightest reason.

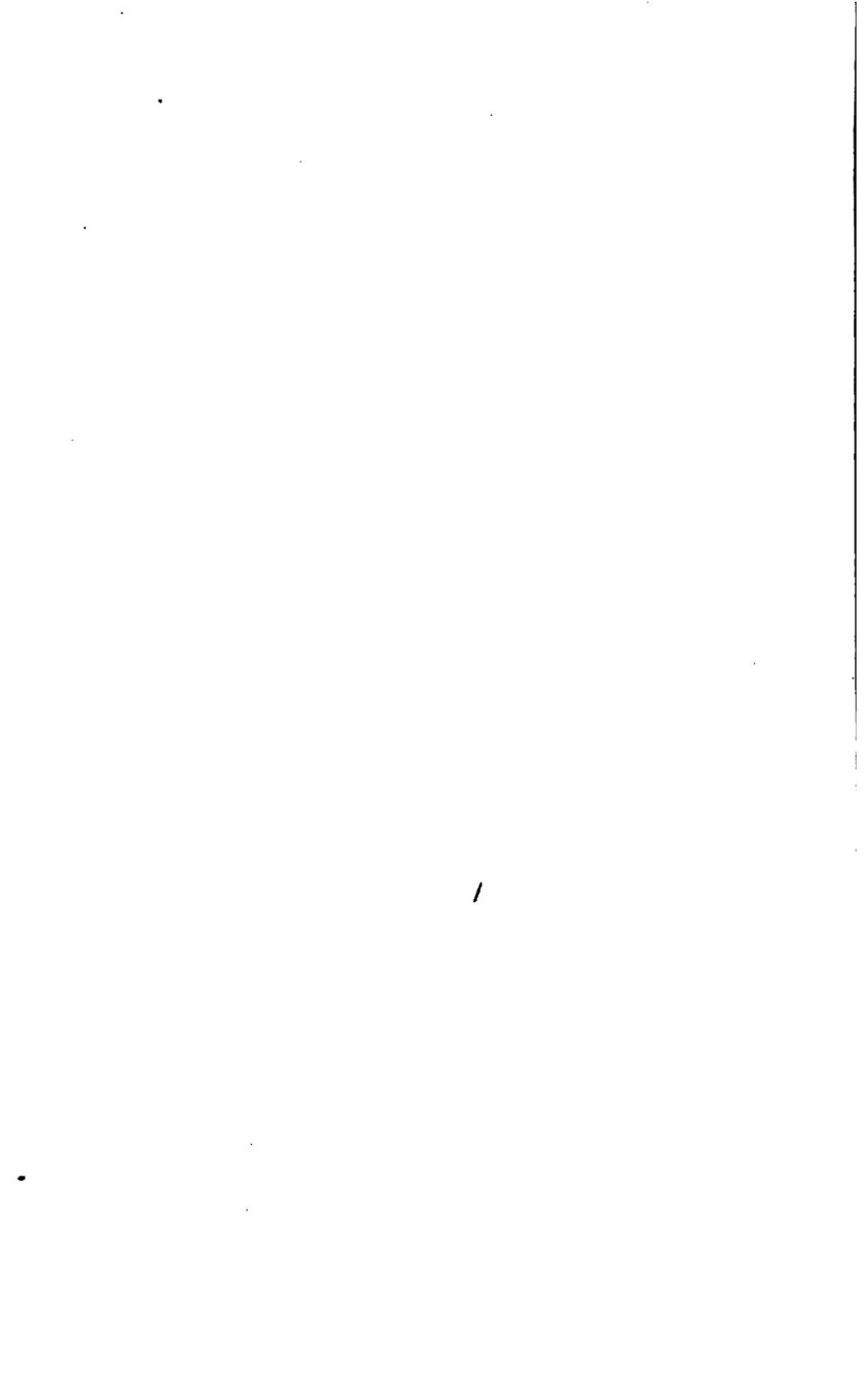
§ From private information.

1804.
May 12th.

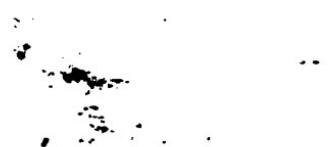
afterably and unexceptionably providing financial resources for the current year, Mr. Addington resigned, and was succeeded by Mr. Pitt. It will be necessary hereafter to mention the composition of the new administration. Mr. Addington vacated the office which he had never sought, without acquiring in it either emolument or advantage. The pension he enjoyed, as retired Speaker of the House of Commons, was rather to be deemed a national than a royal donation; he returned into the House free and unembarrassed, dreading no reproach, and seeking no indemnity. As a mark of the esteem and regard which was never suspended during the residue of his life, the King had, long before, conferred on him the deputy rangership of Richmond Park, with the residence which always belonged to that office.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.





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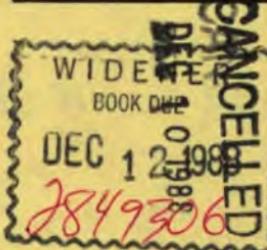








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